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Influences on University Staff Members Responsible for Implementation of Alcohol-Control Policies

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INFLUENCES ON UNIVERSITY STAFF MEMBERS

RESPONSIBLE FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF

ALCOHOL-CONTROL POLICIES

A Dissertation Presented

by

GLENN A. COCHRAN

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ABSTRACT

INFLUENCES ON UNIVERSITY STAFF MEMBERS RESPONSIBLE FOR

IMPLEMENTATION OF ALCOHOL-CONTROL POLICIES

May 2017

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Excessive college student drinking is a complex problem associated with a range of consequences including deaths, injuries, damage, health risks, legal difficulties, and academic problems. State governing boards, trustees and executives have enacted policies aimed at reducing the negative effects of excessive drinking. This study examined influences on university staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies. Deeper understanding of factors influencing alcohol-control policy implementation may help leaders improve policy making, implementation and attainment of policy objectives.

This mixed methods study utilized a sequential transformative mixed methods strategy with a quantitative survey, sequenced first, informing the prioritized qualitative multiple case study. Research was conducted at two public universities selected from a single state. In the quantitative phase students (n=1,252) completed a survey measuring

student support for 33 alcohol-control measures. Staff (n=27) responsible for policy implementation completed a survey estimating student support for alcohol-control measures. Survey data informed development of the case study interview protocol. In the qualitative phase ten interviews were conducted at each case study site.

The study's theoretical and conceptual model was based upon Pressman and Wildavsky's (1973) implementation framework and Kotter's (1996) eight-stage process for leading change. Findings from the quantitative phase of the study revealed strong levels of support for alcohol-control policies at both campuses while staff members generally underestimated student support for alcohol-control policies.

The key findings that emerged after coding case study data included the influences of: (a) executive leadership; (b) leadership transitions and policy saliency; (c) cognition and sensemaking; and, (d) anchoring changes in culture. Student support for alcohol-control policies was found to have no direct influence on staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol control policies.

DEDICATION

Dedicated to the memory of those lost to excessive college student-drinking and to all

those who have contributed to the difficult work of enhancing student safety and success

by enacting and implementing alcohol-control policies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research study marks the end of my journey as a doctoral student. While the journey has been personally fulfilling and deeply meaningful, the experience was made possible and shaped by many special people I would like to acknowledge.

I could not have been more fortunate than to have Dr. Dwight Giles as my advisor, as a faculty member, and as my committee chair. New Englanders know that we have had our share of extraordinary and legendary coaches, but Dwight's coaching is second to none. I am proud to bookend the many dissertations he has chaired at UMass Boston and to have had the opportunity to work with such a caring and compassionate mentor and colleague. I am also deeply appreciative for the support and advice provided by my other committee members, Dr. Sherry Penny and Dr. William DeJong. Sherry shared the wisdom she cultivated from her wealth of experience in higher education leadership, and introduced me to the work of John Kotter and the study of effecting transformational change in higher education. I am also indebted to Bill DeJong who, in addition to sharing his formidable expertise on college student drinking, provided advice, patient encouragement, and support with an uncanny knack for knowing when it was needed most.

It has been nearly impossible for me to adequately explain the impact the higher education doctoral program has had on my professional development. I would like to acknowledge and thank the brilliant and caring faculty members who contributed to my experience. I extend my sincere thanks to Jay Dee, Glenn Gabbard, Dwight Giles, Judy Gill, Keith Motley, Sam Museus, Tara Parker, Sherry Penny, John Saltmarsh, Kati

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Excessive drinking is a pervasive problem with serious consequences to drinkers, their friends and families, and society (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000). Despite the efforts of federal, state, and campus leaders to eradicate problems associated with excessive drinking, serious outcomes continue to persist. Alcohol attributed deaths claim an estimated 88,000 victims annually (Center for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2016a). Excessive alcohol use is the third leading lifestyle-related cause of death in the U.S. (Modad, Marks, Stroup & Gerberding, 2004).

Two excessive drinking patterns which place individuals at risk of harm are *heavy drinking*, defined as consumption of 15 or more drinks per week for males, or eight or more drinks per week for females (CDC, 2016), and *binge drinking*, defined as drinking which results in an individual's blood alcohol concentration (BAC) reaching .08 grams percent or higher during a single occasion (National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism [NIAAA], 2004). Binge drinking generally results when men ingest five or more drinks, and when women consume four or more drinks, in a period of approximately two hours (NIAAA, 2004). The CDC (2016b) reported that 6% of U.S. adults engaged in heavy drinking, and another 17% reported binge drinking during the previous 30 days. Among all U.S. youth aged 12-20 years old, 13.8% reported binge

drinking and 60.6%% of the alcohol consumed by those under 21 was ingested while

binge drinking (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration

[SAMHSA], 2015). The Harvard School of Public Health's College Alcohol Study

(CAS) found that 44% of college students were binge drinkers; a rate that remained

constant in surveys conducted in 1993, 1997, 1999, and 2001 (Wechsler & Nelson,

2008). Large national surveys by the Core Institute (2010 & 2014) reported a 46%

college student binge drinking rate in 2008 and 42.8% rate in 2013. The high college

student binge drinking rate compared with the general population places college students

at higher risk for drinking related harm. Accordingly, the risk of harm to college students

is a serious problem for higher education leaders.

An *Alcohol use disorder* is a clinical diagnosis in which an individual

demonstrates criteria associated with alcohol abuse or alcohol dependence (American

Psychiatric Association, 2013). *Alcohol abuse* is a term which describes multiple

drinking incidents which result in legal difficulties, relationship problems, or serious

consequences to family, work, or school responsibilities (American Psychiatric

Association, 2000). *Alcohol dependence* is a clinical term for alcoholism, a chronic

disease in which the drinker has strong cravings for alcohol and is unable to limit or

control alcohol use (American Psychiatric Association, 2000). Hasin, Stinson, Ogburn

and Grant (2007) reported that alcohol use disorders affected 8.5% of all Americans.

Among all U.S. youth aged 12-17, 2.7% met the diagnostic criteria for alcohol use

disorders (SAMHSA, 2015). The rate is significantly higher among U.S. college students

with approximately 20% meeting the diagnostic criteria for an alcohol use disorder

(NIAAA, 2015c).

Immediate health risks, including accidents, falls, drowning, acts of violence, and alcohol overdose are also associated with excessive drinking (CDC, 2016a). Immediate health risks to college students are especially disconcerting given their significantly higher rate of binge drinking and alcohol use disorders. College students were the victims of approximately 70,000 cases of sexual assault or rape, and another 696,000 incidents of physical assault involving perpetrators engaged in heavy drinking in a one year period reported by Hingson, Zha and Weitzman (2009). Additional immediate health risks associated with college student binge drinking include traffic fatalities, alcohol overdose (Green, 2010; Hingson, Heeren, Zakocs, Kopstein & Wechsler, 2002; Hingson et al., 2009), and participation in unplanned and unprotected sex at rates far higher than their non-binge drinking peers (Cooper, 2002; NIAAA, 2015; Wechsler, Moeykens, Davenport, Castillo & Hansen, 1995).

It is important to note that heavy drinkers "produce an impact that ripples outward to encompass their families, friends, and communities" (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000, p.1). Among the general population this ripple includes the 28.6% of American children impacted by family members with an alcohol use disorder (Grant, 2000) and the losses endured as a result of the 9,967 alcohol-related traffic fatalities reported by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (2015). Among college students alcohol-related unintentional injuries claimed 1,825 lives in 2005 (Hingson et al., 2009). There is also an economic ripple effect - the overall financial impact of alcohol abuse and dependence on American society was estimated at $184.6 billion, or $638 per person, in 1998 (Harwood, 2000) and increased to $249 billion in 2010 (CDC, 2016a).

Since the temperance movement gained momentum in the middle of the 19th century, primary responsibility for liquor control passed from the states to the federal government with the passage of prohibition in 1919, and back to the states following prohibition's repeal in 1933 (Fosdick & Scott, 1933). Attempts to identify effective alcohol control policies evolved to include licensing regulations, taxation, treatment programs, education, and controls on where alcohol can be bought, consumed, manufactured, and transported (Fosdick & Scott, 1933; Lee, Lee & Lee, 2010). In 1982 a total of 36 states had a minimum legal drinking age (MLDA) of 18, 19, or 20 years of age, including 29 states that had lowered their MLDA from 21 between 1970 and 1975 (Alcohol Policy Information System, n.d., National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, 2001). When research connected the lower drinking ages with increases in drinking related accidents (Wagenaar, 1993) state authority was superseded by federal policy makers with the passage of The Uniform Drinking Age Act (23 U.S.C. § 158, 1984). This act linked receipt of federal highway funds to a 21 year old minimum drinking age, effectively nullifying a lower drinking age in all states by 1988. Federal funding was also linked to compliance with the Drug Free Schools and Communities Act (20 U.S.C. § 1011i; 34 C.F.R. § 86.1, 1989), which required educational institutions to establish and certify alcohol policies and prevention programs. Similarly, the Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act (20 USC 1092 f, 1990) required colleges and universities receiving federal funds to disclose and report alcohol law violations and crime statistics.

State higher education agencies and college and university boards of trustees have also acted to control excessive drinking on campus. State higher education governing

bodies in several states adopted alcohol policies for their public higher education institutions. To date, however, no research has established the effectiveness of federal regulation or statewide alcohol policies in reducing college student binge drinking, and research on campus level policies have revealed mixed results (NIAAA, 2007).

While campus-level alcohol policies are a primary and widespread tool in response to student binge drinking (NIAAA, 2011), there is no consensus on best practices for limiting or ending excessive student drinking. Approaches include emphasis on enforcement and zero tolerance laws (Voas, Tippetts, & Fell, 2003; Wechsler, Lee, Nelson & Lee, 2003), campus alcohol bans (Wechsler, Lee, Gledhill-Hoyt and Nelson, 2001), and stricter alcohol enforcement practices (Knight, Harris, Sherritt, Kelley, Van Hook & Wechsler, 2003) to improve campus drinking-related outcomes. Additionally, some argue for using *social norming* approaches designed to influence student behavior by correcting the tendency of students to overestimate the frequency and quantity of peer drinking and the degree to which peers hold permissive attitudes toward excessive drinking (Perkins & Berkowitz, 1986). Several studies found that substance abuse rates declined as students gained a more accurate perception of peer drinking and attitudes following social norming campaigns (Haines, Perkins, Rice & Barker, 2005; Scribner, Theall, Mason, Simonsen, Schneider, Towvim & DeJong, 2011; Turner, Perkins & Bauerle, 2008). Another approach to campus-based prevention places attention on *environmental management* strategies. Through this approach factors in the environment which encourage heavy or underage drinking are identified and addressed through campus-community partnerships, coalitions, and community policing (DeJong & Langford, 2002; Saltz, Paschall, McGaffigan & Nygaard, 2010; Weitzman, Nelson &

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Wechsler, 2003). Examples of environmental management factors may include community sobriety check points, pricing regulations, alcohol marketing restrictions, density of bars and liquor outlets, and enforcement of social host laws. There is a lack of consensus among higher education executive leaders on how to best decrease harm associated with excessive college student drinking as evidenced by the "Amethyst Initiative", a project launched in 2008 by a group of college and university presidents and chancellors questioning and calling for debate on the effectiveness of the 21-year old minimum drinking age (Amethyst Initiative, n.d.).

Campus alcohol policies and associated decisions and actions made by policy implementation agents vary significantly in their expectations for student behavior, disciplinary processes used to review reported infractions, education and awareness efforts, availability of treatment, and sanctions imposed when policy has been violated (College Drinking Prevention, n.d.). Findings on student behavior vary even when institutions operate under similar or identical alcohol policies. Harris, Sherritt, Van Hook, Wechsler and Knight (2010) found that student drinking rates varied significantly in a study of 11 campuses mandated to abide by the same statewide alcohol policy. These findings suggest that, in addition to the policy itself, excessive drinking outcomes vary with student populations and policy implementation.

Problem Statement

While federal and state laws have been enacted to limit excessive alcohol consumption on campuses, and state higher education agencies and college and university boards of trustees have mandated alcohol policies, the prevalence of college student

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binge drinking has increased. Despite a proliferation of research and wide release of findings to aid policy development, the college student binge drinking rate increased from 44% in 1993 to 46% in 2008 before dropping to 42.8% in 2013 (Wechsler et al., 1994; Core Institute, 2010; Core Institute, 2014). With the general population binge drinking rate reported as 14.2% in 1993 (Naimi et al., 2003), 15.2% in 2009 (Kanny, Liu, & Brewer, 2011), and 23% in 2014 (SAMHSA, 2015) the college student binge drinking rate remains nearly twice that of the general adult population. Information on how to most effectively implement policies and programs to limit or control excessive drinking outcomes on U.S. campuses is limited (Wechsler & Nelson, 2008; Nelson, Toomey, Lenk, Erickson & Winters, 2010; Saltz, 2004).

Effective implementation of alcohol policies must be achieved to reduce the incidence of excessive student drinking and its associated consequences.   Additional research is needed to discern the influence of policy implementation practices in meeting the goals of college and university alcohol-control policies.

<center>**Significance**</center>

Given that college students binge drink at much higher rates than similar aged peers not attending college, the problem appears to be strongly associated with the higher education context (Dawson, Grant, Stinson, & Chou, 2004; Kanny et al., 2011). Though negative drinking outcomes, including alcohol abuse and alcoholism, are experienced by various demographic groups, the past year rate of alcohol use disorders among college students was reported by Slutske (2005) as 18% and by the NIAAA as approximately 20% (2015b), more than twice the 8.5% rate of the general population reported by Hasin

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et al. (2007) and more than three times the 6.5% general population rate reported for 2014 by SAMHSA (2015a).

Research findings highlight the association between excessive student drinking and learning outcomes, academic problems and scholastic performance. Academic problems associated with excessive student drinking include poor study habits (Powell, Williams & Wechsler, 2004), missed classes, falling behind in work (Wechsler, Kuo, Lee, & Dowdall, 2000), and having a significantly lower GPA (Pascarella, Goodman, Seifert & Tagliapietra-Niccoli, 2007; Singleton, 2007; Wolaver, 2002). Binge drinking students also impose detrimental "second hand" effects on the learning environment of their non-drinking peers by interrupting sleep, creating noisy disturbances, and engaging in verbally or physically abusive behavior (Wechsler et al., 1995a).

The problem of excessive student drinking is also financially significant. As a factor which can impede student success, excessive student drinking can result in long term negative financial consequences for the many students and families who finance college through loans. This risk grows with the rising costs of higher education. From a broader economic perspective the U.S. is calling for the increased educational attainment of its citizenry (U.S. Department of Education, 2006) to power economic opportunity and development. Given public higher education's mission and charge to fuel economic growth, the efficacy of alcohol policies on state and city campuses is especially important; 62% of all students pursuing a bachelor's degree are enrolled at public colleges and universities (Nelson, Naimi, Brewer & Wechsler, 2005).

Policies, however, must be effectively implemented to realize desired outcomes. Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) noted the importance of examining the ordinary means

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for attaining desired ends when programs are not being implemented as intended. The need for effective implementation of thoroughly developed alcohol policies is significant for higher education leaders interested in improving student learning and the campus learning environment. A better understanding of the relationship between alcohol policy and the dynamics and actions associated with implementation would benefit practitioners, researchers, and state governing bodies and boards of trustees responsible for setting policy. Research shows that campus implementation actions, including associated enforcement practices, influence the efficacy of a campus alcohol policy (Harris et al., 2010). Thus, identification of decisions and actions made by policy implementation agents may improve the effectiveness of alcohol control policies while identification of ineffective implementation practices may help campus leaders and policy implementation agents avoid action which undermine policy efficacy.

Research Questions

This literature review will explore the impact of alcohol policy implementation on college and university campuses. It is guided by the following central question:

In what ways do alcohol-control policies and their associated implementation actions influence efforts to reduce excessive college student drinking?

Several related or sub-questions will be examined in the literature review:

1. What are the negative consequences associated with excessive college student drinking?

2. In what ways do culture and environment influence policy development, policy implementation, and excessive student drinking?

3. How do policy development and associated implementation influence the attainment of policy goals?

4. What is the relationship between policy development and policy implementation, and how might implementation issues be facilitated within the policy statement?

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Three areas of literature will be used to examine and discuss the problem:
(a) excessive drinking consequences and student conduct, (b) culture and environment,
and, (c) policy implementation and associated actions. While the three areas of literature
overlap and intersect, each area represents an important body of knowledge which
contributes critical information relative to the research questions.

The area of literature on excessive drinking consequences informs the range and
magnitude of the consequences associated with excessive college student drinking. This
area of the literature provides important perspective on the pervasive nature of the
negative drinking consequences incurred by individuals and imposed upon children,
families, relationships, and society as a whole. Literature on excessive drinking
consequences also provides alternatives for assessing drinking rates, policy effectiveness,
student support for policies and certain implementation actions including enforcement.
Literature examining excessive drinking consequences also provides a basis for targeting
or prioritizing specific outcomes.

Review of literature on culture and environment provides perspective on the ways
culture and environment influence excessive drinking. In addition, through review of the
literature on culture and environment associations between excessive student drinking

and external and campus environments will be considered. Finally, review of literature in this area explores the association between excessive drinking and demographic factors, the media, family and other cultural and environmental variables.

Review of literature on policy implementation discusses how policy objectives are executed. The relationship between policy goals, policy development and implementation is examined and discussed along with those facilitating factors or barriers which aid or impede effective implementation and attainment of policy goals. The importance of commitment to successful policy implementation actions are reviewed including the influence of enforcement on policy compliance and student drinking outcomes. In addition, discussion of policy violation deterrence, policy compliance and commitment to policy enforcement are examined through review of the literature.

Consequences of Excessive Drinking

Review of the literature reveals numerous works which outline a wide range of negative consequences associated with excessive drinking. Excessive drinking is associated with immediate health risks, long term health risks, emotional and mental health risks, criminal behavior, and negative economic impact (NIAAA, 2008; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000). Understanding the negative consequences associated with excessive drinking is essential to evaluation of the importance of alcohol-control policy objectives and implementation factors. Further, understanding excessive drinking consequences provides a foundation critical to policy development.

Assessment of alcohol-control policy effectiveness requires examination of those consequences the policy means to mitigate. Data on consequences provide a baseline

against which future comparisons following policy treatment can be made. The literature on the consequences associated with excessive student drinking is imperative for this purpose. Within the literature on the consequences of excessive drinking in higher education settings, those findings related to the core functions of the academy – including teaching, learning, academic achievement, and degree attainment - are of primary importance and should inform college and university policy responses to campus alcohol abuse. Finally, studies examining student drinking behavior consequences provide opportunity to examine behavioral norms; frame the magnitude of excessive drinking related problems; allow for comparisons of various student demographic groupings; and aid in the assessment of policy implementation, enforcement actions, and overall policy effectiveness.

In the following sections the literature on significant consequences associated with excessive drinking are reviewed: (a) alcohol related deaths; (b) alcohol-related health risks; (c) academic consequences; (d) mental health and interpersonal relationship problems; (e) criminal behavior; (f) economic consequences; (g) large scale studies on excessive student drinking consequences; and (h) excessive drinking, brain development and the human life span.

Alcohol-Related Deaths

The most serious consequence associated with excessive drinking is death. Risk of death related to excessive drinking, the third most prevalent cause of death related to lifestyle in the U.S. (CDC website), impacts the college student population. Hingson, Zha and Weitzman (2009) estimated 1,825 deaths annually, including 1,357 motor vehicle crash fatalities, among 18 to 24 year old college students. Motor vehicle crashes

have been the leading cause of alcohol-related injury deaths for college students, as well as for those less than 21 years old in the general population (Hingson, Zha & Weitzman, 2009). Drivers under 21 have a significantly higher risk for alcohol-related traffic fatality (Hingson & Winter, 2003; Zador, Krawchuk & Voas, 2000).

While college student alcohol-related traffic fatalities declined between 2001 and 2005, non-traffic alcohol-related injury deaths among college students increased by 25.6% (Hingson, Zha & Weitzman, 2009). The U.S. Surgeon General's 2007 report calling for action on the problems associated with underage drinking noted: "Although considerable attention has been focused on…drinking and driving, accumulating evidence indicates that the range of adverse consequences is much more extensive than that and should also be comprehensively addressed" (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2007, p.2).

Alcohol-Related Health Risks

Individuals who drink excessively risk a range of immediate and long term health problems and associated financial costs of medical care. Excessive drinking is associated with health hazards from risky behavior associated with injuries, accidents, and sexual behavior impacting reproductive health and sexual function (CDC, 2015a; Hingson et al., 2009; NIAAA, 2008; U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000). A growing number of researchers are exploring biological reasons related to the development of the adolescent brain to explain why college students may be especially vulnerable to engagement in risky behaviors (NIAAA, 2015b; Spear, 2002).

Accidents and unintended injuries, including those resulting from falls, fire, and hangover pose health risks to those who drink excessively (CDC, 2016a; Hingson et al.,

2009; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2007). Hingson et al. (2009)

estimated that 599,000 college students aged 18-24 were accidentally injured because of

drinking. The magnitude of this problem was also reported by the Core Institute (2010),

which found that 14.6% of college students participating in the 2013 Core Alcohol and

Drug Survey reported that they had been injured as a consequence of alcohol

consumption (Core Institute, 2014).

Sexual and reproductive health consequences. Excessive drinking is associated

with negative reproductive health and sexual function consequences (CDC, 2016a;

NIAAA, 2008). A number of studies examine the sexual health risks incurred by college

students who, as a group, engage in binge drinking-related unplanned and unprotected

sex at rates far higher than non-binge drinking peers (CDC, 2016a; Cooper, 2002; U.S.

Department of Health and Human Services, 2000; Wechsler, 1995a). College students

who binge drank three or more times in a two week period were more than seven times

likelier to engage in unplanned sexual activity than non-binge drinkers (Wechsler et al.,

1994), placing themselves at higher risk of sexually transmitted infections (STIs),

including HIV (CDC, 2016; NIAAA, 2008). An estimated 400,000 college students

engaged in unprotected sex after excessive drinking and approximately 100,000 reported

not being able to remember if consent was given because of high level of intoxication

(Hingson et al., 2002). In some cases, students engaging in non-consensual sex – and an

individual incapacitated by alcohol cannot give legal consent – may be suspended or

expelled through campus judicial proceedings. Despite these consequences, 51.6% of

2013 Core survey respondents stated they drink to facilitate sexual opportunity (Core

Institute, 2014).

Female students who binge drink are also more likely to engage in unprotected sex, have more sex partners, have higher risk of contracting STIs, and are more likely to become pregnant unintentionally (Naimi, Lipscomb, Brewer, & Gilbert, 2003; Thomas et al., 2001). For those pregnancies resulting in a live birth, mothers who drink excessively increase the risk of miscarriage and delivering prematurely (CDC, 2016a). Additionally, women who binge drink while pregnant: (a) increase their child's risk of experiencing a drug or alcohol disorder later in life; (b) increase the risk of giving birth to a child with fetal alcohol spectrum disorders (FASDs); and (c) increase the risk of their child dying from sudden infant death syndrome (CDC 2016a; NIAAA, 2008).

Academic Consequences

The consequences of excessive drinking that impact student learning and academic achievement – core activities of the academy – should be of great concern for higher education leaders. The literature on student drinking and academic behavior informs discussion on this concern. Heavy college drinking was reported to have a negative association with college retention in a study by Martinez, Sher, and Wood (2008). They also confirmed a negative association between heavy college drinking and presence at bars and clubs as well as attendance at parties: (a) sponsored by Greek organizations; (b) at off-campus residences; and (c) at other campuses. For those students who persist academically the literature reveals an association between excessive student drinking and a number of academic problems including poor study habits (NIAAA, 2002; Powell, Williams & Wechsler, 2004), missed classes, falling behind in work (Wechsler, Kuo, Lee, & Dowdall, 2000), and having a significantly lower GPA (Pascarella, Goodman, Seifert & Tagliapietra-Niccoli, 2007; Singleton, 2007; Wolaver,

2002). Data from the 2013 Core alcohol and drug survey indicated that 26.2% of

respondents reported missing a class and another 19.8% reported that they had performed

poorly on a test or important project during the past year as a result of drinking (Core

Institute, 2014). Pascarella et al. (2007) reported that binge drinking two or more times

in a two-week period was associated with a significant negative impact on GPA. It is

noteworthy that the GPA deficit applied to both freshmen and seniors, and that the GPA

deficit experienced by binge drinkers widened with further increases in binge drinking

frequency. Significantly, the magnitude of negative consequences in GPA was similar

regardless of sex, race, or pre-college academic preparation experience. In a study of 18

year old resident students, Sharmer (2005) found that students with incrementally lower

GPAs were more likely to play drinking games involving consumption of a significant

amount of alcohol in a short amount of time.

Binge drinking students also impose detrimental "second hand" effects on the

learning environment of their non-drinking peers. Students who drank excessively

subjected their non-drinking peers to interrupted sleep, noisy disturbances, property

damage, verbal abuse, physical abuse, and the burden of having to care for intoxicated

students (Wechsler et al., 1995a). These findings highlight the impact of excessive

student drinking on academic pursuit and the campus learning environment.

Mental Health and Interpersonal Relationship Problems

A significant positive association between alcohol use disorders, as defined in the

APA's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders 4th edition [DSM-IV], and

other psychiatric disorders including personality disorders (PD); anxiety disorders; mood

disorders; nicotine dependence; and, drug use disorders was reported by Hasin et al.

(2008). Notably, the negative consequences of excessive drinking extend beyond the

drinker and impact the lives of partners and family members (Roberts & McCrady,

2003). Grant (2000) estimated that 28.6% of children in the U.S. are exposed to alcohol

use disorders in the family. Further, children of parents who are alcohol dependent are at

a significantly higher risk to become alcoholics themselves (U.S. Department of Health

and Human Services, 2007). For the many college students who come from homes where

they were exposed to alcohol abuse or alcoholism, there is increased personal danger of

experiencing alcohol-related problems. In a 10 year follow up study on college student

drinking Jennison (2004) found that women who drank less in college were more likely

to have higher educational attainment, be married, and have children. Jennison also

reported that the likelihood of being separated or divorced was associated with increased

college binge drinking and that women's drinking frequency tended to remain high after

college and did not decline substantially over time (Jennison, 2004).

Alcohol dependence. The highest prevalence of alcohol dependence,

approximately 12%, occurs among 18-20 year olds (NIAAA, 2008; U.S. Department of

Health and Human Services, 2007). Knight et al. (2002) reported that 31% of college

students met the clinical criteria for alcohol abuse and another 6% met the criteria for

alcohol dependence during the previous 12 months. Although prevalence of alcohol

abuse is higher among college students than their non-college student peers, rates of

alcohol dependence were similar in both groups (Slutske, 2005). National Core alcohol

and drug survey data for 2013 indicated that 81.3% of college students consumed alcohol

in the past year, 68.6% in the previous 30 days, and 42.8% reported binge drinking in the

previous two weeks (Core Institute, 2014). Because addictive disorders have been shown

to begin with repeated object exposure, some college students may be particularly at risk for developing alcohol use disorders given the frequent exposure to alcohol consumption and binge drinking (Shaffer, Donato, LaBrie, Kidman & LaPlante, 2005).

Suicide. Several studies in the body of literature report an association between alcohol and suicide (NIAAA, 2002; Birkmayer & Hemenway, 1999; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2007). Among college students, 1.2% reported attempting to commit suicide as a consequence related to drinking in the 2013 study by the Core Institute (2014).

Criminal Behavior

College students are more likely to both commit criminal infractions, and become victimized in excessive drinking-related incidents. Multiple researchers have reported an association between excessive college student drinking and criminal activity, including harassment, assault, arson, sexual assault, and rape (Flowers, 2009; Hingson, Heeren, Winter, & Wechsler, 2005; Hingson, Heeren, Zakocs, Kopstein & Wechsler, 2002; Hingson, Heeren, Zakocs, Winter, & Wechsler, 2003; Security on Campus, 1998; Sloan & Fisher, 2011; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000). Among college students responding to the 2013 Core survey, 30.7% admitted to having been involved in some form of public misconduct including trouble with police, engaging in fights, driving while intoxicated, or committed vandalism (Core Institute, 2014). In many cases drinking-related criminal behavior also exposes individuals to other consequences such as threats to physical or mental health – for example, individuals driving while intoxicated risk criminal action as well as putting themselves at elevated risk for injury or death. Similarly, the victim of a sexual assault might also be at risk of contracting a sexually

transmitted infection (STI). Victims of these type of crimes may experience subsequent

mental health difficulties including post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) following

victimization (Kilpatrick & Acierno, 2003). In the context of the college or university

campus both student perpetrators and victims can be impacted by alcohol-related crime

and both perpetrators and victims may have diminished academic performance or be

unable or unwilling to persist to degree attainment. In such a case the impacted

university's learning environment and larger society as a whole are incrementally

diminished when attrition due to alcohol-related criminal behavior erodes human

intellectual resources and potential.

Higher education leaders interested in maximizing student degree attainment must

consider the impact of alcohol-related criminal behavior on victims and bystanders as

well as student perpetrators, who may be unable to remain enrolled due to significant

legal costs or imprisonment. A college student convicted for the first time of driving

under the influence in Connecticut, for example, would incur several thousand dollars in

fines, fees, and other costs (Connecticut Office of Legislative Research, 2012). These

financial burdens may limit some students' ability to continue, consistent with the

findings of Thompson and Richardson (2008), who reported increased attrition in a study

of college students arrested and charged with driving while intoxicated.

Among college students, 5% of undergraduates at four year institutions had

involvement with campus police or security for their behavior during an incident related

to drinking (Wechsler et al., 2002). In addition, approximately 110,000 students are

arrested each year for an alcohol-related offense (Hingson et al., 2002). Highlighting the

impact student binge drinkers can have on their non-drinking peers, Hingson et al. (2009)

estimated that 696,000 college students were victims of assault committed by another student who had been drinking.

     Sexual violence. Sexual assault and rape are serious and disruptive crimes against college students and the literature demonstrates a strong association between excessive college drinking and sexual violence. Hingson et al. (2009) estimated 97,000 students were sexually assaulted or raped by an acquaintance who had been drinking. Among 2013 Core survey respondents, 9.5% reported that they had been taken advantage of sexually as a result of substance use (Core Institute, 2014). In addition, 74.8% of students who reported experiencing unwanted sexual intercourse had used alcohol, other drugs, or both just prior to the incident (Core Institute, 2014).

     Driving under the influence of alcohol. Alcohol-impaired driving places the driver, their passengers, and other motorists and passengers at risk. Alarmingly, Hingson et al. (2002) reported that an estimated three million college students decided to ride in a car with a drinking driver.

     Property crimes. Campus property crimes are also associated with excessive student drinking and contribute to escalating higher education costs (Wechsler, Kuo, Lee, and Dowdall, 2000; Wechsler et al., 1995a). Wechsler et al. (1995a) reported an association between college campuses with high drinking levels and administrator assessments indicating their campus has either moderate or major problems with alcohol-related property damage. Approximately 11% of college students reported that they vandalized property after drinking (Wechsler et al., 2002).

Economic Consequences

In addition to the wide range of negative consequences previously discussed, excessive drinking is also associated with negative economic consequences that impact individuals and society as a whole. Among college students, excessive drinking is associated with attrition (Martinez, Sher & Wood, 2008), and can be accompanied by long-term financial consequences (Jennison, 2004). Those who do not attain a degree earn less on average than those with a degree and remain financially responsible for the costs incurred for failed attempts to earn a degree (Martinez, Sher & Wood, 2008). While college students who drink excessively are less likely to attain a degree, those who do earn a degree are not as likely to obtain "white collar" employment or be promoted as their college peers who did not engage in heavy drinking (Jennison, 2004).

Large Scale Studies on Excessive Student Drinking

College student binge drinking rates were reported in large scale studies by the Harvard School of Public Health's College Alcohol Study (CAS), which collected data from over 50,000 students on drinking behaviors and attitudes (College Alcohol Study, 2011). Students representing 120 institutions and 40 states were surveyed in distinct national studies conducted in 1993, 1997, 1999 and 2001. Utilizing CAS data, eighty peer reviewed research articles were published in an array of professional journals (College Alcohol Study, 2011) including empirical studies that examined the prevalence and consequences associated with student binge drinking (Dowdall & Wechsler, 2002; Perkins & Wechsler, 1996; Wechsler, Davenport, Dowdall, Moeykens & Castillo, 1994; Wechsler, Davenport, Dowdall, Moeykens & Castillo, 1995b; Wechsler et al., 1995a; Wechsler, Dowdall, Maenner, Gledhill-Hoyt & Lee, 1998). Large scale studies on

student drinking behaviors, norms, and attitudes are also reported on by The Core Institute at Southern Illinois University Carbondale; the institute holds the largest national database on college student drinking in the U.S. (Core Institute, 2017).

Excessive Drinking and Brain Development

There is a growing body of knowledge (Spear, 2002; NIAAA, 2008) examining the effect of alcohol on brain development. Research suggests that maturation and adolescent brain development continues through the traditional college years and into the mid-20s (Giedd, 2004; NIAAA, 2008; Spear, 2002; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2007). An expanding area in the literature examines the links between alcohol consumption and brain development (NIAAA, 2008; Spear, 2002). The NIAAA (2008) suggests that alcohol consumption during this developmental period may have long term effects on brain development, including memory loss for adolescents who begin drinking during early adolescence, or who receive medical treatment for alcohol withdrawal during this developmental period (NIAAA, 2008). Because brain development may limit sensitivity to some effects of excessive drinking, including the onset of sleepiness and gross motor coordination, biological development may contribute to explaining higher binge drinking rates among traditional-aged college students and adolescents since they would consume more to feel the same effects as older drinkers (NIAAA, 2008; Spear, 2002). These findings coincide with findings that young adults between the ages of 18 and 24, including college students, are the segment most at risk for alcohol-related problems (NIAAA, 2008).

Among young adults in college, excessive drinking patterns exhibited by undergraduates were found to be a significant risk factor for alcohol use disorders later in

life (Jennison, 2004). For some college students the consequences of excessive drinking - lack of college degree attainment, diminished employment and career advancement opportunities, and lower future wages - impacted them well beyond their college years (Jennison, 2004). In calling for action to prevent and reduce underage drinking a report by the U.S. Surgeon General emphasized "the negative consequences of alcohol use on campus are particularly serious and pervasive" (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2007, p.13).

Human Life Span Impact

Literature on the consequences of excessive college student drinking represents only a portion of the research on excessive drinking overall. It is impossible to consider the consequences of excessive college drinking without acknowledging the complexities and significance of heavy drinking over the course of the human life span (U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000). Attitudes, beliefs, expectations and values associated with excessive drinking impact individuals through the multiple phases of the human life span. The drinking behaviors of many college students are influenced by their drinking during childhood (ages 12-17) and will follow them into young adulthood (ages 18-29), midlife (ages 30-59), and beyond (Jennison, 2004; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000).

As excessive drinking risk factors are identified over the life span, developmental trajectories can be identified, tested, and used to examine problem drinking through a macro perspective across stages of the life span, or to better understand details within a segment, such as college students aged 18-24 (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000). By examining markers of alcohol abuse at different stages of

development, researchers can consider how biology, the environment, and excessive

drinking overlap (NIAAA, 2008). Progress in understanding and preventing the negative

consequences of excessive drinking need not be isolated from related research by

population.

<p align="center">**Culture and Environment**</p>

This section of literature reviews how culture and environment support or impede

excessive student drinking, and the efficacy of alcohol control policies and their

associated implementation and enforcement actions. Bess & Dee (2008) note that culture

can be considered the shared "philosophy, ideology, values, beliefs, expectations,

attitudes and assumptions shared by members of a social system" (p.359). Culture will

be examined at several social system levels from a broad view of U.S. drinking culture

down to a view of campus sub-cultures and demographic identity groupings. The

literature also includes information on environmental factors related to excessive student

drinking; these factors are considered in this section. Finally, the relationship of culture

and environment to policy development and implementation is also examined in the

literature.

Campus Drinking Culture

There is ample evidence in the literature indicating that the higher education

context is fraught with problems associated with high rates of binge drinking (NIAAA,

2002; Pascarella et al., 2007; Saltz, 2004; Wechsler & Nelson, 2008). There is reason to

be concerned that the prevalence of excessive college student drinking is related to the

campus context and environment given the research finding that college-bound students

(a) drink less than students not bound for college, (b) drink at rates surpassing their non-

college peers while attending college, and (c) again drink at lower rates than non-college peers in the years after college (Saltz, 2004). The literature includes studies which confirm the negative impact of campus culture in promoting heavy drinking (Weitzman & Wechsler, 2003; Wechsler & Nelson, 2008). In a seminal report published by the NIAAA, leaders acknowledged that cultural "beliefs and customs [regarding student drinking] are entrenched in every level of college students' environments. Customs handed down through generations of college drinkers reinforce students' expectation that alcohol is a necessary ingredient for social success" (NIAAA, 2002, p.1). Excessive student drinking - with its deeply rooted beliefs and customs - has been programmed into campus culture through liquor industry advertising, popular media programming, new student fraternity and sorority membership rituals, peer influence, and alumni attitudes (NIAAA, 2000; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2007; Wechsler, Kuh & Davenport, 2009). Campus traditions, including heavy drinking, are passed on to new and prospective students by upperclassmen, legacy family members, and alumni (NIAAA, 2002). Traditions related to athletics and sporting events (e.g. tailgating parties, celebratory damage or violence, spirit rallies/bonfires, team hazing) have often involved alcohol and sometimes include paid advertising by the alcohol industry (Bergen-Cico, Urtz & Barreto, 2004; NIAAA, 2002).

The NIAAA Task Force on College Drinking (NIAAA, 2002), acknowledging the significance of culture on college student drinking behaviors, called on trustees, presidents, and other campus officials to provide leadership in changing campus drinking culture (NIAAA, 2002). Their report emphasized the importance of leading transformative change to the drinking culture perpetuated across the student experience

and recommended examination of the influence of alumni, alcohol industry marketing at college athletic venues, and the many nearby private drinking establishments traditionally frequented by students. Students' beliefs regarding alcohol use are often influenced by campus culture, which includes interactions with peers and the environment as well as attitudes that actively or passively promote drinking through tolerance or implied approval of college drinking as a rite of passage (NIAAA, 2002). Because culture is more likely to contribute to institutional effectiveness when changes reflect shared values and are responsive to external factors (Bess & Dee, 2008), change initiatives may be limited in their effectiveness if there is a perception that actions do not reflect shared cultural values. At the institutional level the shared values of trustees, administrators, faculty, staff, students, parents, and state governance boards should all be assessed and considered.

Despite the availability of several theoretical models to comprehensively examine institutional culture, there is little evidence in the literature indicating that higher education leaders are assessing change in the student drinking culture. Higher education leaders interested in responding to the NIAAA (2002) call for action could examine cultural change utilizing theoretical models discussed in professional literature. One such model was theorized by Schein (1992) who considered culture an identifiable variable and created a framework to assess culture through three components: (a) cultural artifacts which are observable and consider the physical environment, social environment, transformation process, language, overt behavior of group members, and symbols; (b) deeply held values which can be inferred from artifacts but cannot be directly observed; and (c) assumptions which exist at an unconscious level but exert influence on behavior.

Tierney (1988) also developed a framework for examining culture; Tierney's model

posits that culture can be examined by carefully conducting cultural audits. A third

model was theorized by Martin (1992) who created a framework to examine culture

through multiple lenses. Martin's model is especially useful in cases where culture

appears to be fragmented, unpredictable or without clear boundaries.

Shared simplifications are a culturally related phenomenon where perceptions of

very complex problems are distorted by holding past dominant views in collective

sensemaking. An understanding of shared simplifications is relevant to college and

university leaders assessing campus culture (National Research Council, 1981) and

implementing campus policies. Shared simplifications on responding to excessive

drinking, for example, may reflect past dominant cultural views on alcohol such as

"prohibition does not work" (National Research Council, 1981; Olson & Gernstein,

1985). When past dominant views remain in the public consciousness and result in

shared simplifications they can skew or distort perceptions of complex problems, thereby

creating a threat to effective policy development and implementation (National Research

Center, 1981). A more critical review of complex issues may result in deeper insights.

Using Prohibition as an example, Okrent (2010) documented the rise and fall of

Prohibition and concluded that while "In almost every respect imaginable, Prohibition

was a failure" (p.373), there was one central and undeniable positive outcome associated

with Prohibition – Americans consumed significantly less. Per capita adult consumption

of alcohol was reduced by more than 70% during the prohibition years and even after

repeal pre-Prohibition levels of alcohol consumption was not attained again until 1973

(Okrent, 2010).

Dowdall (2009) argues for the importance of understand the complexities of individual campus cultures to avoid the illusion that student binge drinking can be simplified as a single problem.

Span of Cultural Influences

While this literature review focuses on excessive drinking in the higher education context, behavior at colleges and universities is influenced by the shared culture of the larger society and so it is important to simultaneously consider culture through a more expansive lens. In its special report to the U.S. Congress the NIAAA (2000) reported that alcohol problems continued "to impose a staggering burden on our nation" (p. ix) while noting the normative nature of alcohol consumption as a common and well entrenched activity (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2008). It is self-evident that collective U.S. culture, as it relates to attitudes, beliefs, and values about excessive drinking, would influence college and university culture. Dowdall (2009) cites the release of the 1978 movie *Animal House* as a key event in popular culture that altered perception about college drinking norms. Messages reinforcing excessive college drinking as a harmless norm have subsequently been released in countless movies, television shows and music videos.

The ability to influence cultural change across higher education can be diminished when leadership is in conflict about beliefs, expectations and values related to student drinking. Kotter (1996) states the importance of creating a sense of urgency, developing a vision and strategy for change, and communicating that vision as three critically important stages in leading transformative change. Despite the evidence related to the consequences of excessive college student drinking, among higher education leaders

there is some evidence of conflicting beliefs about how to effect change in college student drinking behaviors. Through the "Amethyst Initiative" (Amethyst Initiative, n.d.) one hundred and thirty-six campus presidents and chancellors have questioned and invited debate on the effectiveness of the 21-year old minimum drinking age (Amethyst Initiative, n.d.). This initiative holds that current excessive student drinking is the result of flawed national policies and past governmental approaches to control alcohol. The founder of the Amethyst Initiative, President Emeritus John M. McCardell Jr. of Middlebury College, also founded "Choose Responsibility", an organization calling for lowering the Minimum Legal Drinking Age to 18 and other sweeping changes to alcohol control policies (Choose Responsibility, n.d.). While Choose Responsibility suggests that students in other countries are subjected to far lower risks related to drinking, the World Health Organization (2011) reported that no clear trend has emerged among member nations regarding minimum drinking age laws or controls on distribution with a number of nations "experimenting with both leniency and restrictiveness" (p.53) and that the abuse of alcohol impacts humans spanning all national and geographic boundaries (World Health Organization, 2011). The Amethyst Initiative reflects cultural uncertainty about how to best respond to the problem of excessive drinking on U.S. college campuses. In the absence of a shared set of beliefs and values held by high ranking higher education leaders, it would follow that a program that broadly imposed alcohol policies, such as a federal college alcohol policy, would have a low probability of successful implementation given the multiple decision points and clearances required to implement such a program (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973).

Social norms. The literature includes a significant number of reports on influencing campus drinking culture through the use of social norm marketing approaches (Haines, Perkins, Rice & Barker, 2005; Scribner, Theall, Mason, Simonsen, Schneider, Towvim & DeJong, 2011; Turner, Perkins & Bauerle, 2008). Social norm marketing is a prevention strategy embraced by many higher education leaders which evolved from the work of Perkins and Berkowitz (1986). Perkins and Berkowitz (1986) noted that students generally overestimated the frequency and quantity of drinking by their peers and tended to believe that their peers' attitude about substance use was more permissive than their own. Social norms marketing campaigns use the rationale that as students' perceptions of their peers' drinking behavior becomes more accurate, the actual rate of excessive student drinking in the population will decline (Haines et al., 2005). King (2007) reported that resident assistants (RAs), like other students, tended to overestimate student actual alcohol use and attitudes. Further studies are needed to consider whether there is benefit of using social norms approaches to train RAs given their important role as campus alcohol policy implementation agents. Although evidence on the effectiveness of social norm marketing is still inconclusive (Clapp, Lange, Russell, Shillington, & Voas, 2003; DeJong, Schneider, Towvim, Murphy, Doerr, Simonsen, Mason & Scribner, 2009; Nelson et al., 2010; Scribner, Theall, Mason, Simonsen, Schneider, Towvim & DeJong, 2011) researchers continue to investigate how social norms can influence excessive student drinking (DeJong, Schneider, Tovim, Murphy, Doerr, Simonsen, Mason & Scribner, 2006; NIAAA, 2002; Saltz, 2004; Turner, Perkins & Bauerle, 2008; Ziemelis, Bucknam & Elfessi, 2002). While campus-wide social norms marketing campaigns have been identified as an environmental-level strategy with a

lower level of effectiveness (NIAAA, 2015), the use of norms in personalized normative feedback is cited as a high effectiveness – low cost strategy.

Context, Sub-Cultures, and Other Variations in Excessive Student Drinking

The literature demonstrates that excessive college student drinking varies with context, within sub-cultures of the academic community, and along other lines including demographic and identity groupings. The literature related to these issues will be examined in this section.

Geography. Geographic context is pertinent to examination of problems related to excessive drinking, with variation evident across geographic regions (Nelson et al., 2005; Saltz, 2004; SAMHSA, 2010). Nelson et al. (2005) reported drinking rates differed by geographic region and that college student binge drinking rates were strongly correlated with the adult binge drinking rate and alcohol-control policies of the state in which the college was located. This suggests that student behavior is influenced by the culture shared in the geographic region in which the institution is located. The study also examined each state's alcohol-control policies and state law enforcement ratings - as assigned by the organization Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) - and found that these state ratings were also correlated with each state's college binge drinking rates.

Place and type of college residence. Place and type of college residence is another factor associated with excessive college student drinking, with resident students at higher risk for heavy drinking behavior (Sharmer, 2005; Wechsler, Dowdall, Davenport & Rimm, 1995). Higher levels of drinking were also found to be associated with specific types of on-campus housing (Sharmer, 2005). In a study of the prevalence of drinking games, defined as games played by students with intent to drink, and which

often have an objective of drinking large quantities of alcohol in a relatively short amount of time, Sharmer (2005) found that resident students: (a) who lived in multiple occupancy rooms of at least three students were significantly more likely to participate in drinking games, (b) who lived in double occupancy rooms or off campus with other students were four times more likely to participate in drinking games, and (c) who lived in on-campus suites were nearly ten times more likely to participate in drinking games when compared to students who lived in single occupancy rooms or with family. These findings are pertinent to campus planners, student affairs administrators, and campus governance members involved in campus housing design or determining room assignment policies and guidelines.

Identity and demographic groupings. Binge drinking rates also vary by demographic and identity groupings. The literature on the influence of gender is inconclusive. A study by Weitzman, Nelson, and Wechsler, (2003) found that male college students engaged in binge drinking at twice the rate of female students. Similarly, male college students were found to engage in 6 or more binges during a two week period at more than twice the rate of female students - though both had similar drinking rates during the past 30 day period (Core Institute, 2014). Contrary to these findings the National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University found that male and female college students were equally likely to engage in a drinking binge on a given occurrence (CASA, 2007). Regarding racial/ethnic variance in excessive drinking Wechsler et al. (1998) found white students (46.8%) reported the highest binge drinking rate followed by Hispanic students (37.6%), Asian/Pacific Islander students (24.9%) and black/African American students (18.3%). A CASA study (2007)

found that white students drank more frequently, in greater quantity and were approximately five times more likely to binge drink than their black counterparts. Other student groups displaying higher binge drinking rates include competitive student athletes, and fraternity and sorority members (CASA, 2007; Wechsler, Dowdall, Davenport & Rimm, 1995).

Policy Implementation

This area of literature examines policy implementation. Examination of this area of literature is important because attaining desired policy outcomes is dependent upon successful implementation. Policy enforcement actions are an important extension of implementation and are examined as well. Because successful policy implementation is influenced by how carefully considered, and clearly written, policies emerge this section also explores the relationship between policy development and implementation.

Literature on policy implementation explores how the objectives of a policy are executed. In a broad sense, implementation can be viewed as what occurs between the time a policy is enacted and when expected outcomes associated with the policy are realized (Fermen, 1990). Similarly, Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) define implementation as "the ability to forge subsequent links in the causal chain so as to obtain the desired results" (p.xv). O'Toole (2000) similarly defined implementation as "what develops between the establishment of an apparent intention on the part of government to do something, or to stop doing something, and the ultimate impact in the world of action" (p.266).

Policy implementation examines factors that aid or constrain the fulfillment of policy objectives and include: (a) the use of inducements and sanctions to integrate a policy, (b) the degree of clarity provided in prioritizing policy objectives, (c) the role of media, (d) the degree to which the implementation process is structured into the policy, (e) the range of behavior being regulated, and (f) the extent of change expected in the behavior of those responsible for abiding by the policy (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980). Speaking about the many challenges of implementation, Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) note that "the apparently simple and straightforward is really complex and convoluted" (p.93). While policy implementation is a developing field of study and Saetren (2005) noted that researchers were not yet close to a well-developed theory of policy implementation, numerous educational policy issues have been researched by scholars. This research has resulted in the development of (a) top-down, (b) bottom-up, and (c) contingency orientation models of implementation while contributing to the ongoing development and refinement in the study of policy implementation (Saetren, 2005). Because few studies examine the role of policy implementation specific to college alcohol-control policies, examination of policy implementation may provide valuable insights and inform leaders' understanding of factors related to effective implementation.

Orientations to Policy Implementation

Higher education policy makers and leaders can benefit from understanding how orientations to policy implementation differ and influence policy outcomes. One orientation to policy implementation researched is referred to as the *top-down orientation*; this approach was reported on by policy scholars including Mazmanian,

Sabatier, Nakamura, and Berman (deLeon & deLeon, 2002). In a top-down orientation to implementation, the policy identifies the policy problem objectives and goes on to also provide clear structure to guide the implementation process (Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983). At the same time, involved agencies are allowed to determine local operating procedures, set protocols, assess impact, and adjust responses as appropriate (Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983).

In contrast, a *bottom-up orientation* to policy implementation is based on the assumption that implementation is more likely to be successful if those impacted by the policy are engaged in its development and implementation (deLeon & deLeon, 2002). Considered a more democratic approach to policy implementation, bottom-up orientations to implementation were favored by policy implementation researchers including Lipsky, Hjern and Hull (deLeon & deLeon, 2002; Sabatier, 1986).

The third approach to implementation developed by policy implementation researchers, the *contingency model orientation,* reconciled the debate on top-down vs. bottom-up orientations by creating a model which prioritized situational factors in determining the implementation orientation (deLeon & deLeon, 2002).

In the higher education context the implementation orientation of a specific policy may be influenced by campus culture, the social and political context, and the construct and nature of the policy. On campuses where students, faculty and staff are well represented and involved in campus shared governance systems, for example, a bottom-up orientation to policy implementation may be consistent with campus culture and best serve attainment of policy goals. In situations where members of the community share strong values and beliefs about the policy problem and actions, and where speed in

implementation is important, a top-down orientation may be identified as the desirable

orientation. In contrast, if circumstances surrounding the policy problem are complex,

use of a contingency theory orientation, such as Matland's ambiguity-conflict model

(Matland, 1995) may be optimal.

Policy Development and Implementation Actions

Examination of implementation is incomplete without consideration of the

relationship between implementation and policy development. While there are reasons to

maintain distinction between policy development and policy implementation - most

notably the goal of division of authority between policymakers and administrative agents

- the relationship is a factor that can influence the attainment of desired policy outcomes.

Specifically, the coordination of policy development with implementation can allow for

modifications during implementation to respond to unforeseen challenges or changing

conditions (Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983). The degree to which a policy is clear and

mitigates ambiguity can be a key factor impacting policy implementation actions

(Matland, 1995; Sabatier, 1986). Matland (1995) notes two primary sources of policy

ambiguity, *ambiguity of goals,* and *ambiguity of means*. The reduction of policy

ambiguity is important to successful policy implementation because it helps designated

implementation agents share the same vision as the original policy makers in

operationalizing a policy, and can help avoid conflict inherent in efforts to interpret and

execute the policy as intended (deLeon & deLeon, 2002). Stone (2002), however, notes

that "an unattainable goal is perfectly precise rule" (p.293) and notes that as rules are

written "pressures create a tendency toward vagueness" (p.296). Policy implementation

failure can also be due to ill-conceived implementation processes, or distortions in

communications (deLeon & deLeon, 2002). In either case, clarity in defining policy goals during the development of policy can mitigate ambiguity during implementation.

A study of a system-wide alcohol policy by Knight et al. (2003), found that public institutions varied substantially in the level to which they implemented and enforced their common policy, causing concern about the alignment of policy goals and implementation. Review of implementation practices related to college alcohol control policies, therefore, should consider both the level of ambiguity associated with the policy and alignment with policy goals.

Without clear guidance built into the development of policy, the adaptations which occur during implementation may undermine the distinction between policy formulation and implementation (Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983). Despite common federal requirements addressing campus alcohol issues mandated through the Safe and Drug Free Schools Act (as cited in Dowdall, 2009), and overwhelming literature on the negative consequences of excessive drinking, a study by Mitchell, Toomey and Erickson (2005) concluded that college campuses varied widely in their stated alcohol policies and were often inconsistent in communicating campus policies. A study by Wechsler, Kelley, Weitzman, San Giovanni and Seibring (2000a) also found wide variations in college alcohol prevention and programming interventions, highlighting the need for policy specificity.

Schrad (2007) strongly recommends that leaders and policymakers remain cognizant of policy history in developing social policies designed to prioritize health and well-being. The history of the Volstead Act illustrates the importance of the critical link between policy development and implementation. Although federal policy seemed to

reflect popular demand and public sentiment, the 18th amendment was developed with a general level of understanding, disregarded the wide range of variations in "dry" states, and failed to address implementation in light of the multitude of state administration methods and structures (Fosdick & Scott, 1933). Shared simplifications can occur in democratic societies when political dialogue fails to support very complex or novel ideas and too little time is invested in attending to diverse positions and developing a shared view (National Research Council, 1981). This example highlights how implementation is compromised when policies are overly ambiguous (Matland, 1995; Sabatier, 1986) or do not consider the impact on implementation.

Policy Implementation Considerations

The literature on policy implementation may inform practices related to college alcohol policy. Use of effective communication in conveying policy objectives and structure is critical to the successful implementation of policy based initiatives for reducing student drinking (Harris et al., 2010; Knight et al., 2003; Newman, Shell, Major, & Workman, 2006). To effect change in policy outcomes implementation agents must engage in a significant sense-making process to interpret the meaning embedded in policies (Spillane, Reiser & Reimer, 2002). Implementation agents construct ideas related to the intent of the policy, communicate their interpretation to other implementation agents, and reflect these interpretations in implementation actions. Over time this process may result in altered meaning being attached to the policy. This is significant because misunderstanding or misinterpretation of a policy, or its intent, can result in policy implementation failure, or evolution of implementation practices

representing a departure from the policy's original intent (Spillane, Reiser & Reimer, 2002).

Implementation actions identified by Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980) could be used by higher education leaders planning or evaluating implementation of college alcohol policies. These actions include: (a) assessment of the factors which aid or constrain fulfillment of policy objectives, (b) the use of inducements and sanctions, (c) the degree of clarity provided in prioritizing policy objectives, (d) the role of media attention, (e) the degree to which the implementation process is structured into the policy, (f) the range of behavior being regulated, and (g) the extent of change expected of those responsible for abiding by the policy (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980). Other factors Sabatier (1986) cited as critical to successful policy implementation are the involvement of committed and skilled implementing officials, the support of key interest groups, and political support, and enough socio-economic stability to maintain political support.

Policy-related interpretive decisions identified during the implementation process ultimately need to be legitimized through the consent of service providers and the population targeted by the policy (deLeon & deLeon, 2002; Matland, 1995). The concept of administrative legitimacy recognizes that every law or rule requires interpretation, and that these interpretations must have the general support of the governed (deLeon & deLeon, 2002). Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983) cite the support of constituency groups as one of six conditions associated with effective implementation. In the higher education context this means that students must in some way consent to alcohol-control policy decisions. Fosdick and Scott's seminal report on alcohol control policies (1933) similarly emphasized the importance of understanding the community when making

laws, noting that "intelligent lawmaking rests on the knowledge or estimate of what will be obeyed" (p.5). This observation remains philosophically relevant to policy development and planning associated implementation and enforcement actions.

The large U.S. alcohol industry, with annual sales estimated at $115 billion dollars annually, plays a major role in shaping public policy (Dowdall, 2009). Mosher (2002) examined the influence of the alcohol industry's powerful marketing strategies and noted that marketing in college communities is especially aggressive and associated with underage college student binge drinking. The NIAAA (2002) has also cited alcohol industry marketing as contributors to the problematic college drinking culture.

Evaluation of Implementation Actions

Evaluation of practices and programs is of paramount importance to successful implementation (deLeon & deLeon, 2002). Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983) included a feedback mechanism in their conceptual framework for the implementation process to inform future revisions in the policy. In addition, because implementation practices can result in unanticipated outcomes (Gerson, Allard, & Towvim, 2005) timely evaluation may yield feedback to guide corrective changes. Evaluation should begin with the policy problem and continue through examination of the implementation strategies employed by the various agents interpreting the policy (Sabatier, 1986). In order to determine the effectiveness of efforts to reduce student binge drinking Wechsler et al. (2000a) cited the need for comprehensive evaluation. As additional research becomes available there is an important need to disseminate this information as a standard component of policy implementation efforts (Mosher, 2007). Matland (1995) argued that policy implementation success can be defined in different ways, including: (a) as a measure of

the degree to which the policy maker's expectations are met, (b) as a measure of the general changes realized through the policy implementation process, (c) as a measure of agency compliance with policy objectives, or (d) as a measure of improved political climate. Matland goes on to caution that defining implementation success can become deceptively challenging.

Policy Enforcement as an Implementation Action

Enforcement is an implementation action that may influence the attainment of policy goals. Stone (2002) noted that an enforcement mechanism is a required action in the implementation of policies related to citizen's rights. Policy enforcement topics addressed in the literature include commitment to policy enforcement, the influence of enforcement in promoting policy compliance, and policy violation deterrence. Literature specific to enforcement actions in the higher education context examines the role of college disciplinary systems, the influence of sanctions on student behavior, federal requirements related to excessive college drinking, and campus environmental management strategies.

Influence of Enforcement and Sanctions

Enforcement mechanisms are required to preserve rights afforded through policy making (Stone, 2002). Enforcement of policies can result in the imposition of sanctions, which are negative consequences assigned for behavior contrary to policy and which are designed to discourage such behavior through negative incentives (Kraft & Furlong, 2007). Wechsler et al. (2003) reported strong enforcement of comprehensive policies was associated with decreased young adult drinking and driving rates. A longitudinal

case study of increased enforcement practices at Syracuse University by Bergen-Cico,

Urtz and Barreto (2004) reported a significant decrease in on-campus policy violations

and a 53% reduction in emergency medical interventions over a four year period. One

initiative associated with the Syracuse program established the neighborhood safety

patrol, a program that resulted in closer monitoring of student behavior and a decrease in

drinking related parties in off campus residential areas (Bergen-Cico, Urtz & Barreto,

2004). A study by Knight et al. (2003) examined enforcement of a state system-wide

alcohol policy at public colleges and universities in one state and concluded that strict

alcohol policy enforcement practices may be influential in reducing excessive student

drinking. That study further recommended training and support for those "on the front

lines of enforcement" (p.702) including campus security and residence hall staff

members. A follow up study by Harris et al. (2010) on that state system similarly found

that stricter enforcement of institutional alcohol policies was strongly associated with

decreases in heavy student drinking. Further, consistent stricter enforcement over time

was associated with additional incremental decreases in heavy drinking. These results

may reflect changes in student perceptions and behavior resulting in fewer students

initiating heavy drinking in college or perceiving excessive drinking as a normal

occurrence. Importantly, the effect was most pronounced on underage students who are at

particularly high risk for negative consequences of excessive drinking (U.S. Department

of Health and Human Services, 2007).

The literature also included some arguments against stricter enforcement of

college alcohol policies. Chesbrough (2011) voiced concerns that stricter enforcement

simply creates an invisible "do as I say, and as they do" (p. 2) drinking culture where

students learn how to avoid drawing attention to enforcement while continuing the dangerous drinking norms set by peers. Lewis and Thombs (2005) warned that enforcement and sanctions alone did not represent an adequate response to excessive drinking based on their study of a large Midwestern university which reported that the perceived drinking norms of closest friends, and not sanctions, were the strongest predictor of alcohol involvement.

Deterrent effect. The literature includes reports and studies on enforcement related deterrence effects and policy compliance. Lewis and Thombs (2005) reported that typical campus law enforcement efforts may not deter student involvement with alcohol, and students reported low levels of perceived risk of experiencing alcohol-related law enforcement involvement. Bertelli and Richardson (2008) examined the deterrence effects associated with laws, the perceived likelihood of being arrested, actual enforcement rates, and support for goals of drinking and driving laws in a study on the behavioral impact of drinking and driving laws. This study reported that the perceived likelihood of enforcement (arrest), as well as individual support for the goals of drinking and driving laws, influenced nearly all respondents. The existence of laws alone, however, influenced only those individuals least likely to drive under the influence of alcohol. Actual enforcement rates had no significant impact on behavior. Thus, the two key factors in promoting policy compliance identified were: (a) perceptions that policies are being consistently enforced and (b) public support for policies. These findings are consistent with the writings of Stone (2002) who noted that rules are powerful because followers believe in their legitimacy, and that cases involving rule infractions should be treated alike. In the higher education context, Kompalla, McCarthy and Cain (2001)

found that there was no difference in assigning active sanctions versus passive sanctions in influence on either student retention or campus judicial system recidivism – the actual enforcement and sanctions did not influence future behavior.

Theories of deterrence of criminal behavior also provide a useful lens to consider excessive student drinking. The marginal offender deterrent effect hypothesis (Wright, Caspi, Moffitt & Paternoster, 2004) suggests that there is no deterrent effect felt by those individuals least likely, and most likely to commit criminal acts. Those at the low end are socialized to avoid criminal behavior while those at the high end may disregard or discount any consideration of the future consequences of his or her actions. According to this framework, deterrence effects will be effective only with the midrange of the population. Thus, a non-drinking student may have strong moral reasons for not drinking and doesn't need to experience a deterrent to continue a life of abstinence. At the other end of the spectrum, a student diagnosed with alcohol dependence will likely consume alcohol and experience negative consequences regardless of the availability of campus alcohol-free programs or educational speakers present on campus. Efforts to identify effective deterrents should focus, then, on the balance of the population who may have an average risk of alcohol involvement.

Policy support. Support for policy goals is an important factor which promotes policy compliance. In an empirical study of 32 colleges and universities by DeJong, Towvim and Schneider (2007), students at all institutions supported stricter disciplinary sanctions for violation of policies prohibiting alcohol-related violence and for individuals who violate institutional alcohol policies repeatedly. In a study of alcohol policy enforcement Knight et al. (2003) reported that only 21.3% of student respondents

45

believed that their campus alcohol policy was too strict. These findings are consistent with bottom-up orientation to policy implementation which hypothesizes successful implementation is related to investment in policy goals (deLeon & deLeon, 2002).

Commitment to Policy Enforcement

The commitment of those assigned to enforce a policy is an important factor which influences successful policy implementation and enforcement efforts (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980). There is little evidence in the literature documenting the commitment of: (a) campus security and residence life staff members, (b) student conduct officers responding to student behavior in violation of institutional alcohol policies, (c) state level governing boards, (d) institutional trustees, or (e) university presidents and executive staff in responding to the serious consequences associated with excessive student drinking through enforcement actions. Accordingly, there is a need to examine and report on how commitment to enforcement actions might influence implementation and alcohol policy efficacy.

Stone (2002) notes that rules are often designed to be both precise and flexible. Flexibility in enforcement, however, may threaten the likelihood of like cases being treated alike. Stone notes that precision in rules removes the room for vagueness. Enforcement policies which include mandatory enforcement responses or sanctions remove discretion from the consequence while also representing a choice about who makes decisions (Stone, 2002). Thus, zero tolerance policies allow policy makers to exert more control over outcomes. Hingson (1998) reported that zero tolerance policies contributed to reduction in college student DUI incidents and represented a promising

prevention practice. Blumenson and Nilsen (2003) argue, however, that the overall

effects of zero tolerance policies have been detrimental.

One possible indicator of a low level of institutional commitment to policy

enforcement is low student awareness of institutional alcohol policies since this may be

evidence of nonexistent or infrequent enforcement (Harris et al., 2010). A potential

barrier to enforcement commitment is perception of student opposition (DeJong, Towvim

& Schneider, 2007). Several studies, however, show significant student support for strict

enforcement of policies regulating certain problematic alcohol-related behaviors

(DeJong, Towvim & Schneider, 2007; Knight et al., 2003; Lavigne et al., 2008) and

dissemination of these research findings may impact student beliefs as well as increase

staff commitment to enforcement.

Knight et al. (2003) reported that, in general, student's perception of alcohol

policy enforcement has a strong positive association with their personal drinking patterns.

Women were found to be more supportive of alcohol control policies while men, heavy

drinkers, and Greek community members were generally less supportive of alcohol

policies (Lavigne et al., 2008). Resident assistants' perceptions of student alcohol use

and attitudes were found to be more accurate than other students' perceptions (King,

2007). To avoid policy changes based on faulty estimates of student support, campus

administrators may be well served to survey students rather than forming general

impressions or succumbing to vocal opponents of certain policies (DeJong, Towvim &

Schneider, 2007; Lavigne, 2008).

Commitment to enforcement was associated with lower rates of excessive

drinking in several studies (Bergen-Cico, Urtz & Barreto, 2004; Harris et al., 2010;

Knight et al., 2003; Newman et al., 2006). In a case study of environmental management and enforcement strategies Bergen, Cico, Urtz and Barreto (2004) reported an example of commitment to a comprehensive plan addressing on-campus and off-campus student drinking behavior. This comprehensive plan included reorganization of the university's judicial system, implementation of standard alcohol policy sanctions, creation of a neighborhood safety patrol, adoption of a parental notification program, use of technology to create database programs for judicial case management and sanction compliance, enforcement of policies and laws on and off campus, prompt processing of campus judicial cases, and timely collection and reporting of data required by federal regulations. Knight et al. (2003) created a framework to assess policy enforcement by measuring student-reported experiences with enforcement practices including: being part of a drinking group which was asked to be less disruptive; being present at a party that was shut down because of alcohol; being asked to present ID at a Greek event; receiving a warning; being required to attend alcohol education or treatment programs; being assigned fines, probation, or community service; and parent notification. Harris et al. (2010) concluded that "a unified stance among college administrators of aggressive policy enforcement…may help to set a tone on campus which discourages underage and heavy drinking by students" (p.10). King (2007), however, noted that "much of the responsibility for alcohol policy enforcement is passed from administrators to resident assistants who are present at night when alcohol is consumed." King's findings lead to the question of whether the commitment to alcohol policy enforcement by RAs - key student staff members - is influenced by RA perceptions that other students are more liberal in both their alcohol use and attitudes than they actually reported. Overall, the

commitment and leadership of college and university presidents and trustees is important to prioritize action and show support for the work and commitment of staff members and administrators (CASA, 2007).

Commitment to enforcement is also required of those charged with administering student discipline programs. Review of commitment to campus policy enforcement should include hearing processing time, burden of proof standards, jurisdiction, parent notification processes, proscribed sanctions, and commitment to student learning and the campus learning environment (Bergen-Cico, Urtz & Barreto, 2004; Gehring, 2001; Newman et al., 2005). One measure of evidence of enforcement is the number of cases referred for campus judicial review (Bergen-Cico, Urtz & Barreto, 2004; Newman et al., 2006). This measure should be used cautiously since increases in cases may reflect an increase or decrease in documentation with no associated change in student behavior. In two separate case studies documenting reductions of excessive student drinking, a case study on Syracuse University reported a marked decrease in campus policy violations documented (Bergen-Cico, Urtz & Barreto, 2004) as evidence of success while a case study on the University of Nebraska (Newman et al., 2006) reported a more than two fold increase in campus judicial documentation as evidence of success through significant increase in campus enforcement.

Environment Management Strategies

There is evidence that management of the external environment has been successful in the general population and can be applied to reduce excessive college student drinking (Nelson, et al., 2010). Environmental management strategies have likewise emerged as a favored model for campus based prevention (DeJong and

Langford, 2002; Saltz, Paschall, McGaffigan & Nygaard, 2010; Weitzman, Nelson & Wechsler, 2003). In this approach the implementation and enforcement of campus policies are augmented through campus-community partnerships and coalitions, community policing collaborations, and by addressing business practices which promote heavy or underage drinking (DeJong and Langford, 2002; Weitzman, Nelson & Wechsler, 2003). A number of studies on environmental management strategies have reported promising findings in reducing excessive student drinking consequences (Bergen-Cico, Urtz & Barreto, 2004; Chaloupka &Wechsler, 1996; Evans-Cowley, 2006; Montgomery, Foley & Wolfson, 2006; Wagenaar, Toomey, & Ericson, 2005). Changes in external environment that result in changes in student behavior may influence the campus environment and, eventually, college drinking culture.

Conclusion

This literature review demonstrates the extensive range of negative consequences associated with excessive drinking, providing evidence for prioritization of reduction of excessive college student drinking. In addition to the losses suffered through the deaths of many bright young people, excessive college student drinking behavior disrupts the learning environment, impinges upon academic achievement, contributes to attrition, is associated with immediate and long term health risks, compromises psychological wellbeing, increases mental health risks, and interferes with family and intimate relationships. Enormous economic costs, including direct costs of care and opportunity costs/loss of unrealized potential, are also associated with excessive drinking. For some

college students the negative consequences of excessive drinking may manifest themselves for decades.

It is noteworthy that the literature demonstrates that the negative consequences associated with excessive college student drinking impact non-binge drinking students, in addition to those students engaged in heavy drinking. While past prevention efforts focused on the individual drinker from an addiction/treatment paradigm, excessive student drinking has more recently been framed as a broader social problem given the range of consequences stemming from excessive college student drinking (Dowdall, 2010). Given the abundance of literature documenting overwhelming negative consequences associated with excessive college student drinking there is much to be gained by reducing or mitigating heavy alcohol use. The literature suggests that the magnitude of these consequences would signal addressing excessive student drinking as a problem deserving high priority.

Culture can conceptualized to include shared ideas, beliefs, expectations, values, attitudes, and assumptions (Bess & Dee, 2008). The literature demonstrates that excessive college student drinking behavior, as well as drinking behavior in the larger society, is deeply rooted and anchored in culture. Because cultural norms may vary among individual social systems, generalizations of seemingly like social systems (e.g. small private colleges) may inaccurately reflect the culture of any one social system. Among college students excessive drinking rates vary by geographic region, place of residence, fraternity or sorority membership, participation in athletics, gender, nationality, race, and ethnicity. Thus, the reported excessive drinking rates at any single

college or university is an aggregate representation of several distinct social systems within the institution. Analysis of the literature suggests that culture and context are significant in understanding the complexities of excessive student drinking.

Review of literature illustrates how cultural complexity influences the problem of excessive college student drinking (Dowdall, 2009; NIAAA, 2002). Failure to create a shared vision and attend to diverse and complex conditions and beliefs in policy development can undermine policy implementation, as evidenced by the U.S. experience with Prohibition in the early 20th century. While there is merit to democratic governance based on common understandings, shared simplifications can skew or distort perceptions of complex problems (National Research Council, 1981). Complex problems can be overly simplified when policies are developed with attention only to certain outcomes (e.g. reducing drunk driving), or when only certain causal factors (e.g. treatment of alcoholism) are prioritized (National Research Council, 1981). Application of overly simplified conceptions of alcohol problems creates a threat to effective policy development and implementation (National Research Center, 1981). To avoid the problems associated with simplified conceptions Dowdall (2009) stresses the importance of "probing behind the facade of consensus" (p.x) to contrast "the image of a single national higher education problem with the reality that drinking varies enormously across campuses" (p.x). Thoughtful and clear policy development serves as a prerequisite for successful implementation and enforcement practices which, in turn, influence the successful attainment of policy goals.

Policy implementation actions can originate through top down, bottom up, or contingency based approaches to implementation. Regardless of the approach, policy implementation is more likely to be successful when policy goals are clear and ambiguity is minimized. Implementation success is also associated with effective communication, commitment by involved and skilled individuals responsible for implementation actions, committed political and interest group support, and with political stability relative to the policy issue. Since successful implementation depends upon effective communication to aid sense-making, as well as the involvement of implementation agents, it appears beneficial to represent implementation factors and agents at the policy development phase (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980; Spillane, Reiser & Reimer, 2002) and for ongoing implementation to be aided by designed feedback mechanisms in the policy framework (Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983).

The attainment of policy outcomes is influenced by the commitment of implementation agents and their utilization of available implementation actions, including enforcement. Implementation agents, like others in the shared social system, are influenced by the prevailing culture and their interpretations of policy meaning and decisions regarding implementation actions may reflect cultural values. Institutional commitment to alcohol policy goals, therefore, reflects the commitment of various implementation agents and may be a significant factor in changing student behavior. Similarly, a theme in the literature highlights support for policies by the population the policy is imposed upon as an important factor that may influence attainment of policy outcomes (Fosdick & Scott, 1933; deLeon & deLeon, 2002; DeJong, Towvim &

Schneider, 2007; Bertelli & Richardson, 2008). The literature also demonstrated that enforcement action variables influencing the widest range of individuals include support for policy goals and the likelihood of being confronted for a policy infraction. Implementation may be conceptualized to include both initial and on-going actions aimed at the attainment of policy goals and requires the commitment of implementation agents.

Areas for Further Research

This review of the literature has several implications for future research. Many reports on the consequences of college student binge drinking have utilized data collected through large multiple-institution national surveys including the Harvard School of Public Health's College Alcohol Study (Wechsler & Nelson, 2008), the Core Institute Alcohol and Drug Survey (Core Institute, 2014), and the Monitoring the Future study (Monitoring the Future, 2017). While numerous studies have taken advantage of this wealth of data, the resulting literature lacks sufficient detail to assess the impact of ongoing implementation on the attainment of policy goals at the individual campus social system level. Additionally, little attention has been paid to understanding how campus cultures and sub-cultures, support for campus alcohol policies, and commitment to attaining policy goals impacts on-going implementation of college alcohol control policies. Greater understanding of policy implementation may enhance the ability of higher education leaders to tailor prevention efforts to the unique context and culture of the individual campus, a factor Dowdall (2009) cited as a possible key in addressing excessive student drinking as a social problem.

Understanding excessive student drinking behavior also demands consideration of many complex factors anchored in campus culture. Many responses to college student

drinking represent simplification of issues and perpetuate "one size fits all" solutions. While there have been prominent calls for changing the campus drinking culture (NIAAA, 2002), and models exist to examine culture (Martin, 1992; Schein, 1992; Tierney, 1988), there is a need to examine how multiple theoretical perspectives on culture may be employed to inform policy implementation actions, increase commitment to policy objectives, and examine campus alcohol policy effectiveness.

There is little in the literature informing the ways that implementation actions influence excessive student drinking outcomes. Research further clarifying the influence of policy development and economic, political, and social contexts on alcohol policy implementation would add to the literature on prevention of excessive college student drinking. The literature would be further enhanced by research on commitment to attainment of policy goals by policy makers and implementation agents. Finally, there is also a void in the literature on how alignment between policy development and ongoing implementation actions can be best leveraged to successfully attain campus alcohol policy goals.

The complexities of alcohol policy development demand that policy makers attend to diverse conditions and beliefs in the social system and its sub-systems in developing policy. Policy actions are more likely to be elevated to the agenda for action when saliency for the policy issue - in this case excessive college student drinking – is high, such as following a focusing event or crisis (Kraft & Furlong, 2007). This suggests that policy making is a response to the current climate. The literature is void of studies on the effectiveness of alcohol policy in reducing excessive student drinking and influencing the individual campus culture over relatively longer periods. Questions of

how commitment to implementation is impacted when saliency for the policy declines and whether policy outcomes influence campus culture over time are important questions for future research.

Excessive student drinking behavior is accompanied by complex cultural factors and agents charged with implementing policy must resist shared simplifications and examine the complexities of individual campus drinking cultures. Study of implementation decisions and actions, student support for policy, leadership initiatives, feedback mechanisms, and commitment to policy goals can be utilized to inform and support ongoing implementation actions and further policy development. A more comprehensive understanding of how alcohol control policy and ongoing implementation actions influence excessive student drinking over longer periods of time may help identify strategies to facilitate changes in student drinking cultures and help ameliorate or reduce problematic student drinking behaviors at the individual campus level. Future research in this area will require rich and detailed data to illuminate the complexities of implementation processes and the individual campus drinking culture. Existing research must be supplemented and expanded to include rich and thorough descriptive data which emerge from individual social systems narratives to better understand the attainment of policy goals through campus alcohol policy implementation.

Questions that could guide future research include:

1. What are the influences that impact the decisions and actions of policy implementation agents responsible for enacting a campus alcohol policy at the individual campus level?

2. How do shared cultural beliefs and values regarding excessive college student drinking influence alcohol policy implementation and attainment of policy goals on individual campuses?

3. How do policy implementation decisions and actions influence attainment of desired policy outcomes and transformative change in student drinking culture?

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will discuss the methodology of the study and is organized into the following sub-sections: (a) research questions, (b) description of the theoretical and conceptual framework, (c) research design and methods, (d) quantitative first phase of the study, (e) qualitative second phase of the study, and (f) content validity.

Research Questions

This study investigated the influences on staff members - referred to as implementation agents in the context of this study – responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies aimed at reducing excessive college student drinking. More specifically, the study focused on implementation at public universities sharing a state system-wide alcohol policy.

The research project was focused upon the following central question: What are the influences on the decisions and actions of policy implementation agents responsible for enacting campus alcohol-control policies and reducing excessive student drinking in the unique context and culture of the individual campus?

Four sub-questions were identified which helped further guide the research:

1. What level of student support is there for campus alcohol policy compliance and implementation and enforcement actions at individual institutions sharing a system-wide alcohol policy?

2. How are alcohol policy implementation decisions and actions influenced by student support for alcohol-control policy implementation and enforcement actions at institutions sharing a system-wide alcohol policy?

3. How do implementation decisions and actions contribute to, or detract from, efforts to lead transformative change in excessive student drinking at individual institutions sharing a common system-wide alcohol policy?

4. How has commitment to attainment of desired policy outcomes, on-going implementation decisions and actions, and policy development changed since a system-wide alcohol policy was enacted?

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

The research paradigm for this research study was shaped by two sources - the seminal study on implementation by Pressman and Wildavsky (1973), and Kotter's (1996) model for leading transformative organizational change.

Pressman and Wildavsky

Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) examined how a 1966 federal Economic Development Administration program designed to help solve the problems of high unemployment and racial unrest in the city of Oakland, California failed to be effectively implemented and why these failures occurred. In this case $23 million in federal funds

was appropriated to spur economic development leading to the creation of permanent jobs for minorities in Oakland. After three years of effort only $3 million dollars had been invested, a sum that paid for construction and architect fees for a highway overpass to the Oakland Coliseum sports venue. Pressman and Wildavsky studied a case where higher profile self-explanatory reasons for implementation failure, such as political disagreement, lack of funding, or hidden agendas, did not explain the program failure. Involved parties were not engaged in any significant level of conflict, there were no easily identifiable groups or individuals to blame, and the policy goals of the program were easily embraced. Pressman and Wildavsky observed that when programs are not being implemented it may not mean that participants disagree on the ends desired; in some cases implementation failure is the result of the ordinary means required to attain desired ends. The researchers investigated a multitude of factors that influenced program implementation and considered how required clearance points, delays, and other factors might combine to undermine desired policy objectives.

Pressman and Wildavsky conceptualized clearances and delays in the completion of implementation actions as a product of the number of participants who must provide clearance to further the implementation action; the direction – positive or negative – each participant has for their preference on the action, the intensity (high or low) each actor feels for that preference, and the resources the actor can bring to bear to affect the outcome. The combined impact of these factors results in implementation actions facing only the most minimal delay (best case), minor delay, moderate delay or maximum delay (worst case). An actor, for example, with a strong negative preference toward the implementation action, and significant resources to impact the action, may try to block

the action or bargain for substantial changes in exchange for clearance. This scenario would likely result in a maximum delay. Conversely, an actor who shows positive direction for the action with high intensity and high resources will move for clearance immediately, and will create only the most minimal of delay.

In policy implementation, the relationships between participant preference direction, the intensity of the direction, the resources available to the participant, and resulting delay may be conceptualized as follows:

Figure 1.

Implementation Action Delay Model

Direction	Intensity	Resources	Delay
Positive	High	Strong	
			Minimal Delay
			Maximum Delay
			Moderate Delay
			Minor Delay
Negative	Low	Weak	
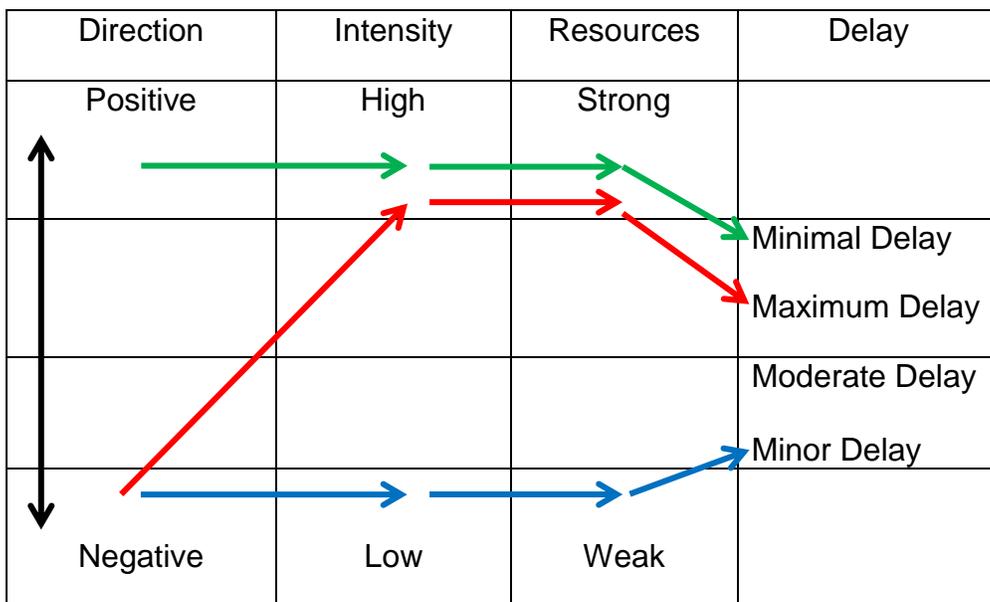
Few higher education leaders would state opposition to college alcohol policy goals – preventing harm to students, enhancing student learning, preserving capital assets, and improving retention and persistence to degree completion. Yet, similar to the case study analyzed by Pressman and Wildavsky, the research questions in this study may be more deeply understood by considering how "perfectly ordinary circumstances [can]

present serious obstacles to implementation" (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973, p. xii) while better understanding the importance of the relationship between policy design and implementation.

This research study examined implementation at two institutions sharing a common state system-wide alcohol policy. Similar to the economic development case analyzed by Pressman and Wildavsky (1973), the system-wide alcohol policy had to traverse multiple clearances to its implementation on each campus. While the structures, leadership, and cultures varied between the two campuses, this process assured that the two institutions selected for this study implemented the state-wide policy through a comparable process and in a similar timeframe. The model is also useful in assessing policy implementation at the individual institution level. As policies evolve, the ongoing implementation of alcohol control policies continue to be subject to clearance points, delays, and other factors with the potential of undermining policy implementation.

Kotter's Framework for Leading Change

John Kotter spent 15 years studying change initiatives in organizations prior to gaining widespread recognition as a thought leader in business and organizational change (Kotter, 1996). Kotter focused his scholarly studies on leadership and effecting transformative change and developed a framework featuring an eight-stage process for leading transformative change. The elements within this framework include: (a) establishing a sense of urgency, (b) creating the guiding coalition, (c) developing a vision and strategy, (d) communicating the change vision, (e) empowering employees for broad-based action, (f) generating short-term wins, (g) consolidating gains and producing more

change, and (h) anchoring new approaches in the culture. The sequential order of the

elements is illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2.

Kotter's Eight-Stage Process for Leading Change

1	•Establishing a Sense of Urgency
2	•Creating the Guiding Coalition
3	•Developing a Vision and Strategy
4	•Communicating the Change Vision
5	•Empowering Employees for Broad-Based Action
6	•Generating Short-Term Wins
7	•Consolidating Gains and Producing More Change
8	•Anchoring New Approaches in the Culture
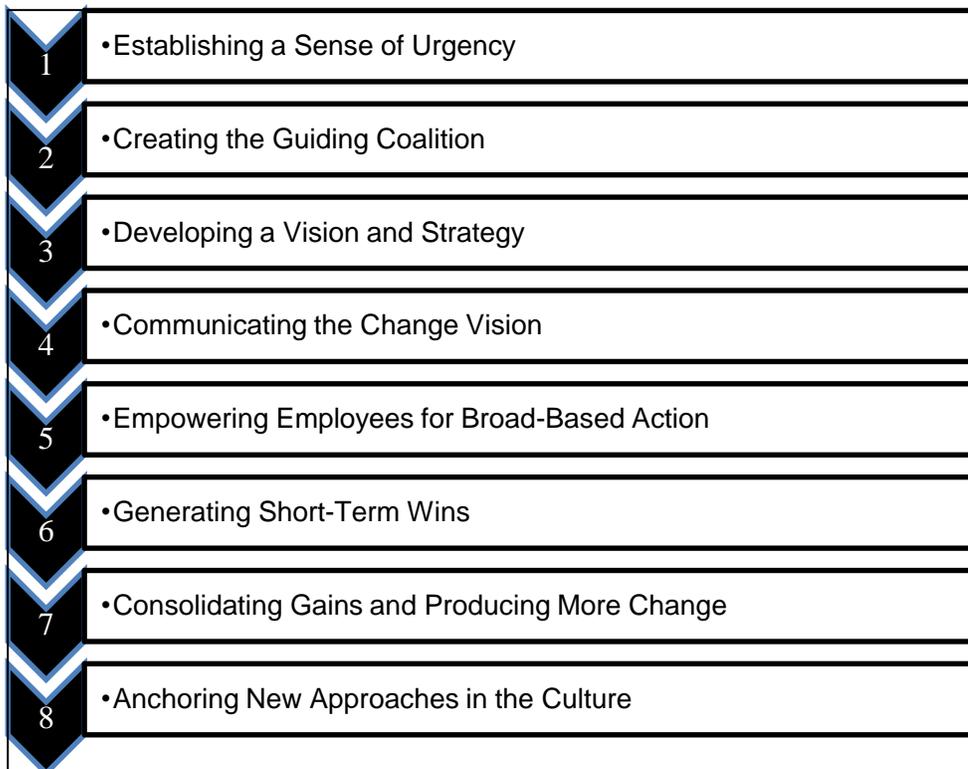
Kotter's model for effecting change was incorporated into this study's research

paradigm based upon the congruency between the model's elements and important

factors related to implementation highlighted in the literature review. In addition, since

the very nature of implementation is to achieve desired policy outcomes (change) through

implementation actions, Kotter's model for leading transformative change is consistent

with the goals of policy implementation.

Kotter's first stage, establishing a sense of urgency, recalls the policy research contributions of Kraft and Furlong (2007) who noted action on policies is more likely when saliency for the policy issue is high. In terms of broad based college alcohol prevention efforts, activation of this stage is very evident in the distribution of the findings from the Harvard School of Public Health's College Alcohol Study. The study's findings were submitted to a very wide range of professional journals to get the attention of a broad audience. Principal investigator Henry Wechsler stated he "wanted the findings to reach all of the stake holders" (H. Wechsler, personal communication, November 13, 2010). More than one million dollars was expended on marketing and public relations with Burness Communications to get the study's research findings covered by national mainstream media (Hoover, 2002). These efforts all served to increase the sense of urgency, consistent with Kotter's first stage. As many college leaders are all too aware, the sense of urgency is often heightened following critical incidents including alcohol-related student deaths. This urgency represents an element which can lead to transformational change depending on what follows that increase in urgency. Delving deeper into the first stage of the framework, Kotter (2008) went on to describe urgency as a sense of pressing importance. He further discussed the relationship between urgency and complacency and noted that change initiatives were influenced when a sufficient number of people in the system felt a true sense of urgency, coupled with a sufficiently low number displaying complacency.

In the second stage of the model, Kotter defines a desirable guiding coalition as one including a variety of individuals who collectively represent positions of power in the organization, expertise, credibility, and leadership working toward the common goals.

Implementation of a campus alcohol policy, similarly, requires shared commitment to attainment of desired policy goals by a variety of university staff members and stakeholders. A desirable campus coalition to implement alcohol policies would include executive level leaders, credible administrators with related expertise such as counselors, health service providers, wellness educators, residence life staff members, campus police supervisors, student conduct administrators and front line staff that interact directly with students and enforce policies – resident assistants, security officers, and campus police officers. The involvement and support of external stakeholders, such as local police, hospitals, emergency response services, town or city officials, landlords, bar and liquor store owners, parents, and alumni can also be beneficial.

In stage three, Kotter describes developing a vision and strategy for change as imaginable, focused, desirable and communicable. This aligns with the literature on policy implementation which espouses the importance of clarity in prioritizing policy objectives (deLeon & deLeon, 2002; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980), and of mitigating ambiguity during the sense-making process undertaken by implementation agents (Spillane, Reiser & Reimer, 2002). The NIAAA report *A Call to Action: Changing Culture at U.S. Colleges* (2002) provides an example of an effort toward developing a vision and strategies for reducing the effects of excessive college student drinking.

In stage four of the framework, communicating the change vision, Kotter states that communication should be clear, utilize multiple forums, be repeated frequently, be led by example, and explicitly address perceived inconsistencies. This description provides a way for individual campuses to measure their progress in alcohol policy implementation actions. In addition, effective communication is essential in gaining the

support of key interest groups (Sabatier, 1986) and assists in interpreting the policy in a manner that will lead to the general support of the governed (deLeon & deLeon, 2002).

In Kotter's fifth stage, empowering employees for broad-based action to effect change, organizational structures are made compatible with the vision, needed training is provided, information and staff are aligned to the vision, and supervisors who undermine needed change are confronted. These same factors are appropriate to seek out in examining policy implementation at higher education institutions sharing a common system-wide alcohol policy. At the campus level this would mean giving students a voice to communicate their support for campus alcohol-control policies, as well as significant roles in campus governance, operations, and in other policy making venues.

In the sixth stage Kotter notes the importance of generating short-term wins that help fine-tune vision strategies, undermine cynics, provide evidence of the value of the change, and, importantly, help build momentum for more change. On the university campus effective implementation actions and continual policy development should provide opportunity for evidence of short term wins and build momentum for change. Similarly, document review and interviews should reveal evidence that the institution has consolidated gains and is producing more change. Conversely, evidence should indicate if implementation agents have let up before goals are attained, if critical momentum is lost, or if there is regression in the attainment of desired policy outcomes. In a successful change effort more change, more involvement in the effort, leadership from executive and senior staff members, and project management and leadership from individuals in lower ranking positions in the organization should be evident in stage seven.

Kotter's eighth stage recognizes that when transformative change is attained it is anchored in organizational culture. Not until this stage are behavioral norms and shared values discernable. Decisions related to leadership succession are critically important to prevent the old culture from reasserting itself.

One manner in which higher education organizations perpetuate cultural values is through the sharing of organizational sagas (Bess & Dee, 2008). These narratives can reveal current staff members' firmly held values. These values can be perpetuated through sharing with new staff members, and, in some cases, they help maintain urgency for producing change.

Research Paradigm

The literature on reducing excessive student drinking has included a prominent call for changing the campus drinking culture (NIAAA, 2002). Over time, auditing the ideas, beliefs, expectations, values, attitudes and assumptions shared by members of the university social system may reveal progress in changing excessive drinking attitudes and behaviors and inform ongoing implementation planning and policy development. Finally, because change initiatives that reflect shared cultural values may be more effective, assessment of campus culture can assist in evaluating readiness for change.

In investigating influences on university staff members responsible for implementing alcohol policies, and reducing excessive student drinking, the overall theoretical and conceptual framework for this research study drew upon both (a) the Pressman and Wildavsky implementation framework, and (b) Kotter's eight-stage process for leading change. The Pressman and Wildavsky framework was first used as a means for comparing implementation clearances and delays, as well as to compare

whether the individual institutions were similarly burdened by implementation delays.

Second, Kotter's eight-stage process for leading change was drawn upon to further

investigate the research questions. In this phase the researcher considered evidence of

transformative change initiatives as well as how evident change initiatives impacted staff

members responsible for implementing university alcohol policies.

Research Design and Methods

Creswell (2003) advocated for researchers to contemplate the knowledge claims,

or expectations, about how and what the researcher will learn through the study. In this

study the researcher's philosophical approach was most congruent with pragmatic

knowledge claims in that the research questions being contemplated are: (a) problem

centered, and (b) oriented in the real world practices of university staff members. The

intended consequences of the research are to inform higher education leaders interested in

effectively implementing college alcohol-control policies. Creswell (2003) notes that

"pragmatism is not committed to any one system of philosophy and reality" (p.12) and

that "research always occurs in social, historical, political and other contexts." (p.12).

The researcher's philosophical affinity with pragmatic knowledge claims is congruent

with a mixed methods research design in that mixed methods researchers may embrace

many approaches to best illuminate the research problem. This study seeks knowledge

that does, in fact, reflect real world problems familiar to the experiences and professional

background of the researcher.

There are also elements of social constructionist knowledge claims embraced by

the researcher. Specifically, researchers who embrace social constructionist knowledge

claims may pursue research interests with acknowledgement that their interpretation is influenced by the researcher's own experiences and background. Since meaning is assigned based on social and historical interactions, the researcher expects the need to interpret the meanings provided by research participants. This requires being extremely attentive to the views of others, an approach consistent with qualitative inquiry. The researcher is an experienced student affairs professional with a career that has spanned four decades with 31 years at private, public, rural, urban, and religious-affiliated institutions of higher education. The researcher acknowledges that his interpretations will emerge, in part, from his interpretations of his own personal, cultural and historical experiences as described by Creswell (2003). At the same time, this approach also represents a source of bias which needed to be guarded against in analysis of data and interpretation of study findings.

The overall research design recognizes both philosophical approaches to knowledge claims.

Research Design

To examine the research questions a mixed methods research design was settled upon and utilized in the study. Specifically, the study utilized a quantitative survey design, and a qualitative case study design with data converging through a sequential transformative mixed methods strategy (Creswell, 2003). Utilizing this design strategy, data were collected in a planned sequence with the findings of the two phases synthesized during the analysis of the study's overall findings. In this research study quantitative survey design data were sequenced in the first phase followed by a qualitative multiple

case study, which was given greater priority. This design allowed the findings from the survey design to be interpreted and incorporated into the subsequent qualitative case study. The sequential transformative mixed methods strategy is identified by Creswell (2003) as a strategy which can allow the researcher to give voice to a variety of perspectives, advocate for involved parties, and to better grasp a phenomenon being studied. Consistent with the pragmatic approach to knowledge claims the researcher carefully considered multiple approaches to research design to focus on elements of interest and isolate extraneous factors beyond the scope of the study. The study's theoretical and conceptual framework provided a basis for consistently analyzing how alcohol-control policy implementation clearances and delays occurred at the selected institutions. The framework also allowed for analysis of the impact change initiatives had on staff members at the selected campuses. Another identified variable of interest was the extent to which student support for alcohol-control policies may influence staff members. This element was examined first through quantitative inquiry and then again through the qualitative phase of the study.

To provide for continual assessment of the study's design, Maxwell's (2005) interactive research model was employed. This model conceptualizes the relationships among five key components of qualitative research design: (a) research questions, (b) goals, (c) conceptual framework, (d) methods, and (e) validity. The model consists of two integrated units, with each sharing research questions as a central component. The first integrated unit connects research questions with goals and the conceptual framework. The second integrated unit connects research questions with methods and

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validity. The model encouraged consideration of the relationship between goals and methods as well as the relationship between the conceptual framework and validity. To illustrate the use of the model, in the first integrated unit, reflection on the goals of the study – gaining an understanding that will help ameliorate the negative consequences associated with excessive student drinking were considered in relation to the research questions and conceptual framework. The second integrated unit required examination of the relationship between the *how* and *why* research questions with methods (case study), and validity (multiple case study with cross case analysis). The model was designed to be interactive, adaptive to change, and able to facilitate the processing of the research design.

Site Selection

Maxwell (2005) recommended that sites be purposefully chosen based on several intentionally selected characteristics. To aid in multiple case study cross case analysis all institutions in the public higher education system in the selected state were considered. This section describes the characteristics carefully considered in selecting external research sites.

Single state public system with a system-wide alcohol policy. To aid in cross case analysis of the case study, sites were selected from a single state's higher education system. The sites were selected from a state with a common public higher education system-wide alcohol policy. By selecting cases in this manner the case study sites were bounded by the shared context and culture of a single higher education system with a common system-wide alcohol policy. The selection of multiple cases from this system

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also ensured that the institutions shared both a common governance structure and a common point in time when they were responsible for compliance with their state's system-wide alcohol policy. This approach also allowed for comparison of factors related to institutional policy development and associated implementation and enforcement practices. In addition to being bound by a common system-wide alcohol policy, state higher educational institutions were selected because of their public missions; one study reported that 62% of all students pursuing a bachelor's degree attended public colleges and universities (Nelson, Naimi, Brewer & Wechsler, 2005).

The system-wide alcohol policy in the selected state restricted the possession or use of alcohol, called on campuses to strengthen institutional policies, and defined a number of additional controls related to alcohol use. The policy also stated that a third alcohol policy violation was an offense which should result in suspension or expulsion from the university, and required universities to notify parents of underage students when those students violated university alcohol policies. The system-wide policy was enacted at a time when the term *college student binge drinking* was entering the lexicon of alarmed Americans following the wide dissemination of Harvard College Alcohol Study findings. In addition, in the months prior to enactment of the system-wide alcohol policy several high profile alcohol-related college student deaths had occurred across the nation. As public awareness and parent fears increased, saliency of the policy issue was elevated and captured the attention of federal and state leaders. This attention escalated a sense of urgency about excessive college student drinking and stimulated the state's higher education governance board to consider policy actions. A policy making process ensued

which led to the enactment of the state's public higher education system-wide alcohol policy. Each public college and university in the state system was required to review and bring their campus policies into compliance with the system-wide alcohol policy. The system-wide alcohol policy and related institutional policies have now been in effect for nearly 20 years.

Another potential advantage of the selected state was its high rate of binge drinking relative to other states (Nelson et al., 2005). A higher drinking rate may be advantageous because there may be: (a) increased opportunity for enforcement actions, (b) more opportunity to research ongoing policy development in a state better positioned for change, and (c) more urgency in a state with higher binge drinking rates.

The selected state's higher education system categorized its campuses into different segments by institutional type. To control for potential extraneous variables in governance, mission, and organizational structure a single segment classification was selected. Because resident students binge drink at a higher rate than other students (Sharmer, 2005; Wechsler, Dowdall, Davenport & Rimm, 1995) the pool of potential sites was limited to residential campuses with a significant number of matriculated students living in campus residence halls.

Contrasting cases were selected to reasonably represent the heterogeneity of the remaining institutions, a goal of purposeful case selection advocated by Maxwell (2005). Institutions in the segment selected had the most potential for identification of contrasting cases. Six state universities in the segment were identified as potential research sites. To protect anonymity pseudonyms were assigned to both the institutions and their

geographic locations. These six potential sites were further narrowed based on review of

additional factors. Table 1 outlines comparative data on undergraduate enrollment,

resident student occupancy and the availability of Greek organization housing.

Table 1

Site Selection Comparative Data on Undergraduate Enrollment and
Resident Student Occupancy

University	Undergraduate Enrollment[a]	Resident Students[b]	Percentage	Greek Housing
Atlantic	9,615	3,191	33.2	N
Eastwood	4,245	1,626	38.3	N
Rockefeller	4,584	1,946	42.5	N
Northern	7,664	2,082	27.2	Y
Pacific	6,371	2,848	44.7	N
Western	6,447	1,215	18.8	N

Note: Table shows undergraduate enrollment, number of resident students,
percentage of enrolled undergraduates living on campus, and whether residential
fraternity or sorority housing is available at the institution. To protect the
anonymity of sites selected pseudonyms have been substituted for actual
university names.
[a] Source: National Center for Education Statistics. Fall 2013 data.
[b] Source: State Governance College Housing Authority Fall 2013 Occupancy

To further consider case sites each of the six remaining institutions were further

reviewed with respect to demographic criteria associated with student drinking.

Comparative data on gender, race, size of the local population, presence

of other colleges and universities in a five-mile radius, liquor law referrals to campus

discipline, and liquor law arrests are outlined in Table 2.

Table 2

Site Selection Comparative Data on Undergraduate Enrollment and Demographics

	Race[a]	Gender[b]	Local Area		Liquor Law Actions Per 100 Residents	
			Population[c]	Other Colleges[d]	Conduct Referrals[e]	Arrests[f]
University	White	Female	*N*	Density	*n*	*n*
Atlantic	80.2	58.4	26,563	N	2.70	6.64
Eastwood	76.1	56.4	40,318	N	8.80	0
Rockefeller	76.4	63.1	68,318	N	10.74	0
Northern	69.0	60.7	41,340	Y	11.24	.24
Pacific	79.3	51.5	41,094	N	13.73	1.23
Western	71.6	59.8	181,045	Y	13.83	.25

Note: Table shows percentage of undergraduate students who identify as white, the percentage of undergraduate students who identify as female, the population of the city or town in which the institution is located, the presence of other four-year institutions within a five mile radius, the number of referrals to campus disciplinary/student conduct administrators for violation of liquor law violations per 100 resident students and the number of campus arrests for liquor law violations per 100 resident students .
[a,b,d] Source: National Center for Education Statistics. Fall 2013 data
[c] Source: 2010 US Census
[e,f] Source: Institutional Annual Crime Reports – 2013 data

The data were further reviewed to identify those sites which displayed the maximum variance in accordance with the purposeful selection strategy described by Maxwell (2005). Atlantic University and Western University were identified as sites at opposite extremes on five of the ten criteria: (a) liquor law disciplinary referrals, (b) number of resident students, (c) local population, (d) racial diversity, and (e) presence of other 4-year institutions within a 5-mile radius. Atlantic University and Western

University displayed more variance than any other combination of the six remaining institutions. Comparison data for the two selected research sites are provided in Table 3.

Table 3

Maximum Variance in Comparative Institutional Data Variables

University	Race[a] White	Residents[b]	Local Population[c]	College Presence[d]	Conduct Referrals[e]
Atlantic	80.2	3.191	26,563	N	2.70
Western	71.6	1,215	181,045	Y	13.83

Note: Table shows the five variables in which Atlantic and Western had maximum variance among the six universities being compared. These are percentage of undergraduate students who identify as white, number of resident students, population of the city or town in which the institution is located, the presence of other four-year institutions within a five mile radius, the number of referrals to campus disciplinary/student conduct administrators for violation of liquor law violations per 100 resident students.
[a,d] Source: National Center for Education Statistics. Fall 2013 data
[c] Source: 2010 US Census
[e.] Source: Institutional Annual Crime Reports – 2013 data

Quantitative Research Phase

The quantitative research phase was identified to examine: (a) student support for alcohol-control policies, and (b) staff perceptions of student support for alcohol-control policies. The quantitative survey strategy was used because of the efficiency the method offered in generalizing views on resident student support for alcohol-control policy compliance, enforcement, and implementation.

The quantitative survey phase comprised two separate surveys; one sent to students to measure support for campus alcohol-control policies, and a second sent to staff to measure perceptions of student support for campus alcohol-control policies. Atlantic University and Western University served as the two research sites for the

quantitative phase of the study. Findings from the quantitative survey were incorporated

into the qualitative case study phase of the research study.

Survey Design and Methods

A cross-sectional, single-stage web based survey design was utilized. The two

survey instruments employed in the study were designed by the researcher after review of

current institutional alcohol-control policies, and alcohol-control policies utilized by

municipalities, other college campuses, or included in other studies measuring levels of

student support (DeJong, Towvim & Schneider, 2007; Lavigne et al., 2008).

Demographic information to be included on the surveys was considered and categories

associated with past college student drinking, including gender, residence hall type,

membership in Greek organizations, and participation in varsity athletics were included

on the survey.

In designing both the student and staff surveys attention to survey question

design was of great importance. The researcher was mindful of the elements of effective

survey questions outlined by Fowler and Costenza (2008) which include: (a) design the

question construct to meet objectives of the survey, (b) write questions that are

consistently understood by respondents, (c) design questions that respondents can

consistently understand and retrieve answers to, (d) include appropriate response options

to participants, and (e) present questions in a manner that respondents are consistently

willing to answer accurately (Fowler & Costenza, 2008).

The time required of participants was another factor considered in survey design.

To address the potential problem of nonresponse assuring those invited that the survey

only requires a short amount of time is recommended by Krathwohl (1998). It was

determined that the time required of respondents to complete the surveys would be structured to take less than ten minutes. Survey length was estimated with this time constraint in mind.

After IRB approval was secured, both surveys were tested and reviewed at a third campus site to test both the questions and time on task required of participants. Utilizing the cognitive interviewing method described by Willis (2005) drafts of both survey instruments were tested and reviewed with ten volunteer respondents. This process proved valuable in confirming that respondents had no problems with question logic, had the ability to answer questions, and could select from among appropriate answers provided. The researcher was also able to confirm that the time on task required of respondents was within the time allocated. After testing and review was complete IRB approval was obtained at both Atlantic University and Western University.

Recruitment of survey respondents for both surveys was through email outreach in collaboration with senior student affairs administrators at the external sites. Student and staff surveys were administered in a single-stage. Surveys were self-administered using a secure web-based survey software program. Interested participants accessed the survey from a link contained in the recruitment email. Volunteers who followed the hyperlink to the web-based survey were required to acknowledge their informed consent before being allowed to advance to survey questions. To prevent participation by students under 18 years old administrators at the two external sites deleted students under 18 from the recruitment email roster. As a further precaution a disqualification question was inserted after the informed consent form, but before advancing to survey questions, to further establish that participants were18 or older. Survey respondents were invited to

complete the survey with the understanding that their names would be kept anonymous and would not be maintained with their answers.

Student survey. The student survey targeted undergraduate resident students, a population which generally comprises the traditional-aged undergraduate students most represented in large studies on college student binge drinking. All Atlantic and Western resident students were sent an email containing the invitation to participate in the student survey. The invitation to participate in the student survey is included in Appendix A.

The survey was designed to discern student support for 33 different alcohol-control policy initiatives with the aim of generalizing these findings to the resident student populations at the individual institution. In addition, demographic and alcohol-related behavioral information was collected through the survey to allow for correlation with levels of student support for alcohol-control policies. Demographic information included student classification, gender, race/ethnicity, residence hall type, membership in Greek organizations, membership on a varsity athletic team, and membership on a club athletic team. Alcohol behavioral questions were based on familiarity their university's alcohol-related policies, degree to which respondent follows alcohol-related policies, estimated drinks consumed per week, estimated drinks consumed on a drinking occasion, and likelihood of drinking in a setting where most others are drinking. The full student informed consent and survey is provided in Appendix B.

To promote student participation in the survey, incentive awards were offered to qualified participants who completed the student survey and provided an optional email address at each of the two external sites. Each participant who completed the student

survey and decided to provide an email address was entered in a drawing to win a $75

gift certificate to a popular online shopping site with the winner selected by a random

drawing of eligible participants. In addition, the first 50 respondents who completed the

survey were eligible to receive a $5 gift card usable at a national coffee chain by

providing an optional email address. To preserve the anonymity of survey respondents

optional email addresses provided were separated and cleansed from the data prior to data

analysis. Participants' email addresses were placed into a separate data file and used only

for awarding incentives. The incentive file was stored separately from data files on a

password protected storage device which was stored in a locked safe. No email addresses

or other identifying information was stored with survey data files. After incentive

distribution usage email files were destroyed and no longer retained.

Because other surveys on student support for alcohol-control policies (Wechsler

et al., 2002; DeJong, Towvim & Schneider, 2007; Lavigne et al., 2008) have found

student support for stricter alcohol-control policies and enforcement, the student survey

was hypothesized to demonstrate support for alcohol-control policies. Based on the level

of student support for alcohol-control policies reported through the student survey the

case study protocol was adapted to examine how student support levels influenced the

actions and decisions of policy implementation agents, if at all. The case study design

was further adapted to examine how university staff members determine student support

for campus alcohol-control policies.

Staff survey. The staff survey was designed to evaluate staff perceptions of

student support for compliance, enforcement, and implementation of alcohol-control

policy initiatives. Specifically, the staff survey asked staff members to estimate the percentage of students at their university who stated they either supported or strongly supported the 33 alcohol-control policy initiatives included on the student survey.

The staff survey additionally investigated staff perceptions about university alcohol policies, policy implementation and enforcement, prevention, and the priority placed on reducing excessive student drinking by various constituencies within the University community. This last section included questions about how consistent resident assistants, university police, security officers and local police are in responding to alcohol policy violations. This section also included questions on the priority placed on prevention of excessive student drinking, or for attainment of alcohol policy goals by supervisors, deans, directors, executive staff, faculty, parents, and neighbors.

The staff survey was targeted at individuals responsible for alcohol-control policy implementation. Staff members included representatives of the following areas: university police, security, residence life, student conduct, prevention specialist, senior student affairs administrator/dean, counseling center, health services, and senior student affairs officers (SSAOs). Forty-five staff members received an email invitation to participate in the staff survey (see Appendix C). The full staff informed consent and survey is provided in Appendix D.

Survey Data Collection

Survey data were collected using the licensed SurveyMonkey web-based program which utilized password protected access. Survey data were analyzed using the IBM SPSS Statistics version 23 software package. Student and staff surveys were launched in

close point in time proximity to control for the potential occurrence of campus incidents which could influence student or staff respondent perceptions during any gap between the two survey periods. The web-based survey program protected against duplicate responses by limiting one response for each IP address. To preserve the anonymity of survey participants, after the initial download of web-based survey data into SPSS, but before any analysis, IP addresses and optional email addresses were removed from the survey data files and deleted. Survey data files were securely maintained on password protected data storage device.

The survey was sent to a total of 45 staff members, 25 at Atlantic and 20 at Western. A total of 27 staff members completed the staff survey, 12 from Atlantic University and 15 from Western University. The response rate on the staff survey at Atlantic was 48% and the response rate at Western was 75%.

The student survey was sent to 4,525 resident students in October, 2015. This represented the entire resident population of 3,383 resident students at Atlantic University in addition to all 1,242 resident students at Western University. A second invitation to participate was sent approximately two weeks after the first recruitment email. The web survey collector was closed approximately five weeks after the initial recruitment email.

A total of 1,386 students responded to the survey. The data were further analyzed using the IBM SPSS Statistics software. The data were examined and cleansed to remove respondents who were disqualified based on resident status or age, or were removed due to careless, inattentive, or substantially incomplete responses. Respondents who did not complete student support for alcohol policy initiative questions and the majority of non-demographic questions were removed from the sample. A final sample

of 1,252 cases was identified through this process. The sample of 839 respondents at

Atlantic University is sufficient to provide a 3% degree of precision at a 95% confidence

limit. The sample of 413 respondents at Western University is sufficient to provide a 4%

degree of precision at a 95% confidence limit. The combined sample of 1,252 students at

the two universities is sufficient to provide a 3.1% degree of precision at a 99%

confidence limit. The survey response rate was 27.4% at Atlantic and 36.9% at Western

with a combined response rate of 30.6%. Survey response data is shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Student Survey Response

| | | Respondents | | | |
Site	Population	N	%	Removed	N
Atlantic	3,383	928	27.4	87	839
Western	1,242	458	36.9	38	413
Combined	4,525	1,386	30.6	125	1,252

Note: Table shows the number of resident students invited to participate in the
student survey, the number who responded to the survey, the percentage of resident
students who responded to the survey, the number of cases which were removed
because of disqualification, or due to carelessness, or substantially incomplete
responses, and the total number of remaining cases comprising the sample.

Characteristics of Student Survey Sample

Of the 839 respondents from Atlantic University 74.3% identified as female and

76.8% of the sample identified as white. Demographic statistics on Atlantic University's

residence hall population were not available, however when compared to Fall 2013

National Center for Education Statistics data males (58.4%) and white students (80.2%)

are underrepresented in the sample. Among the student survey sample, 62% of the

students identified as freshman or sophomores, and 12.3% identified as members of fraternities or sororities. In addition, 7.3% of respondents identified as club athletes and 7.2% identified as varsity athletes.

Western University's Residence Life department was able to provide residence hall population data for Fall 2015 which indicated that 62.3% of residents were female, 76.3% white and 65.9% freshman or sophomore. In comparison, Western University's 413 respondent sample included 77.5% female respondents, 84% of respondents identified as white, and 64.5% were freshman and sophomores. Accordingly, the female and white resident students are slightly over-represented in the sample. In contrast to Atlantic University, no students hold fraternity or sorority membership at Western University. Varsity athletes represented 13.8% of the sample and club athletes represented 9.5% of the sample.

Overall, the total student sample of 1,252 respondents comprised 839 responses from Atlantic University and 413 responses from Western University. The total student survey sample was 75.7% female, 77.3% white and 62.9% of the respondents were underclassmen. Tables providing more detailed descriptions of the Atlantic University sample, Western University sample and overall sample are included in Appendix E.

Qualitative Research Phase

The qualitative phase was emphasized in this mixed methods study. Survey results were analyzed and incorporated into the interview protocol in accordance with the transformational mixed methods strategy employed. More specifically, case study questions incorporated results on student support for alcohol policy initiatives from the student survey and estimates of student support by staff from the staff survey.

Case Study Design

Yin (2009) states that case study is a preferred method when the following three conditions exist: (a) the research question asks "how" or "why", (b) the researcher is limited in controlling events being studied, and (c) the focus of the study is on "a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context" (p.2). In this case the intent was to learn *how* various factors influence policy implementation in the unique campus context and *why* current implementation decisions and actions are planned and executed in the manner they have been completed historically. In addition, building upon survey findings, the intent was to find out *how* information on student support of campus alcohol policy is used by implementation agents and, if not utilized or not fully utilized, *why* this information wouldn't inform implementation actions at the level of the individual institution.

The broad scope and long-term prevalence of excessive college student drinking, which has often appeared impervious to attempts to change student behavior, was not at risk of being of being controlled by a single researcher. The literature also clearly indicates that attempts to ameliorate the consequences of excessive student drinking through policy development and implementation remains a well-documented contemporary phenomenon on U.S. college and university campuses (NIAAA web site).

Creswell (2007) defines case study as an appropriate qualitative approach to inquiry which examines an issue through one or more cases within a bounded system, which may be a culture sharing setting or context. In support of Creswell's use of case study methodology, this study utilized the institution as the unit of analysis. This approach is further supported by Dowdall (2009) who posits reduction of excessive

student drinking is dependent upon employment of prevention strategies designed to meet the unique context and culture of the individual campus. The case study design was utilized with the intent to contribute to the body of literature examining excessive student drinking by providing rich, detailed institution-level analysis.

The type of case study utilized in this study was a multiple case study. Multiple case studies can be employed to illustrate differing perspectives on a common issue (Creswell, 2007). There are three additional reasons multiple case study design was utilized. First, findings from multiple cases can be considered more compelling (Herriott & Firestone, 1983). Second, Creswell (2007) notes that investigators can best generalize or develop understandings through the use of multiple case study design even though generalization is typically considered with caution in case study research. Finally, Yin (2009) suggests that an advantage of multiple case study design is the potential that findings can be replicated.

Case Study Participant Selection

The staff survey targeted 10 administrative staff members at each university with responsibility for implementation of alcohol-control policies. These staff members represented university police, security, residence life, student conduct, prevention or wellness education, a senior student affairs administrator/dean, counseling center, health services, and senior student affairs officer (SSAO). Invitation to participate in both the survey and case study was sent by email in collaboration with a senior student affairs staff member. A copy of the introductory recruitment email for the case study is included in Appendix E. The staff members were further targeted to include five staff members

whose responsibilities primarily involved direct work with students or student staff, and five staff members whose responsibilities primarily involved leadership, management and departmental direction. Participants at Atlantic University averaged 13.7 years of work experience at Atlantic University while participants at Western University averaged 10.7 years of work experience at Western. To protect anonymity of the participants job titles have been generalized. An overview of the participants selected is outlined in Table 5.

Table 5
Description of Case Study Participants by University

Direct	Years at Institution[a]	Indirect	Years at Institution[a]
Atlantic University			
Residence Director	10	SSAO	4
Director of Health Services	13	Director, Residence Life	23
Director of Counseling	21	Associate Director of Residence Life	15
Wellness Educator	20	Director of Student Conduct	3
Security Coordinator	9	Deputy Chief, University Police	19
Western University			
Residence Director	3	SSAO	15
Director of Health Services	13	Director, Residence Life	11
Director of Counseling	26	Associate Dean of Students	15
Wellness Educator	6	Director of Student Conduct	10
Associate Director of Residence Life	6	Chief, University Police	2

Note: Table shows case study participants, generalized title, and years of experience by institution. The table is broken down by those who primarily work directly or indirectly with students. [a] Years at institution displayed have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

Case study participants volunteered with the understanding that their names, and the name of their institution, would be kept anonymous and that responses to questions would be used in a way that would preserve anonymity of the volunteer respondent. Volunteers were assigned pseudonyms to help maintain their anonymity in this research project. Table 6 lists the names and titles of staff members interviewed at each institution. Case study participants completed informed consent documents (see Appendix G) prior to being interviewed. Interviews were audio recorded and consent to be audio recorded (see Appendix H) was also obtained from participants.

Case Study Data Collection

Semi-structured interviews were utilized to examine influences on staff members responsible for alcohol control policy implementation. Through this method of inquiry the researcher probed beliefs, values, and expectations related to alcohol-control policies; queried how staff members estimated levels of student support for alcohol-control policies; explored how student support for alcohol-control policies influenced staff members; and examined how influences on staff members impacted alcohol policy implementation at the university level.

A total of twenty interviews were conducted, 10 at Atlantic University and 10 at Western University. Interviews were conducted either in person or via Skype and were audio- recorded. Interviews were approximately 45 minutes in duration. The full case study interview protocol is included in Appendix I. Data gathered were stored in a password protected electronic file that is accessible only to the research team and will be destroyed at the completion of the research project. Response data were labeled only with a participant identification number and pseudonyms assigned after the interview.

Table 6

Names and Titles of Case Study Participants by University

Name	Title
Atlantic University	
Mr. Jimmy Blake	Residence Director
Dr. Doris Murphy	Director of Health Services
Dr. Michael Palledorous	Director of Counseling
Ms. Betty Horn	Wellness Educator
Mr. Kelly Leak	Security Coordinator
Dr. Scott Smalls	Senior Student Affairs Officer
Dr. Ann Savoy	Director, Residence Life
Ms. Karin Kinsella	Associate Director of Residence Life
Amanda Whurlitzer, Esq.	Director of Student Conduct
Mr. Larry Hockett	Deputy Chief, University Police
Western University	
Ms. Mary Ann Summers	Residence Director
Ms. Michaela Quinn	Director of Health Services
Dr. Jane Hathaway	Director of Counseling
Ms. Mattie Ross	Wellness Educator
Ms. Judy Robinson	Associate Director of Residence Life
Ms. Jennifer Curran	Senior Student Affairs Officer
Mr. Steve Douglas	Director of Residence Life
Ms. Alice Nelson	Associate Dean of Students
Mr. Vince Carter	Director of Student Conduct
Mr. Jacob McCandles	Chief, University Police

Note: Table shows name and title of case study participants. Pseudonyms and generalized titles were used to protect identity of participants.

Case study methodology requires examination of multiple sources of data, with a goal of having data converge so that triangulation can be used to check construct validity (Yin, 2009). Creswell (2007) defines case study research as drawing on "detailed, in-depth data collection involving *multiple sources of information*" (p.73). Creswell (2007)

noted that "multiple sources of information" (p.73) includes observations, interviews, documents and audiovisual materials.

Similarly, Schein (1992) offers a framework through which data can be collected based on his conceptualization of organizational culture. Schein's conceptualization of culture includes its existence at three levels: (a) artifacts, (b) values, and (c) assumptions. Artifacts include evidence in the physical environment, social environment, technological outputs or transformation process, written and spoken language, overt behavior of members, and symbols. Values must be inferred through analysis of cultural artifacts. Assumptions exist at the deepest levels of culture and are unconscious driving forces that collectively guide behavior (Bess & Dee, 2008). Kezar and Eckel recommend the use of organizational culture audits to understand important aspects of institutional culture (Bess & Dee, 2006). Although formal use of cultural audits was not incorporated in this study design there was overlap with plans to collect and utilize multiple pieces of information. The researcher remained aware of the benefits of noting cultural artifacts observed on campus, and interviews with participants were enhanced using probes which examined perceptions of the campus culture including cultural values and assumptions.

In addition to interviews, data were drawn from survey findings, document review, and observation. Research goals required that the researcher: (a) work to understand the unique culture, (b) examine past and current alcohol policy implementation, (c) evaluate the alignment of policy practices and goals, (d) determine why excessive student drinking is responded to in the way it is on each campus, and (e) contemplate why other policy implementation, enforcement, and alcohol-control policy

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alternatives are not pursued. This includes examining survey responses to measurement of student support for campus alcohol policies.

Observation was used as a limited, but useful data source. The researcher's observation activities included watching residence hall security operations, touring campus residence halls, walking campus grounds, and touring neighborhoods and areas in the vicinity of the campuses.

Review of artifacts and documents included police logs; handbooks, yearbooks, student and local newspapers, social media and student conduct data.

Data Analysis

As part of the data analysis process the researcher took notes during interviews and re-read notes while listening to recordings of all interviews. Verbatim transcripts were prepared for all 20 interviews with the researcher either preparing transcripts or proof reading transcripts against audio recordings to insure completeness. Prior to further analyzing the data the researcher outlined a continuum of coding strategies comprised of preconfigured themes based on the study's theoretical and conceptual framework and allowing for emergent themes in a process similar to that described by Crabtree and Miller (1992). The transcripts were then read and notes and memos were added. Analysis of the data generally followed the activities recommended by Creswell (2003) and involved continual reflection on the data, questioning the data, development of detailed explanation and representation of the case site, and identification of themes or issues. The study utilized the steps recommended by Creswell (2003) in the analysis of data: (a) organization and preparation of the data, including transcription, sorting, and arranging data; (b) review of all data and reflection on its meaning; (c) detailed coding of

the data and categorizing findings; (d) use of the coding to create detailed descriptions and generation of a small number of themes; (e) development of the qualitative narrative; and (f) interpretation of the data.

The organization and coding of the data was facilitated utilizing the strategy outlined by LaPelle (2004) using general purpose software. Using this strategy all transcript data were formatted into word tables by participant ID and placed in rows by numbered utterance sequence. An iterative process of data review as described by Merriam (2009) was undertaken and conceptual codes were notated and emergent themes were identified. Sub-codes were additionally identified and further refined on subsequent reviews resulting in development of a nested, multi-level codebook (see Appendix J). Finally, the coded transcript tables were further analyzed through a supplemental manual process to finalize identified codes and themes included in the qualitative narrative and used to interpret data.

The usefulness and applicability of case study data was also enhanced utilizing Maxwell's (2005) interactive research model. Throughout the analysis the case study findings were subjected to validity checks. Methods to be used to check validity included member checking, triangulation, use of detailed rich descriptions, document review, presentation of discrepant information, and investing in prolonged time in the field.

Content Validity

To improve the content validity, surveys and interview protocol questions were reviewed utilizing cognitive interviewing method, techniques and procedures (Willis, 2005). IRB approval was obtained at a third external site within the same state higher

education system to review and test both survey and case study questions utilizing the cognitive interviewing strategy. Modest sample sizes were utilized and within the strategy's recommended range; questions were reviewed with ten volunteer respondents.

In reviewing survey questions the researcher had the volunteer complete the survey at ordinary pace, timing and noting the task completion time. Immediately after completing the survey the researcher used interview probe and think aloud problem-solving techniques to interview the respondents about the survey just completed. Through this process the researcher was able to determine that survey respondents understood questions and felt that the designed response key offered appropriate answers allowing the respondent to answer the survey questions. Question instructions and clarity were deemed sufficient through this process. Further, no problems were identified with either respondent assumptions on underlying question logic or with the ability of respondents to have adequate memory recall to answer questions. The time estimates for survey completion were also tested and confirmed. Recruitment of volunteer respondents in this testing phase was done using email with the assistance of student affairs administrators at this testing site.

Testing the interview protocol proved valuable for establishing timing allowances within the allotted interview time and anticipating potential question probes. In addition, the researcher confirmed that question clarity was sufficient and no problems with volunteers underlying question logic were identified.

The survey response rate in this study is not atypical of the rates reported in other studies related to college student drinking. The Harvard College Alcohol Study (CAS), for example, surveyed tens of thousands of students in 1993, 1997, 1999 and 2001

(Wechsler, Lee, Kuo, Seibring, Nelson & Lee, 2002). Students at between 120 and 140

selected colleges were surveyed in each of these years with institutional response rates

ranging between 22%-86% in 2001 and 27%-83% in 1999. Further, CAS analysis

indicated that student binge drinking rates did not vary with institutional response rate.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This chapter will present the findings of the research study and includes both

quantitative and qualitative findings. Consistent with the sequential transformative

mixed methods strategy, findings from the quantitative stage are presented first, followed

by findings from the qualitative phase of the study. The influence of the quantitative

survey results on the study's qualitative line of inquiry are reported in the section on

quantitative findings. Qualitative case study findings are organized first by the emergent

themes identified, and then by the conceptual and theoretical framework themes.

Findings are presented specific to each of the two cases studies – Atlantic University and

Western University – and in a manner which facilitates the comparing and contrasting of

results.

Quantitative Findings

Student Survey

Students at both Atlantic and Western demonstrated significant support for

alcohol control policies on their campuses. These findings are consistent with other

research reporting student support for alcohol-control policies (Buettner, Bartle-Haring,

Andrews & Khurana, 2010; DeJong, Towvim & Schneider, 2007; Garey, Prince &

Carey, 2011; Lavigne et al., 2008; Wechsler et al., 2002).

A majority of respondents at Atlantic University supported or strongly supported

20 of the 33 alcohol-control measures included on the student survey. Nine of the 20

alcohol-control measures were supported by 80% or more of student respondents; these

measures, along with associated student support levels, are presented in Table 7.

Table 7

Atlantic Student Support for Alcohol-Control Measures

Measure	% Support	Rank Order
Restrict the number of drinks an individual can purchase at an establishment to one per hour	96.51	1
Consistent enforcement of alcohol policies by RAs in campus residence halls	95.46	2
Use of portable breathalyzer to objectively assess intoxication by campus police on campus grounds and at campus events	94.20	3
Impose serious sanctions for the use or possession of false IDs	93.44	4
Holding hosts accountable for serving or allowing underage drinking at their place of residence	93.33	5
Require residence halls to have a single point of entry monitored by security staff 24 hours a day	90.22	6
Increase enforcement of laws related to operating vehicles under the influence (DUI laws)	86.47	7
Motor vehicle sobriety check points in the area of the campus by local or state police	85.99	8
Consistent enforcement of alcohol policies by campus police on campus grounds and at campus events	81.88	9

Note: Table shows alcohol-control measures supported by at least 80% of respondents, the percentage of
Atlantic student respondents who supported, or strongly supported the measure, and the rank order of
student support for the measure.

An additional 12 alcohol-control measures listed on the survey were supported or strongly supported by between 40.24% and 49.82% of student respondents. Only one of the 33 alcohol-control measures was supported by less than 40% of Atlantic student respondents. That measure, increasing student awareness of the legal consequences and liability associated with excessive drinking behavior, was still supported or strongly supported by 34.77% of respondents.

Student respondents at Western University also reported significant levels of support for the alcohol-control policies. A majority of Western student respondents either supported or strongly supported 21 of the survey's 33 alcohol-control measures. Ten of the 21 alcohol-control measures garnered the support of 80% or more of Western student respondents. Those measures and their level of student support are included in Table 8. Of the remaining 12 alcohol-control measures, four were supported or strongly supported by between 44.36% and 45.48% of Western University student respondents and another seven were supported or strongly supported by between 33.66% and 39.66% of student respondents. Only one measure, requiring residence halls to have a single point of entry monitored by security staff 24 hours a day, had the support of less than 30% of student respondents with 27.43% of student respondents indicating they supported or strongly supported that measure.

Table 8

Western Student Support for Alcohol-Control Measures

Measure	% Support	Rank Order
Requiring bartenders and servers both on and off campus to be trained in responsible beverage service, including "shutting off" service to intoxicated individuals	97.07	1
Increase enforcement of laws related to operating vehicles under the influence (DUI laws)	93.70	2
Actively promote alternative transportation including taxis and public transportation	92.44	3
Colleges and universities should aggressively promote designated driver programs	91.71	4
Increase treatment services to better support students with diagnosed alcohol abuse or dependence	91.40	5
Enact medical amnesty policies so intoxicated individuals and their friends who initiate calls for assistance may be more inclined to request medical attention	86.98	6
Increase student awareness of the legal consequences and liability associated with excessive drinking behavior	85.57	7
Providing bystander training so students can better help others experiencing drinking related difficulties	82.44	8
Require that incoming first year students complete an on-line course on alcohol prior to starting classes.	81.42	9
Increase alcohol and drug prevention specialist staffing to educate the community, increase awareness, and work to effect change in campus culture and reduce excessive drinking.	80.93	10

Note: Table shows alcohol-control measures supported by at least 80% of respondents, the percentage of Western student respondents who supported, or strongly supported the measure, and the rank order of student support for the measure.

Staff Survey

Staff members surveyed were asked to estimate the level of support students at their university would report for each of the 33 alcohol-control measures. While student respondents at both institutions reported generally strong levels of support for alcohol-control policies, staff survey respondents consistently underestimated levels of student

support. At Western University staff survey respondents underestimated student support for alcohol-control policies on 32 of the 33 measures. On average, Western's staff underestimated student support by 24.04%. Staff respondents at Atlantic University more accurately estimated student support for alcohol-control policies, but still underestimated by an average of 15.08%. Overall, Atlantic staff participants underestimated student support for alcohol-control policies on 29 of the 33 measures. Table 9 provides additional data on those alcohol-control measures with the biggest differentials between student support and staff estimates of student support.

Appendix K includes tables for each university displaying the 33 alcohol-control measures, the percentage of students who supported or strongly supported each measure, staff estimates of student support for each measure and the differential between student support and staff estimate of student support.

Influence on Case Study Interview Questions

The quantitative student survey provided measures of student support for alcohol-control policies on each campus. Student survey data indicated strong levels of support for alcohol-control policy implementation and enforcement actions, while the staff survey revealed that staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies typically underestimated levels of student support. These results raised questions about how staff members estimated student support and staff member's perceptions on the applicability of survey data. The survey data informed the construction of questions included in the case study interview protocol designed to further investigate research sub-questions related to student support for alcohol-control

Table 9

Alcohol-Control Measure Support Differentials by Institution

Measure	Student Support %	Staff Perception of Support	Diff.
Atlantic University			
Requiring bartenders and servers both on and off campus to be trained in responsible beverage service, including "shutting off" service to intoxicated individuals	65.87	27.63	38.24
Prohibiting local bars and liquor stores from targeting college students with low price promotions	68.94	37.50	31.44
Restrict advertising on campus which promotes drinking and/or alcoholic beverage sales	72.81	45.00	27.81
Increase enforcement of laws related to operating vehicles under the influence (DUI laws)	86.47	58.75	27.72
Motor vehicle sobriety check points in the area of the campus by local or state police	85.99	59.38	26.61
Holding hosts accountable for serving or allowing underage drinking at their place of residence	93.33	67.50	25.83
Western University			
Requiring bartenders and servers both on and off campus to be trained in responsible beverage service, including "shutting off" service to intoxicated individuals	97.07	36.20	60.87
Increase alcohol and drug prevention specialist staffing to educate the community, increase awareness, and work to effect change in campus culture and reduce excessive drinking.	80.93	36.50	44.43
Increase student awareness of the legal consequences and liability associated with excessive drinking behavior	85.57	42.50	43.07
Increase treatment services to better support students with diagnosed alcohol abuse or dependence	91.40	51.00	40.40
Increase enforcement of laws related to operating vehicles under the influence (DUI laws)	93.70	54.00	39.70
Restrict advertising on campus which promotes drinking and/or alcoholic beverage sales	61.02	22.50	38.52

policies. In consideration of student support of alcohol-control policies four questions were inserted into the case study interview protocol to solicit participant responses relative to student support for alcohol-control polies.

The first question added to the interview protocol asked participants for insights and observations related to staff underestimation of student support for alcohol-control policies. The number of alcohol-control policies in which student support was underestimated by staff was provided to participants. The mean differential by which staff underestimated student support for alcohol-control policies, 15% by Atlantic University staff and 24% by Western University staff, was also provided. A follow up probe was available to explore staff members' perceptions about whether the results might have differed 15 years ago.

The second question asked participants to share their thoughts on the levels of student support for alcohol-control policies. Staff members interviewed were informed of the number of alcohol-control measures that were supported by the majority of student survey participants and provided an opportunity to reflect on the data shared.

The third question added to the interview protocol was introduced with the provision of additional data indicating the number of alcohol-control measures which were supported or strongly supported by more than 80% of student respondents. Interview participants were asked how support for alcohol policy implementation and enforcement might be influenced if this data were well known by leaders in their administration. A probe was prepared to further gauge implementation agent

perceptions of how knowledge of student support levels reported might influence front-line staff such as security guards and resident assistants.

The fourth question added to the interview protocol explored perceptions related to enforcement. More specifically, perceptions of student response to increased sanctioning were explored. The gauging of student support for enforcement actions was prioritized given the differences between the two universities in arrests for liquor law violations and disciplinary referrals for liquor law violations noted in site selection methodology. Despite differences in reported responses to liquor law violations, student respondents at the two campuses reported similar levels of student support on sanction-related alcohol-control measures. One measure included on the survey was "imposing more serious sanctions through the student conduct system for students found responsible for alcohol policy violations on campus." This measure was supported by 38.8% of student survey respondents at Western University and by 42.1% of student respondents at Atlantic University. A second measure related to sanctioning asked students whether they supported increased consequences for students who repeatedly violated campus alcohol policies. This measure was supported by 65.2% of student survey respondents at Western University and by 68.4% of student respondents at Atlantic University. The fourth question also probed responses to the mandatory online alcohol education course required of new students at both sites. Student support for this measure received strong support at both institutions with 69.8% of Atlantic University students and 81.4% of Western University student respondents supporting or strongly supporting the measure. In this question, staff participants interviewed were asked how they believed students

might react to this information and, if widely known, whether student behavior might be influenced.

Qualitative Findings

This section presents the findings of the qualitative phase of the research study. Following an introduction to the qualitative findings results identified through the iterative data analysis process are reported. Results are reported as themes and are organized by (a) identified emergent themes, and (b) conceptual and theoretical framework themes. The case study's three-level themed codebook (see Appendix J) lists all themes and sub-themes identified through data analysis.

Semi-structured interviews of 10 staff members at each of the two research sites were the central source of data collected during the qualitative stage of the study. This was supplemented by several other sources of information and woven into the findings consistent with the recommendations provided by Creswell (2007). The accuracy and credibility of findings were improved through the incorporation of multiple sources of information in data analysis.

Introduction

The researcher's professional background includes extensive experience in implementation and enforcement of college alcohol-control policies. This experience was influential in examining the research problem. While also a potential source of bias, the researcher's experience and knowledge proved to be an asset in examining and analyzing the cases. The researcher's experience also helped in the establishment of trust

with interview participants resulting in open and candid conversations. In some cases participants expressed emotions connected to the topic including sadness, frustration, satisfaction, amusement and anger with which they knew the researcher could empathize. The researcher is also a trained investigator and student conduct hearing officer with experience in assessment of respondent credibility during interviews. These skills proved an asset in conducting case study interviews.

The researcher was also alert to the possibility that participants may try to use the interview to enhance their professional reputation, or be guarded and not provide insights into institutional culture or air "dirty laundry." That this concern proved unfounded meant that data were greatly enhanced and supported the researcher's professional experience as an asset.

The research problem examined in the context of the two university sites provided the researcher with new and unique insights. While participants knew some of the researcher's professional responsibilities and experiences were similar to their own, our shared sense of concern for students, and the impactful first-hand experiences related to responding to excessive student drinking also helped establish a bond between researcher and participants.

Emergent Themes

Following the iterative process of data review (Merriam, 2009), three main emergent themes were identified and are reported in this section. These three identified emergent themes are: (a) unique campus context, (b) executive leadership, and (c)

sensemaking and professional perspectives. Sub-themes are also identified and discussed under each of the main emergent themes.

Unique campus context. Consistent with professional literature (Dowdall, 2009; NIAAA, 2002; Saltz, 2004) staff members expressed the importance of understanding the complexities of their particular campus and its student drinking culture. Staff members shared how many factors, including location, external environment, student demographics, enrollment, traditions, historical incidents, media, and family influences combined to create a unique campus context. On a number of occasions, participants prefaced their answers with information specific to their campus context or infused this information into their responses. Because themed information shared without specifically being asked can signal the information's relative importance, this information is included as an important component of these findings.

In discussion of the two campuses the various ways in which they are unique will become clear. Despite being institutions in the same segment of their state's public higher education system the institutions are loosely organized and operate independently in many ways. Over time they have developed unique organizational cultures. It is for this reason that problems at one campus may not be experienced in the same way at another. Similarly, an initiative which is successfully implemented at one campus in the system may not be successful at other campuses. One effect of these differences is that campuses are not always alert to common threats and opportunities.

Campus contexts described. Atlantic University is located in a small rural community with a population under 30,000. The campus is close to the center of the

small town and predominantly bordered by residential neighborhoods. Until recently few rental properties were available to students in the area with the exception of some high rent apartment complex options. Accordingly, Atlantic has experienced very high student demand for on campus housing. Over the past 15 years, however, the construction of several large campus buildings, coupled with increased enrollment, has influenced both pedestrian and vehicular traffic patterns at the campus. One unintended effect of these changes has been the transition of owner occupied family neighborhood homes into student rental properties. These properties are highly visible and have become home to large-scale, rowdy student house parties. Like the bars in the town center these student houses are in easy walking distance for resident students.

Over the past two decades, Atlantic University has experienced several high profile critical incidents related to excessive student drinking related to the geographic characteristics of the campus setting.

In contrast, Western University is located in a city with a population of almost 200,000. The Western University experience and culture is intertwined with the culture of its external environment. Western shares the city with other higher education institutions. The city offers many amenities attractive to its population of college students including dance clubs, a wide variety of bars and restaurants, retail shopping, and major entertainment and sports venues. The city offers students a vibrant social scene according to Judy Robinson, Associate Director of Residence Life, who stated "They have high access to alcohol establishments." Director of Residence Life Steve Douglas added "A lot of it [student drinking] is off campus bars…they also go to house parties or fraternities." University Police Chief McCandles concurred on the city's

offerings stating "We are in the middle of a city…they can't wait to get the hell out of here. They'd rather go out in the city and hit all the bars and clubs."

Although it boasts an attractive and spacious urban campus, Western is landlocked and bordered by family-occupied residential neighborhoods. Because a wide range of housing is available in the city, historically Western's on-campus housing demand has been moderate. Students who commute are not typically within walking distance to Western and take public transportation or drive to campus. Apartment houses in the city are often in double or triple decker houses built close to one another. Adult city residents and families, and not college students, comprise the majority in the neighborhoods where Western's off campus students typically live and these residents have little tolerance for rowdy college houses.

In contrast to Atlantic University students, Western's residents head to the buses and shuttles lined up on the main street in front of the campus to head out on Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights and then "melt" into the city's offerings. Based on neighborhood location some of the city's bars and restaurants come to be unofficially identified with a specific university although some bars share regular clientele from multiple campuses. Residence Director Mary Ann Summers, a live-in staff member, observed "They can hop in a cab and go do whatever they want, and Thursday, Friday, Saturday night we have lots of cabs waiting to take people places. I think that definitely plays a factor."

Historical critical incidents. The prevalence and type of historical critical incidents related to excessive college student drinking is pertinent to discussion of the

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unique campus context. In recent decades Atlantic University has endured several such incidents ranging from rowdy behavior marked by property damage, disorderly conduct and serious injuries to more serious incidents which included OUI related deaths, reported sexual assaults, arrests, and a murder at the hands of two students. Most of these critical incidents drew significant attention and attracted media coverage. Conversely, Western University's history is marked by a lack of critical incidents and participants could not recall a student alcohol-related death. In their collective experience at Western, participants interviewed had not experienced the need for response to such critical incidents, nor the accompanying attention and media scrutiny experienced by their colleagues at Atlantic University.

The concept of organizational memory is critical to understanding Atlantic University's unique campus context. Bess and Dee (2006) note that organizational memory can be conceptualized as a mechanism which facilitates the retention of information to inform future decisions. Data analysis confirmed that Atlantic University's organizational memory is embedded in cultural values and passed on through organizational sagas. The sharing of these sagas plays a role in sensemaking and helps members share an understanding of the institution's context and culture, with the effect of shaping how members approach their work. Eventually, these sagas can become institutionalized shared beliefs that can help guide members when responding to uncontrollable or difficult incidents (Bess & Dee, 2006).

High profile critical incidents have challenged Atlantic University's reputation and called into question the competence of organizational management. Historical critical

incidents related to excessive student drinking served as catalysts leading to changes in institutional response.

Fire alarm incident. Every one of the 10 staff members interviewed at Atlantic University had awareness of historical critical incidents and could recite versions of organizational sagas. One of these sagas told the tale of a spring semester incident involving a significant disturbance - labeled by some as a "riot" - outside of a residence hall following a false fire alarm pulled at almost two in the morning. During the incident two students were taken into protective custody for intoxication and 15 were arrested on charges ranging from disorderly conduct to assault and battery on a police officer. Tension between students and town police and firefighters had escalated that semester following numerous instances of false fire alarms and bad student behavior at that hall. These incidents occurred before the system-wide alcohol policy was enacted and prompted President Gardner to engage the community on review of Atlantic's alcohol policy and publically state the institutions commitment to enforcement of state alcohol laws on campus. Atlantic's Clery-reported arrests for liquor law violations reflect the changes following these incidents. The policy, which came to be termed "arrest as prevention" was reinforced by subsequent critical incidents.

DUI death. Those interviewed also recalled an incident several years later in which an Atlantic freshman with a BAC three times the legal limit struck and killed a fellow student leaving a local bar. Atlantic University police arrived to the scene first; and Deputy Chief Larry Hockett recalled "our officers were first on the scene and did

CPR on…[the] lifeless body…very tragic. Two other people…were [also] injured…and that happened [relatively close to] our property."

Stabbing death. Participants interviewed also relayed an incident in which a bar patron, who was a former student, was stabbed to death by two Atlantic freshmen in the parking lot of a local establishment just after closing. This incident was the impetus for increased coordination with local police and implementation of a mandatory alcohol education course required of entering students. Dr. Ann Savoy, Director of Residence Life, relayed a personal story about a brief, but deeply meaningful experience related to this incident which is illustrative of the type and power of experiences encountered by staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies.

More than a decade ago, two 19 year old freshmen went out for the evening like many other students at Atlantic University. Both were minority students from "tough" towns on opposite sides of the state. The two had become friends during their first few months at college. One of the two had been a star athlete in high school.

The two headed to a small establishment in walking distance from the campus. The location was a popular destination with Atlantic students. During the course of the evening a patron drinking at the bar made a flirtatious comment to a young woman who caught his eye. Unbeknownst to the patron, one of the two freshmen - who had also been drinking - dated the young woman. The freshman took great offense and whether his reaction was out of perceived disrespect, a sense of chivalry, or jealousy, beer muscles twitched and a minor altercation ensued inside the establishment which was quickly broken up. If the drinking lowered inhibitions enough to contribute to the initial

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altercation, continued drinking over the coming hours only served to bring the freshman's upset to a full boil.

Although there was no further interaction between the patron and the freshman at the bar, at closing time the patron expressed some concern as he left his friends for home. As he headed toward his car in the parking lot he was jumped by the two freshmen. In the ensuing fight he was stabbed seven times, including stabs to the head, chest and torso. One of the stab wounds pierced his heart. The freshmen reportedly stood over and taunted their dying victim, saying "Where are you going all bleeding big boy? Where you going? Running like a bitch?" Moments later the victim, his face covered in blood, collapsed. Emergency personnel were dispatched and the victim was rushed to the hospital by ambulance. Efforts by emergency responders to save his life were unsuccessful and he died on the way to the hospital.

Recalling the incident, Atlantic University's Director of Residence Life, Dr. Ann Savoy shared that around the time of the incident her office had been distributing final exam kits – a morale-boosting package of snacks and small stress relief novelties – which were sold to parents as a fundraiser for the student Residence Hall Association. Dr. Savoy realized that one of the kits not yet picked up was from the parents of one of the students arrested for the murder in the parking lot. Purchased before the incident, his parents knew it was to be their son's first college final exam period, and they very purposefully included a personalized note with the kit. Dr. Savoy relayed:

I can remember very personally….that final exam kit coming with the note from the parents [attached] right on it saying how proud they were that he was going to college…by the time the kit arrived, he was already in jail awaiting trial.

The incident sent shockwaves through the small community. The two freshmen were convicted and sentenced to life in prison. As the judge addressed the courtroom, he summarized in clear terms the tragic outcome of the evening; three families had been destroyed. In just a few alcohol-fueled hours one life was extinguished while two young men saw the trajectories of their lives change dramatically. The hopes and promises that a college education would lead to a successful future and increased opportunity went unfulfilled. The pride and hopes of three families were extinguished. In their place pain, loss and loneliness were firmly entrenched.

For staff members, alcohol-fueled incidents like the one described above generate numerous ripples related to alcohol-control actions. Perhaps the RAs of the two freshmen wonder whether they could have provided better guidance to their residents, or wondered if not looking the other way on an alcohol suspicion incident the previous month might have changed anything. Counselors and other staff might speak with students who experience trauma triggered by the event, or who now feel vulnerable when they go out with friends. University police officers participate in the criminal investigation and are forced to immerse in the horrific details. Intense media coverage of the incident floods the airwaves and newspapers. Residence Life staff work with heartbroken family members to coordinate the removal of personal belongings. Many students rationalize that the incident involved extraordinary bad individuals or judgment

thereby justifying ongoing "thirsty Thursdays" behavior. Executive leaders condemn

violence and express sorrow for the loss of life. They promise that the institution will be

looking into ways to help prevent such events in the future. Those engaged in

educational programming and prevention efforts, as well as those charged with enforcing

current laws and policies feel scrutinized. Eventually time passes, normalcy returns, and

the taps again flow carefree.

House party assault and injury. A more recent incident involved a raucous house

party hosted by Atlantic student tenants and attended by an estimated 200 people.

Students packed the property and many climbed to the garage roof. The incident drew

media attention when video emerged showing a male student intentionally shoved a

female student from a garage roof. The woman was injured in the fall and the male was

arrested and charged with assault. The incident had been captured on video by students

with cell phones. News of the incident also moved quickly online through various social

media sites.

Students. During interviews several staff members made a point of noting that

the majority of Atlantic University's undergraduates were commuter students. The point

of this distinction being that excessive student drinking is primarily a resident student

issue, and since residents represent a minority of Atlantic's undergraduates, judgments

about alcohol and Atlantic students don't truly reflect the majority of the institution's

population. While approximately two-thirds of Atlantic's undergraduate students are, in

fact, commuters, the Carnegie Classification (n.d.) describes Atlantic's setting as

"primarily residential." In considering the residential character of a campus the Carnegie

Classification considers the campus environment, student population, and institutionally provided programs and services. Because this information was offered but not directly asked, it was the belief of the researcher that staff members felt a level of sensitivity about excessive student drinking and the institution's reputation.

Atlantic's SSAO Scott Smalls pointed out "The drinking culture here is a lot lower [than at many campuses]… a lot of that has to do with demographics." Wellness educator Betty Horn reflected the sensitivity associated with characterizing all Atlantic University students based on past critical incidents, saying:

> we have a lot of commuters…people will talk about the behavior of our students but it's really residential students that were talking about. We have about 10,000 students and 3000 living on campus, so the majority are commuters… so we end up with this perception that this is how our students behave and I don't think it always necessarily reflects it... properly…

While Director of Residence Life Ann Savoy concurred that most alcohol-related issues on campus involve resident students SSAO Scott Smalls added:

> Most [students] live exactly at the same address they lived in before they came here, so they're adults who went to community college and transferred in and they have families [they are] 25-30 years old. That's [drinking] not really their scene…or they're students who graduated from high school who chose to live at home and stay with parents and guardians and instead of driving to high school in the morning they're driving here... again, not…their scene…And about 80% of

our students are working 30 or more hours a week - people who are practically fulltime employees going to school here who are living at home having their home with their own family. We don't have a critical mass of students of the 18 to 22-year-old students who want to avail themselves to that social experience

The apparent concern about differentiating the Atlantic University commuter majority population may be related to the negative coverage received following critical incidents and other occurrences of poor student conduct. Amanda Whurlitzer, Director of Student Conduct, reflected on the negative press attention given to student behavior: "neighbors…[are] always willing to go on broadcast media and talk about how crazy these students are and [say things like] it's just a matter of time before this was going to happen." Two staff members also shared that negative attention has also been prominent on a Facebook group for members of the local community. Document review confirms ample evidence of negative coverage in print, electronic, and social media.

While there was a tendency for staff members to simply categorize students residents or commuters, some staff members, including Deputy Chief Hockett and Associate Director of Residence Life Karin Kinsella pointed out that there are problems with this labeling. Amanda Whurlitzer coined the term *resimuter* for students who rent apartments off campus grounds, but in the immediate vicinity of campus. She explained "The majority [of heavy drinking parties] I would say happen off campus…we have a large 'resimuter' population that is closer to some of the residence halls than some of the academic buildings." These students are not the commuters Scott Smalls described; they

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are former residents or transfers who want to have many of the advantages of living on campus while being largely freed of Atlantic's alcohol policies.

Western University's percentage of commuter students is even higher than Atlantic University's, even with a very recent increase in residence hall capacity. The Carnegie Classification (n.d.) categorizes Western's setting as "primarily residential" based on the campus environment, student population, and institutionally provided programs and services. Despite these facts none of the staff members interviewed described the Western University campus in terms of residents and commuters. The lack of historical critical incidents has allowed Western to avoid the pressures associated with widespread negative media coverage and contribute to the ways staff members think of, and describe their campus. In addition, the presence of other universities in the city with more robust student drinking cultures has tended to deflect the attention of the local community away from Western. In this sense, the drinking behavior of Western University students may be critiqued less on its own merits than in comparison to student behavior at other universities in the city.

Instead of describing their campus in terms of residents and commuters, Western University staff members described the institution in terms of the city environment and more often discussed *where* issues occurred, rather than *who* may or may not be primarily involved. Specifically, staff frequently brought up off campus bars, events targeting all of the city's college students, neighborhood norms, and the fraternity parties held at nearby campuses.

The exception to this was when participants discussed freshman resident students. Mary Ann Summers, Residence Director, shared that in her experience she has noticed that first year students are more likely to be medically transported for alcohol than upperclassmen. Director of Residence Life Steve Douglas confirmed "Most of the kind of more dangerous drinking habits tend to be first year students." In a hopeful sign for the future, Wellness Educator Mattie Ross noted that an increasing percentage of freshmen students at Western identify as low or non-drinkers. Ross cited survey data obtained through the online alcohol course required of all incoming Western students. Ross added that completion of the course is mandatory for incoming students and a spring registration hold is put in place if the course is not completed.

It was generally held that the degree to which Western's freshman residents violated alcohol-control policies was related to their transition to college. Dr. Jane Hathaway, Director of the Counseling Center shared the following views based on her work with student clients:

> Those first year students don't really know what to do with themselves and that adds a ton of transitional stress….they're not talking about it in terms of peer pressure. It's sort of internal pressure in terms of 'this is what I'm supposed to be doing, but yet it's conflicting with a little bit of what I've been sort of been brought up with' and a little bit of 'I'm not comfortable with that but if I don't who will be my peers?' …there's a lot [of alcohol messages] before they come here…of what college is s upposed to be…and drinking is part of that conversation. Both with high school peers and a lot of family stuff still with

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'When I went to college'… stories…I don't know if that's a unique thing but…I've seen a lot of that over the last few years relative to our first year students and drinking. I think all the similar stuff; they don't know how to drink [and] when they do [drink]…we do a lot of harm reduction.

Western and Atlantic University staff members described their campuses similarly when asked about student athletes and student drinking. In terms of violating campus alcohol policies, multiple participants at both campuses stated that they believed student athletes were, at worst, about the same as other students. Western's Judy Robinson felt that they were "about the same as others….I know their names and…they are more on my radar." Atlantic Residence Director Jimmy Blake observed "I don't think there's any kind of significant alcohol culture when it comes to athletes." Atlantic's Director of Health Services, Doris Murphy confirmed "I would say it [excessive drinking] is highly discouraged and the coaches do everything in their power to know their athletes well enough." Many staff interviewed tended to know who the athletes were and it appeared that as a population student athletes may be subjected to closer scrutiny than other students. At both institutions there was praise for their Wellness Educators - Mattie Ross at Western and Betty Horn at Atlantic - and for their work on alcohol-control issues with student athletes.

Campus drinking culture. Staff members interviewed presented as credible and forthcoming in describing the unique campus drinking culture at their respective universities. The drinking cultures at the two campuses are heavily influenced by their external environments, which have been discussed previously. The number of

establishments and events, proximity to campus, traditions, and size of the local community are all factors related to individual campus drinking cultures. University engagement and work with local officials to address community factors related to alcohol prevention, as recommended by DeJong and Langford (2002), may be seen as evidence that officials are working to change their campus drinking culture.

Events related to campus drinking culture. Homecoming Weekend and its traditional football game was repeatedly cited at both institutions as an event linked to excessive drinking and perpetuating campus drinking culture. The effect of this event was especially expressed as a significant concern by participants at Western University. In addition, at Atlantic University, participants also reported "Spring Weekend" as an annual event which has become a tradition associated with campus drinking culture.

Homecoming. A number of common concerns were expressed about Homecoming events by participants at both campuses. Most participants had firsthand experience with response to problematic behavior associated with Homecoming which informed the concerns they expressed. A major concern of those interviewed was the health and safety of those who attended the event, as well as the safety of others who may come in contact with those individuals later. Many shared that problematic behaviors associated with the event spill over into the residence halls or other parts of campus and create significant response needs ranging from medical transports to processing a high number of student conduct cases. Participants at both campuses also voiced concern that prevention efforts and alcohol-control policy messaging during the first weeks of the semester are undermined by the drinking allowed at Homecoming. They see the event as

sending mixed and potentially confusing messages to students about alcohol consumption on campus.

Interview participants at Western University strongly advocated for a more controlled approach to alcohol use at their homecoming. In contrast, staff at Atlantic University became alarmed at the expanded presence of alcohol at their homecoming event. Atlantic's president had recently made the decision to introduce a beer tent at the Homecoming football game. One staff member recalled "that's where the president met with most people - over beer and wine…it was really interesting this happened on a weekend that tends to be a hard weekend [on staff responding to alcohol incidents] student wise."

At Western University Homecoming is a large scale student, staff and alumni event viewed a s very important to the fundraising goals of the university's Advancement staff. It is important to note that the Western community generally does not identify around its football team, and attendance is really about the social drinking event, and not the game itself. As a result the football team and game simply serve as a convenient backdrop for a fundraising drinking event.

The tailgating tradition at Western University is long established. Wellness educator Mattie Ross recalled "I went to Western state…[decades earlier] and it was kind of the same thing back then. We knew Homecoming was a great, fun event day and the rules seemed to go out the window that day."

The physical layout of Western's campus further exacerbates the impact of the event. When the researcher toured the Western campus it was clear that the campus was

somewhat compact with the football field and other facilities all relatively close to academic buildings, residence halls and other student life facilities. Foot traffic pathways bring people out of the football field and to the nearby residential and academic buildings on the campus. Pregame tailgating is allowed in the parking lots closest to academic and administrative buildings. Campus geography results in the alcohol-fueled Homecoming events being highly visible to students, with incidents involving participants spilling over into the residence halls based on their proximity to the field and parking lots.

Although some attempts have been made to better control Homecoming the event has been generally shielded from attempts to reduce excessive student drinking. One staff member lamented "students can do whatever they want at the… [football stadium and tailgating area] but when you come…[to the residential area] you are going to get in trouble." Overall, staff members complained that the permissiveness related to drinking during Homecoming sent confusing and mixed messages to students. Alice Nelson has worked during Homecoming for many years and described it as a "mixed message for the students. Usually Homecoming is in October, so all of September you do all this orientation and education and then it's allowed." Those interviewed voiced great frustration and felt a lack of support for staff members left to deal with drunkenness and related problems in the residential areas. Residence Director Mary Ann Summers shared that Homecoming "is definitely our biggest weekend." Summers noted that overnight guests in the residence halls dramatically increase during the weekend because residents invite friends from other schools to join the party. This, in turn, helps perpetuate the reputation of the event and helps shape Western's drinking culture. Summers also shared

that approximately half of all alcohol-related student conduct cases she handled during the fall semester occurred during Homecoming.

Staff members responsible for enforcing alcohol-control policies felt like they were set up to be the "bad guys" by having to deal with the repercussions of inconsistent policies and enforcement created by Advancement. Further, some staff members see the position they are put in, which may include coordinating ambulance transports, responding to vandalism, and having to engaging in difficult confrontations with drunken visitors late into the night as being forced to clean up the mess created by the approach to alcohol during the Advancement program. This is further exacerbated by feelings Advancement is indifferent to the experiences of those responsible for alcohol policy enforcement. Judy Robinson, Associate Director of Residence Life explained "my staff is working all weekend, and that is just exhausting. Now we look like the bad guys. It just happens every year." Robinson described the Advancement staff's approach during the event, explaining "although Alumni [office staff] is walking around the tailgating area, there is no real policing of the situation. Students still go…there carrying in alcohol, even if they aren't 21." If a student passes a police check-point and is found to have an alcohol container, such as a beer can or hard liquor bottle, they are required to empty the container, throw it away, and move along. There are no further consequences and there is virtually no risk for the offender. While obvious alcohol containers are dumped out and discarded, all other open containers are allowed to be freely brought into the Homecoming game. Accordingly, it is common knowledge that alcohol can be carried into the event simply by simply placing it into another container such as a coffee cup, a water bottle, or a Gatorade bottle. The container won't be questioned and the

alcohol can then be freely consumed. This practice creates the perception that enforcement of underage and public drinking is subjective and that the institution is not fully committed to enforcement of state liquor laws, or even their own published alcohol policies.

Football tailgating. At Western University concerns about tailgating are an issue only during Homecoming, but at Atlantic University the concern extends to all home football games. One participant interviewed shared concerns about tailgate party drinking at every home football game and reflected:

> students go to these games and they don't understand why these people can stand outside and drink, and it's not a big deal, but our students who are 21 can't… then that same student stands…[on another part of campus] and gets confronted and possibly arrested for public intoxication when they [security and police] would've walked the other way at the football game…so that happens.

Atlantic University's football field is located on a peripheral edge of its campus. It is out of sight and a significant distance from both the center of campus. In comparison to Western University, tailgating at Atlantic is not visible to the general campus community and one cannot quickly and easily move between the football stadium and the residence halls or academic buildings. Beyond the tailgating area, Atlantic employs more alcohol controls at their football stadium than their counterparts at Western by strictly limiting alcohol to a fenced-in beer tent area, and not allowing open containers or consumption in the stands.

Spring Weekend. Spring Weekend continues to be an event associated with the student drinking culture at Atlantic University. Over time Spring Weekend has transitioned from an event which, decades ago, featured campus sanctioned drinking programs on campus, to an event which provides wholesome fun and stress relief just before final exam week. Although Atlantic's Spring Weekends have been alcohol free for some time, Spring Weekend remains a significant event related to the student drinking culture because it continues to signal a time for heavy drinking and celebrations, although these activities now occur at local bars and nearby student rental houses. At first the campus removed alcohol service from the weekend, but continued the weekend's familiar programming including live concerts. Students responded by moving their expected drinking activities to the local bars and student houses which are all within easy walking distance. Kelly Leak, Security Coordinator, recalled the problems that occurred just off campus during his first Spring Weekend at Atlantic:

> they had [spring weekend] concerts and…the band was [a well-known popular headliner]...three, four hundred people on [neighboring road]… Folks passed out in the street. Fist fights happening. Our officers responding. One officer had a kid on the ground, while he was cuffing him, a kid came up and kicked him in the jaw. The kid on the ground got tackled. Beer cans everywhere. Passed out people everywhere…It was awful. Just awful.

Atlantic University's Spring Weekend programs now comprise a week of wholesome non-alcoholic programs which are well attended. Examples of programming include performances by comedians, carnival novelties, food trucks, and outdoor movies.

Despite these changes Spring Weekend remains associated with student problems and excessive drinking. Document review revealed that many students still see Spring Weekend primarily as a tradition of excessive drinking signaling the near end of the academic year. The week of programming is a significant undertaking by the student activities office which now sees their effort as a positive alternative to the very different celebration which occurs off campus. Ann Savoy, Director of Residence Life, strongly supported the efforts of her student activities colleagues, explaining that if the University canceled the positive on-campus programming there would be nothing to compete with the parties that still happen in town. At the same time Savoy also reported that in recent years there has some pushback from faculty members calling for an end to the Spring Weekend event. Savoy recalled:

> we have some faculty that are very anti-Spring Weekend…and petition every year for Spring Weekend to be canceled… and then it bleeds over into the town in this is terrible Facebook group for [town] residents… there's a lot of, "I hate [Atlantic] stuff" on it... we could have no events on campus and those parties will still happen in town

As an epilogue to the reported impact of Atlantic's Spring Weekend, after all interviews were completed and data coded, multiple media outlets reported that three days of partying at a student rental house two blocks from Atlantic ended with the arrest of dozens of partygoers. Neighbors reported fights, littering, and students urinating in their yards, while police reported some students threw beer bottles and cans at officers responding to complaints.

In contrast, no comparable remnant from spring weekend traditions remain embedded in student drinking culture at Western University. Mattie Ross, recalling her days as a Western University undergraduate recalled "we used to have… [a] day in the spring semester that was a kind of free for all. And they don't have that anymore, so that definitely has changed." Most participants interviewed at Western were not aware of their former spring weekend tradition and none could offer any information on when, or how, the event and its place in student drinking culture vanished.

Other events. Besides Homecoming and Spring Weekend, two other events were reportedly linked to campus drinking at both universities. During these events, Halloween and St. Patrick's Day, staff reported a historical increase in excessive student drinking. The fact that Halloween usually occurs close to Homecoming creates momentum for increased drinking exacerbates the effect on campus drinking culture. St. Patrick's Day, occurs the week after Atlantic and Western schedule their spring break vacations. While it is also a holiday associated with drinking in larger culture, it also serves as an opportunity to reconnect with college friends following vacation and kick off the final quarter of the academic year.

When students drink. Both campuses reported that certain days of the week tend to be associated with higher levels of student drinking. Atlantic Director of Student Conduct Amanda Whurlitzer described Wednesday as a busy drinking night at the local bars and Thursday as another evening when reports typically spike. She reported that Fridays tend to be somewhat quieter and activity once again picks up on Saturday nights. At Western, Mary Ann Summers, Judy Robinson and Steve Douglas cited Thursday and

Saturday as the nights of the week staff members are most likely to encounter alcohol-control policy related incidents, followed by Fridays. Steve Douglas explained "We are pretty similar with the whole Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights are the big nights."

Family and other relationships. Staff members identified several factors they believed may influence student attitudes and their campus's drinking culture. At Western University Mary Ann Summers shared "I think students look at alcohol like it's legal at some point so it's not that big of a deal. Vince Carter, who attended Western as an undergraduate, believed students drink to excess today just as they did when he was a student, but today's students drink with a sense of entitlement; he shared "people drank to excess then but they weren't jerks. I think the attitude of intoxicated people now is horrible compared to what it used to be." Carter went on to lament both the lack of responsibility today's students take for their own behavior, and the intervention of parents who don't support institutional alcohol policies. Carter reflected "you know before people would take it, 'yup I screwed up'…but not now... And everyone's mother is calling too, which is a pain in the ass." Chief McCandles agreed that parents can be a negative influence and relayed accounts of parents allowing their underage students to drink on campus during homecoming.

Western University Wellness Educator Mattie Ross confirmed that parental attitude can be an issue. She noted "you are still going to have people who are very old school, traditional… it's a rite of passage and it's going to happen." Western University's Director of Counseling, Jane Hathaway, shared "there are a lot [of conversations with family] before they come here…of what college is supposed to be…and drinking is part

of that conversation…and a lot of family stuff still with 'When I went to college'…

stories." She noted that this can be particularly troubling for first year students

transitioning to college. She explained that these students are sometimes caught in a

dilemma between what they have been told college is - or should be - and the fear of not

having peers, and making drinking decisions that bring discomfort.

Atlantic participants interviewed also commented on the influence parents may

have in setting student drinking expectations. Dr. Scott Smalls, Atlantic's SSAO, noted

"you have parents that think college students will be college students – [and should] have

the full experience." He also expressed concern that the drinking age was likely 21 when

parents of today's college students attended college themselves. "Administrators can no

longer tell parents that drinking is different because it was legal when they were in

college." Smalls added. He further explained the potential impact, "the strategies they

used when they were [underage] college students …they were okay with it in one sense

or another…now they're passing it on, maybe not strategies per se, but the acceptance of

avoiding laws, that's okay." Betty Horn, Wellness Educator at Atlantic, reported on the

influence of parent intervention with student completion of the mandatory online alcohol

education course. Horn shared "This year I was surprised…I just had a lot of angry

parents…who were just very unpleasant…that was part of those same unpleasant parents

who called the President's office, which led them [President's office] to decide to

remove…holds [used for force compliance with course completion]." Scott Smalls stated

that there are parents today who think "I wasn't drinking legally when I was in college,

and I'm fine…this is their [student's] chance to experiment, and your job is to take care of them and keep them in the bubble."

Media. Several staff members discussed the role of popular media, news media and social media as having a role in the formation of student's college drinking expectations. Western University's Steve Douglas reflected that seemingly every movie including college settings includes "one or two obligatory college party scenes….this is just kind of the image that…portrays what college is like." Douglas noted that other typical college events tend not to be depicted and that it takes students some time to understand that these images don't depict reality. Residence Director Mary Ann Summers added that social media also plays a role. When students post drinking photos on social media they share information about the drinking environment that can shape the drinking expectancies of friends and acquaintances.

Atlantic University's Amanda Whurlitzer contemplated the role that print and electronic media have had in shaping perceptions about the University and its drinking scene noting "it's troubling…when we've had a pretty high-profile incident, neighbors were always willing to go on [broadcast media] and talk about how crazy these students are and 'it's [been] just a matter of time – [before] this was going to happen" Like others Whurlitzer also acknowledged Facebook groups that do not cast positive light on Atlantic students. Atlantic University's Kelly Leak echoed the thoughts shared by Steve Douglas at Western when he opined "kids are brought up with [movies like] Animal House and… the movies that reinforce that notion that college is all about drinking and they feel like they're not getting the full experience if they're not [drinking]"

Alcohol industry and distribution related factors. Student drinking culture at both Atlantic and Western University are influenced by the system of distribution and marketing employed by the alcohol industry. Bars within close walking distance to the Atlantic University campus have been frequented by students for decades, have helped shaped the campus drinking culture, and have had significant roles in historical critical incidents. The perpetuation of Spring Weekend as a drinking event at Atlantic, for example, has been aided by local bars recognizing and promoting the week. It also serves to reason that the traditional heavy drinking week would be economically beneficial for these small businesses just prior to student departure for summer vacation. At Western University the lines of taxi cabs and buses on the main street in front of campus taking students out to bars and nightclubs are a tangible reminder that student drinking culture and the city's nightlife establishments are intertwined.

Alcohol product development also appears to have an impact on student drinking according to some staff members. Western's Judy Robinson noted that caffeinated alcoholic beverages were popular in recent years including coffee combinations. Mattie Ross noted that the original highly caffeinated product Four Loko "hit here pretty hard…we had some serious incidents with it and we acted on it very quickly." Ross also observed that she has noted significant differences with an increasing range of flavored spirits available, she reflected:

It tastes better than the gross stuff that was back in the 80s, that's for sure. It has got to make a difference. I'm not a drinker, but…students sometimes they'll be

like 'oh I had… whipped cream flavored vodka with caramel' and I'm…

[thinking] that sounds kind of good. I hate to say it but…

Review of market options supports the observation. A wide range of products are available as a way to increase sales by making drinks more appealing and palatable. These offerings include a cinnamon flavored whiskey with a name similar to "Atomic Fireballs" candy, bourbons and whiskeys infused with maple syrup, and vodka, rum and tequila infused with fruit or special flavor options like jalapeño, cocoa, coffee, bacon, maple, honey and whipped cream. Not to be outdone, breweries offer hard root beer, hard lemonades, hard cider, honey meads and even one collaboration with a premium ice cream manufacturer marketed as "Salted Caramel Brownie Brown Ale." The impact of these trends in the college context means that drinks are more palatable to those who might otherwise be deterred by the taste of traditional spirits or brews and options are available which appeal to nearly every taste or palate.

Influences in enrollment and admissions process. Several participants shared observations related to enrollment and the college admission process that are related to student drinking. While Admissions staff members are not typically responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies, one of the participants interviewed, Atlantic's Dr. Scott Smalls, provides oversight to a division that includes both enrollment management and student affairs. Dr. Scott Smalls offered some thoughts on the impact of the enrollment and admissions process on the student drinking culture at Atlantic University:

We find students come here because of, first, geography; second, price; and then third, friends and people from high school one year before; and fourth, family, or mentors who have an affiliation with the school…you take those four factors and they account for 90% of our new students.

For high school students, expectations of the campus drinking environment are shaped through communication with friends and family already in college, through social media depictions of the campus party scene, and through actual visits to campus. The effect of this dynamic on the drinking culture is that prospective students looking for a "wet social scene" may be drawn to campuses based upon these factors and, if they ultimately are accepted and attend, may conduct themselves consistent with their expectations. In this way, the drinking culture has a hand in recruiting students to further perpetuate drinking norms and expectations into the future. That is, high school drinkers may tend to select into institutions where they perceive the presence of similar drinking social groups. A study by Stappenbeck, Quinn, Wetherill and Fromme (2010) confirmed this dynamic and found that pre-college drinking and socialization did impact college selection. The current 30-day prevalence of alcohol use by 12th graders is reported at 35.3% by the Monitoring the Future study (2016). While this rate has decreased steadily over the past 20 years, it is reasonable to expect that the selection and socialization processes of high school students transitioning to college will continue to impact campus drinking cultures.

Perhaps in response to this dynamic, as well as in response to push back from students and their families, staff members at both Atlantic and Western reported the

importance of directing intentional messaging to prospective students. Scott Smalls argued that any student complaining about the enforcement of alcohol policies at Atlantic University "knew before they came here and are frustrated to see the reality that we are not a party school." Ann Savoy stated that transparency about alcohol-control policies, including 24-hour security and bag checks, is important. She added "It didn't stop them from living here…it didn't hurt our enrollment numbers…it didn't hurt our occupancy numbers." Amanda Whurlitzer echoed this point when she relayed how Atlantic staff members begin informing prospective students about alcohol policy enforcement on campus admissions tours.

At Western University, staff members also spoke about the fact that students selecting Western were clearly informed that the campus was dry before they decided to attend. Mary Ann Summers stated "they don't come in thinking it's a wet campus. They are told from day one that this is a dry campus, so they kind of know what they are getting." Western's SSAO Jennifer Curran relayed her personal observations, saying "you see tour guides saying we are a dry campus."

One other significant factor related to enrollment and alcohol-control policy implementation is financial impact. The impact of financial costs associated with policy implementation was voiced by Western SSAO Jennifer Curran who stated:

> The one thing I find institutionally changes a little bit is where our housing
> numbers end up. So, if you are over 100% [occupancy] you are allowed to be
> much more strict. I'm not saying you can go totally off policy, but things are
> allowed to be held in abeyance… or you're not going to suspend somebody until

the summer, and we're just talking about alcohol that's pretty much it. When

you're not at 100% you are more liberal in allowing certain things to happen…the

student who may have a second alcohol violation, or a third one, who in years

past when you were at 104 or 105% occupancy you'd say 'see you later buddy'…

Now, you're more like 'we can work with you'… and I really hate that but

sometimes you have to think of it in that way.

It should be noted document review confirmed residence hall occupancy rates at Western

University had been below 100% during the previous academic year.

At Atlantic University, Betty Horn became aware of the financial impact of

alcohol-control policy implementation during the most recent spring registration period.

Following the death of a student, who was struck by another student driving while

intoxicated, the University required all incoming students to complete an on-line alcohol

education course. In the subsequent decade the university had been resolute in requiring

student compliance with completion of the course and enforced the policy by placing a

registration hold on the account of any noncompliant student until the course was

completed. Administering compliance has been one of Horn's responsibilities. Horn

reported that the university also made an on-line course on sexual violence prevention

mandatory, with the president's office overseeing compliance. The president's office,

however, removed all holds on the accounts of students who did not complete the

mandatory sexual violence course. The reason, Horn explained, was "because they were

very concerned too many people had holds and, therefore, we would have to let staff go

because students would not register for classes and that, for me, was just mind blowing!"

Instead, the president's office informed students they would be dropped from spring classes if they did not complete the required course. Later the president's office informed Horn they had decided not to drop students from their spring classes either. Horn reflected:

> So, I was disappointed. I guess…it's an awful lot of work to get students to complete it. They didn't force me to take the alcohol holds off…they kept saying it was my decision [alcohol course holds] and I didn't take them off until later, but…an e-mail went out [to students] saying holds have been removed and it didn't specify only the sexual violence prevention course, so students were then very confused."

When later asked how resources influence how what leaders do, or don't do, with regard to alcohol-control policies at Atlantic University Betty Horn returned to this incident, which clearly troubled her:

> I think it impacts it greatly… just from that example I just gave you the idea that people wouldn't be registering for classes and we would lose that income…this is honestly the first time… in the 20 years I've been here that we were going to change rules because of money.

Michaela Quinn, Atlantic's Director of Health Services described the issue, saying "There is…concern right now that getting students in the door, and public image, may be a little bit more important than telling them [students who didn't complete the course] what will happen [holds] and implementing it." Speaking in a patient manner, Quinn added "I understand the balance institutionally. We are clearly a business, we

clearly need customers." After contemplating the incident briefly she continued

"education means they [students]… need to understand that the rules are the rules, and

that integrity means that the rules are the same for everyone…and if you don't follow the

rules there is a consequence." Quinn went on to explain that her staff held the line in

enforcing the policy, and dealt with the unpleasant interactions with students and parents

because of the importance placed on mandatory completion of the on-line alcohol course.

Quinn noted that they had dealt with the phone calls related to holds for many years but

that they now have an administration:

> that doesn't realize that we get 600 calls [complaining] about 'Johnny didn't do it,
>
> and you're going to stop him from registering.' We sent Johnny five
>
> emails…explaining exactly what needed to be done or what would happen…we
>
> believe too many of our students come in entitled about 'this cant mean me', and
>
> it's poor education [to not hold students accountable to responsibilities]…but it
>
> will take time for them to understand because we put a hold on 500 students
>
> doesn't mean we're losing 500 students. It means we are making them
>
> accountable.

Horn and Quinn had internalized the mission of requiring completion of the

online alcohol course assigned by the previous president. This mission had deep

importance to community members who were present and responded to the gruesome

death of the student killed leaving a bar who was struck by another student driving under

the influence. Quinn reflected "we have put on holds, taken off holds, and made students

accountable." The actions of the president's office had the effect of devaluing the staff's

effort while demonstrating a lack of awareness of the efforts put forth for many years. Quinn went on to explain that in her departments, they have a philosophy "if we say it, it's the truth and we do what we promise." She paused before summarizing how the incident impacted her staff "it's a little frustrating because we have spent a lot of energy to be credible and if… students know you're not doing it, you're not credible."

Executive leadership. A second theme which emerged from case study data analysis was perceived support by executive leadership. Participants discussed executive leadership at two levels. At the campus level executive leadership refers to the university president, vice presidents, executive cabinet members and trustees. At the state level, executive leadership refers to the state higher education governing board, the board's executive director, and other high level administrators in the department. Perceptions of executive leadership support, policy saliency, campus compliance, and associated issues are reported.

Campus executive leadership. The sitting presidents of Atlantic and Western Universities are somewhat new to the role with neither having yet served five years as president. At the time case study interviews were conducted Hamilton Porter was completing his first year as president of Atlantic University while David Addison was in his fifth academic year as president of Western University. Prior to becoming president at their respective institutions neither had previously been a university president. Both presidents had previous public higher education work experience in the state, including during the time that the state's system-wide alcohol policy was passed.

At both campuses participants interviewed felt that their senior student affairs officer genuinely cared about alcohol-control policies and prevention of excessive student drinking. At Atlantic University Karin Kinsella, Associate Director of Residence Life, did not hesitate when she quickly replied "Scott Smalls cares." When asked about individuals who influence alcohol-control policies in a positive direction Director of Counseling Michael Palledorous likewise credited Smalls. Larry Hockett, Deputy Police Chief also cited SSAO Smalls as a key staff person who positively influences alcohol-control policies. At Western University staff members similarly credited SSAO Jennifer Curran as having a positive influence on alcohol-control policy implementation. Judy Robinson, Associate Director of Residence Life credited Curran with maintaining an important sense of urgency around alcohol-control policy implementation for the Student Affairs division. It should be noted that Atlantic SSAO Scott Smalls served as a member of President Porter's executive cabinet while at Western SSAO Jennifer Curran was not a member of President Addison's executive cabinet.

Perceptions of lack of executive leadership support. At Atlantic University several participants interviewed expressed concerns, or believed there was a lack of support on the part of the president, trustees and other executive leaders, with the exception of their SSAO. Some of these concerns stem from the historic response of Atlantic's presidents to critical incidents and excessive student drinking issues. Ann Savoy recalled with frustration how progress in the implementation of alcohol-control policies seemed to always be reactive, and follows significant critical incidents. Savoy recalled the reactive responses of President Evelyn Gardner following the fire alarm

incident some described as an alcohol-related riot. At the time one of Gardner's responses

was to hold open forums to discuss the incidents. Savoy shared that in Gardner's case

there was an edge to her responses that seemed to question the competency of staff

members. Savoy recalled that at that time sanctions often associated with alcohol policy

violations included disciplinary probationary and other sanctions. Savoy shared her

recollection of post-incident open forums that stayed vivid in her memory nearly 20 years

later:

> That was a rough time to work in residence life. Back then we didn't have a
>
> separate [student] conduct office and the then president was doing open forums
>
> and had gotten word that [when] somebody [was] sanctioned for [an] alcohol
>
> [violation the student] had an assigned educational bulletin board…and she was
>
> like 'there's no education - students just have to make a bulletin board' and we'd
>
> be in the back of the room feeling like everyone was looking at us and there was
>
> so much more to it than the bulletin board but that was the tagline that came out.

Educational bulletin boards were, at that time, a common sanction occasionally imposed

on top of other sanctions like disciplinary probation.   The sanction was designed to

encourage the student to reflect on potential consequences of their behavior while adding

awareness raising information which might benefit peers. Dr. Gardner, however,

distorted the range of sanctions imposed and, in her talking points, suggested that making

a bulletin board was the only consequence for violating campus alcohol policies. In

doing so, she also distanced herself from those front line staff members trying to

implement and enforce the more liberal policies of the time. There was a perceived tone

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of condemnation as she pointed out that there was no education *at all* involved in response to drinking behavior. Her remarks had the effect of making staff members feel they were being called out and publically shamed.

President Gardner was succeeded by Dr. William Chapel, who served as Atlantic's president for more than a decade. The changes to Atlantic's campus alcohol policy made during president Gardner's tenure seemed sufficient until the academic year when two significant critical incidents previously described – the parking lot stabbing, and the OUI fatality - resulted in the death of one student and one alumnus, and the arrest and incarceration of three Atlantic students. By all accounts, the incidents shocked the campus community, fueled negative response and pressure from town residents and officials, and once again placed the campus in an intense media spotlight. Unlike previous critical incidents, Atlantic's reputation was also being influenced by new social media sites Facebook and MySpace.

The magnitude of these incidents also demanded the attention of the University's trustees and state officials. President Chapel responded to the incidents by expanding Atlantic University's alcohol-control policies. "That's when President [Chapel] decided we would institute a required alcohol course for all freshmen" recalled wellness educator, Betty Horn. Horn was charged with implementation of this program and was provided the authority to place registration holds on the accounts of students who did not complete the course to insure compliance. Scott Smalls, Atlantic's SSAO, credited past executive leaders for taking action, noting "several years before I got here…[Gardner and Chapel] had had enough and not only did they look at alcohol policies but also how they were being enforced and really stepped up to the plate." Director of Student Conduct Amanda

Whurlitzer, however, characterized Chapel as "pretty hands off" with regard to alcohol-control policy implementation. Betty Horn also contemplated Chapel's influence and shared:

> [Chapel] very much wanted to be sure that students were educated, but my office has remained as a one-person prevention office over the years, so I don't know how much of that is 'we want to say were doing something' but how much commitment is actually behind that?

Deputy Chief Hockett, when asked about support for alcohol-control policies on the part of executive staff stated "they give a tremendous amount. We get 100% support from the University administration." At the same time he conceded "You know, over the years, to watch the university grow, the resources and the staffing doesn't grow along with it at that rate." Nonetheless, the charge to implement the program was seen as important and taken on with a strong sense of ownership. Doris Murphy, Director of Health Services recalled that "our president mandated a drug and alcohol education program, and it was truly implemented…we forced all freshmen to take that program and to be accountable if they wish to reenter the institution in the future semester."

Atlantic's current president, Hamilton Porter, took office less than a year before staff members were interviewed for this research study. Interview participants generally conveyed that "the jury was still out" on Porter's leadership relative to supporting the implementation of alcohol-control policies. When asked about President Porter's position and strength of opinions on alcohol-control one staff member replied "the President…I'm not really sure, because…he's a new president…it's hard to gauge where

he is at with different things." An exception to the wait and see attitude was expressed by Deputy Chief Hockett, who stated "we're thrilled [Hamilton Porter] became president...when he became president he took the PD direct report…which was good."

Remaining participants reserved judgment on President Porter's stance on alcohol-control policies and policy enforcement. While they generally liked President Porter, and felt it was an exciting time for the campus, many were anxious about how the new president's values and decisions regarding alcohol-control policies might impact their work with students, and whether there might be a reversal of hard fought progress attained. None of the participants interviewed recalled Porter making any comments about the issue of excessive student drinking. Residence director Jimmy Blake confirmed "I definitely have not heard anything from our current president…about it."

Staff members looked to their limited experiences with President Porter in hopes of finding clues that might dispel or confirm fears. Multiple staff members expressed concerns about the beer tent at Homecoming. One staff member shared "We hadn't had that [a beer tent] for years, so I was kind of surprised…and I'm not sure that that sends the best message to students." Another staff member worried that the new president's decision reflected his comfort with a campus drinking culture closer to his own undergraduate experiences. President Porter reportedly spent almost the entire Homecoming game at the beer tent interacting with alumni, and one staff member wondered about the role modeling and messaging associated with that choice. Finally, concern was also expressed that increasing the presence of alcohol at homecoming showed a lack of support for enforcement staff already dealing with a historically difficult weekend.

The previously described issue of removing registration holds for those new students who did not complete required online courses was another concern flagged about current executive leadership. The commitment of the President to policy enforcement was called into question when his office undermined the credibility and work of the Wellness Educator by removing registration holds placed on the accounts of students who did not complete mandatory online alcohol and sexual violence awareness courses.

Several staff members expressed lack of certainty, doubts or dissatisfaction with executive leadership regarding their support for implementation of alcohol-control policies. When asked about how much interest executive leadership has in alcohol-control policies and reducing excessive student drinking Residence Director Jimmy Blake stated "I don't think much… I don't mean to say that in a negative way… I don't think there has been anything recently that has made them feel they need to get involved" Doris Murphy stated "I think things that they don't hear of, isn't a problem…if we're not in the headlines…not in the way of the mission or the business. That sounds crass and I don't mean it to be." Murphy reiterated "if it has an effect on public opinion then they're more concerned than with the actual behavior of our students." For executive leadership and trustees she added "I don't think it's perceived how much alcohol interferes with the ability of a student to be successful." For those at the top of the organization there is more interest in topics currently getting attention. She explained "so right now the prevention of choice, I guess I'd say, is more in opioid prevention." Amanda Whurlitzer, Director of Student Conduct, felt that universities generally tend to have "very difficult relationships with alcohol because there's on some level a partnership that's been made" With regard to executive leadership Whurlitzer added "those who are higher up, and

trustees, only care about alcohol issues when… [they] are having a negative impact or when they're hearing negative things… Other than that, that silent partnership is allowed to exist." Michael Palledorous, Director of Counseling, felt that trustees do not have enough information about the excessive drinking and alcohol-control policies but that executive leadership in general does care about student safety. One participant shared that "we are very diligent in our enforcement of the alcohol policy except at football games…when I brought that up…to our last two presidents they said they saw it as important to our alumni." She felt that the presidents she spoke with didn't seem concerned with what she perceived as students being given mixed messages. One staff member interviewed felt that executive leadership has had little interest in alcohol enforcement, prevention or alcohol-control policies, adding "My feeling is the expectation is to make sure that it [a critical incident] doesn't happen, and that it doesn't get in the news. No one is giving us the resources, the staff, or putting anything in place but our job is to control it."

At Western University a number of participants interviewed also voiced concern about executive leadership support and commitment to implementation of alcohol-control policies. When asked about the level of executive leadership interest in alcohol policy implementation, Residence Director Mary Ann Summers reflected "I would say… low interest… because, at least to my knowledge, nothing huge has happened recently… I think if something tragic were to happen it would push it right up." Judy Robinson, Associate Director of Residence Life decided to quantify her perception of executive leadership support "On a scale of one to ten I would say a two. I just don't think it's on

their minds…The support is not there." Robinson continued "I just don't think it's on their radar most of the time…just doesn't feel like something that crosses their mind - like people squawking about parking… No one has died so it's fine, is kind of how it feels." Steve Douglas, Director of Residence Life, concurred with his staff, describing executive leadership interest in alcohol-control policies as "Low." Jane Hathaway, Director of Counseling, similarly described executive leadership interest in alcohol-control policies; "Doesn't appear to be much - and I use the word appear… I can't really say from the trustees because they… don't have much contact. The only reason they would is if there was an incident or there was something significant." Hathaway also commented on the impact on staff members responsible for alcohol prevention and policy enforcement stating "If you don't feel like there is support amongst staff and faculty and sort of upper level administration, that kind of wears on you." Vince Carter, Director of Student Conduct, stated that the strength of interest in alcohol-control policies by the president, vice presidents and trustees was "Zero because they don't deal with it… there's no urgency above the dean of student affairs." Carter felt this negatively impacts the overall attention given to reducing excessive student drinking at Western University; he concluded "I don't think there's support from higher up." Associate Dean of Students Alice Nelson offered a more measured response, stating "I don't think they even think about it, nor should they. That's our job to do… until something happens I suppose." Mattie Ross, Wellness Educator, commented "I think they understand it exists… I don't feel as though it's a priority. And I don't know if they understand to what extent it exists." Jennifer Curran, Western's SSAO assessed executive leadership interest as "Limited…There was an alcohol and other drug task force on this campus that was

started as a recommendation by our annual review. One of the big pushes from it was the lack of controls around homecoming and that kind of blew up this year." When asked if she felt that data on student support might influence executive leadership on alcohol-control policies Curran stated "No…because alcohol prevention efforts I feel have been around for so long, [there is a feeling that] you can't stop them."

At Western University participants reported that the Vice President overseeing University fundraising and his staff undermined alcohol-control policy implementation. An adversarial attitude was clearly evident towards the Advancement area, which runs Homecoming and other events on campus with alcohol. Jennifer Curran described the dynamic; "Essentially, University advancement, who runs [Homecoming] has blinders up, 'no seems fine to me!' " Curran explained staff dynamics further, "Some of the people who work with him [President Addison] have a very liberal view of alcohol, and so it is always about that balance. And I think he just assumes that everyone in student affairs is just anti-alcohol." Curran countered that she does not believe student affairs staff are anti-alcohol, but they do favor controlling alcohol. Judy Robinson, Associate Director Residence Life, served on the Alcohol and Other Drug Task Force and spoke about her perceptions of the response made to the Committee's recommendations on alcohol-control policies at Homecoming by President Addison. Robinson stated that "When it comes to large events like Homecoming there is zero support because that is a fund raising event, so we still tailgate. Students can do whatever they want".

Vince Carter shared his perspective related to University Advancement. Noting that there are written campus alcohol policies applicable to faculty and staff, Carter

commented on the Advancement staff and their vice president stating "They don't care. They order whatever they want. They don't fill out the paperwork." Steve Douglas shared that Advancement had arranged for significant gifts from the owner of a company in the alcohol industry. When that donor was subsequently selected to be commencement speaker, Douglas felt the message to graduates to be mixed and potentially confusing. Even more troublesome, Douglas reported, was the presence that year of a sampling tent from donor's company which was set up on campus during final exams. Recalling that parents and students are told the campus is dry on campus tours and through formal programs like orientation, Douglas recalled parents were picking up their students and "we had a…tasting event as students are moving out - so that makes it a little challenging! They're like 'Wait, what? You are a completely dry campus?'" Douglas added "I would say the higher level administration…is much more interested in the possible financial outcome… they are probably betting the odds…how many people actually get hurt driving home from bars…or things like that?" Jennifer Curran explained "that's some of the struggle that we work with…I really don't want to put a bar in the middle of a residence hall lobby in October." Nonetheless, campus function space was included in the design of the newest residence hall leading to the booking of alcohol related events in full view of resident students. "If the bar is in the [enclosed] room, and students walking by can't see it, and it's a closed function, that is a different story. [It is not however] There has been a little rub in that respect."

President Addison's support for at least some of Advancement's alcohol-related events has reinforced Western's campus drinking culture. In addition, the culture is such

that certain administrative areas appear to be allowed to operate unchecked and outside of published campus alcohol policies. Discussion of Homecoming was emotionally charged for many participants interviewed. Issues related to Homecoming were largely seen as evidence that executive leadership undermines alcohol prevention and the implementation of alcohol-control policies. Recently staff members have tried to voice concerns and advocate for change to the event. Director of Student Conduct Vince Carter spoke about how the staff provided data to attempt to gain the support of executive staff for changes to the Homecoming event stating "we brought numbers after Homecoming about police contacts, and RA contacts, and the response was [that] it was all made up - it was all *padded* numbers." Mattie Ross, Wellness Educator, cited Homecoming as an inconsistency in the University's efforts and lamented "it's just this perception that it's kind of this free day for anybody to drink." Carter reported that when the Alcohol and Other Drug Task Force most recently suggested changes to the Homecoming event President Addison "flipped out." Steve Douglas confirmed "The committee received a 'less than positive' response from the president."

Perceptions of support by executive leadership. Some participants interviewed at both Atlantic and Western did feel that there was support for alcohol policy implementation on the part of executive leadership. There also appeared to be evidence of a level of support that some staff members interviewed did not acknowledge in answering questions. These sentiments may speak to the individual sensemaking process and social construction of knowledge by individual participants. For example, some participants interviewed felt that the failure to maintain or increase staff and resources for

alcohol and wellness education was a sign that alcohol-control policy implementation isn't supported. In contrast, some participants felt that *having* alcohol and wellness education resources showed that executive leadership did support alcohol-control policy implementation. The existence of these contrary view points on the part of participants recalled the "glass half full or half empty" idiom.

At Atlantic University SSAO Scott Smalls did not feel that his cabinet level colleagues expect student affairs staff to handle the problem and keep incidents from rising to their attention. Smalls explained "It's not a shortcoming on our division that students overindulge or illegally consume alcohol and then act badly… I don't feel a sense of blame that we don't do enough." He stated that instead he believes that executive leadership is "comfortable with how we enforce alcohol policies…we're comfortable with [Wellness Educator] Betty Horn and…and [Director of Student Conduct] Amanda Whurlitzer and her work, so it's not [seen as] a shortcoming."

Most Atlantic University participants interviewed did not recognize the level of executive level leadership support that does appear to exist, perhaps because they see support in terms of ongoing support for change, and not as compared to other institutions. Director of Student Conduct Amanda Whurlitzer and Deputy Chief Hockett were the staff members who most readily recognized this support. Commenting on the level of attention given to the reduction of excessive student drinking and the importance placed on this issue, Whurlitzer commented "For the most part it's a university approach. I do think that there is a focus on it from top-down. The [University Police] chief could give you a history better than I can." The University Police Chief, George Weaver, has

provided leadership to the University police force for 20 years, spanning the presidencies of Evelyn Gardner, William Chapel and now Hamilton Porter. The enforcement of liquor laws by the University Police Department, as evidenced by Atlantic's Clery report data, shows enforcement of state liquor laws and the "arrest as prevention" strategy has been supported since the 1990s. For this approach to remain consistent for nearly two decades, executive leadership support would certainly have been tested. Scott Smalls explained that Atlantic arrests students "at a much higher rate [than most universities] because we call the police in without hesitation. It's normative here… the president's office and the VP office doesn't say 'you need to cut people breaks.'" Additionally, participants revealed that Atlantic has steadily increased its investment in security staff, and its commitment to single point of entry and mandatory bag checks for all residence halls. Ann Savoy and Kelly Leak both confirmed the University's future budgeting plans include continued increases for security officers until all halls have 24 hour-per-day coverage. It is worth noting that while Western University participants acknowledged that alcohol is brought into their residence halls during the many hours when there is no security staff coverage, there was no similar plan to increase residence hall security coverage at Western. Finally, while Atlantic's Wellness Educator position helps satisfy regulatory requirements for alcohol prevention programming, the University is not required to invest significant dollars in a mandatory online alcohol awareness course as they have. These expenditures have been consistently supported by the University for more than a decade.

The ongoing support by Atlantic's executive leadership of the arrest as a prevention strategy appears to have helped the approach become anchored in organizational culture. The ease of recall with which the approach was described is evidence that it is as connected to alcohol policy implementation efforts as Atlantic's shared organizational sagas. Dr. Scott Smalls, SSAO, noted "for us the biggest intervention - and parents call me on this topic and hate it - is the fact that we do arrest…that has an impact." Amanda Whurlitzer confidently envisioned "I…don't see us…moving away from the 'if you're under 21 you get arrested' rule…[law] enforcement has had many, many positive impacts on student safety." Director of Residence Life Ann Savoy stated "We arrest more than other places… But I think that can be a deterrent. We don't have a lot of repeat offenders." Atlantic's Deputy Chief of Police Larry Hockett described the enforcement strategy this way "I can tell you with a tremendous degree of experience that as a result of the alcohol enforcement, sexual assaults…assault and batteries…false fire alarms…tragic crimes…[are] all down…you can see it. It's like flipping a switch." At the core of the Atlantic University Police Department approach to liquor law enforcement, Deputy Chief Hockett explained, is the realization that "if you're not taking them [intoxicated individuals and others violating liquor laws] out of the environment then you can't keep the community safe."

At Western University there were also mixed perceptions on executive leadership, with some asserting that there is support by executive leadership. Police Chief Jacob McCandles had a different perspective than most when asked about the interest of executive leaders in alcohol-control policy implementation. McCandles confidently

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stated "I think they [trustees and executive cabinet administrators] are very, very astute to what goes on… and they get that through the president." McCandles felt that nationally, however, attention was demanded to counteract terrorism and campus violence. McCandles explained "Campus violence is trumping everything. Alcohol and drugs have taken a backseat to basic public safety." McCandles suggested that this priority on violence prevention, even at the expense of other issues like alcohol-control policy implementation was likewise supported by executive leaders. Other Western participants interviewed held that there was some level of executive leadership support for prevention of excessive student drinking and implementation of alcohol-control policies. Michaela Quinn, Director of Health Services, acknowledged that she is limited in her ability to attend administrative meetings and has little interaction with executive staff. At the same time, she believed "in terms of the support and the funding towards the programs, you know, to decrease drinking, to me that shows there is support." Associate Dean of Students Alice Nelson concurred stating "they have made some kind of commitment [by] making [Wellness Educator] Mattie[Ross] a full time employee…It's a dedicated position… not a lot of places have that…I feel like it must still be some sort of priority because that position is still here."

At Western President Addison's reaction to the Alcohol and Other Drug (AOD) Task Force's recommendations related to alcohol at the Homecoming event was reported by several participants. While several participants were disheartened by the response, there were some staff members who acknowledged President Addison did make some changes in what may be an attempt to forge compromise between Advancement, Student

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Affairs, and the University Police. Alice Nelson stated that she believed the president had been trying to improve the event for years through small steps but that this year the AOD Task Force "wrote a letter to the president saying some of the concerns we had, and the safety measures, simple ones that could be put into place… it got his attention. It went to the senior leadership, [to] his direct reports." SSAO Jennifer Curran stated that the push for controls at Homecoming caused several changes in approach at the most recent event and "we seem to be moving in the right direction." The exchange also resulted in Mattie Ross changing her opinion about interest in alcohol-control policies by executive leadership. Although she had initially felt defeated in attempts to increase safety by bringing concerns related to alcohol at Homecoming, she admitted "it did change a little bit, and I think it will continue to change. But it didn't necessarily come with open arms. But I think it will. I think we're headed in the right direction."

State governing board leadership. Familiarity with the state higher education's governing board was extremely limited among participants interviewed at both Atlantic and Western University. Nonetheless, the policy changed the course of response at both institutions and has remained readily identifiable in written institutional alcohol policies for nearly two decades.

Of the ten participants interviewed at Atlantic University, only four staff members were familiar with the state-wide alcohol policy. Three of the four worked at Atlantic when the policy was enacted and were the participants interviewed with the most seniority. Wellness Educator Betty Horn, who worked at Atlantic when the policy was implemented, recalled "We were one of the few institutions that did everything we were

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supposed to do… I wanted information about what…to do, and I did it … I got a committee together and we all agreed to it [implementation initiatives]." Michael Palledorous, Director of Counseling, also recalled the state-wide policy implementation process and noted that Atlantic did work to adopted it into the campus policy. Director of Residence Life Ann Savoy recalled that the policy "happened around the time that we had the riot. I think that [Atlantic] was the impetus for what the rest of the state did." Document review revealed that the "riot" incident occurred at the end of the spring semester and that while there was awareness of the incidents at Atlantic, other factors contributed to the subsequent implementation of the state system's alcohol policy. In addition to the three staff members who worked at Atlantic when the policy was implemented, Karin Kinsella, Associate Director of Residence Life, demonstrated knowledge of the policy, which she explained "led to the dry campus and the more strict alcohol policies." She continued "I feel like things just kind of loosened up recently because of some changes in conduct, policy and procedure." She explained further this occurred because "There was some change in philosophy and leadership in [Student] Conduct."

Of the remaining six participants interviewed at Atlantic, two staff members had no overall knowledge of the policy, but did have some limited knowledge - primarily that there was a zero tolerance component to the policy. Director of Student Conduct Amanda Whurlitzer posited "well…we used to have a zero tolerance policy. Most colleges have moved away from it...we don't even reference it anymore."

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Later she noted that nobody follows the policy but reflected that:

> You can look at our alcohol policy - we haven't changed it since I got here
> because it's just too big a task right now- but there are sections where you can see
> that it probably was a campus or a system wide policy

The effect of this is incongruency between policies delineated in the student handbook and implementation of policy in the student conduct process. Scott Smalls, Atlantic's SSAO, also stated that he was familiar with the policy "in a cursory basis…especially about the no tolerance and parental notification." He did not feel pressure for policy compliance; he noted "our past president was more focused on us doing the right thing for our campus, not anything that came down statewide." The remaining four participants, Residence Director Jimmy Blake, Director of Health Services Doris Murphy, Security Coordinator Kelly Leak, and Deputy Chief Larry Hockett did not have knowledge of the policy.

At Western University SSAO Jennifer Curran was familiar with the system-wide alcohol policy. While she felt that there have been some positive changes associated with the policy she pondered whether "folding parents in may or may not have helped" and shared "you've got to wonder, do we just kind of push the issue off campus? …is that better? ...Do we need to bring back 21 plus housing? …is the all or nothing approach even working anymore?" Curran noted "We don't all interpret [the policy] the same way." Associate Dean of Students Alice Nelson did not work at Western when the policy was enacted, but did work at another university in the same state system. She was familiar with the policy and felt that it was influential "in the beginning." Jane

Hathaway, Director of Counseling, recalled the policy and its campus implementation

stating "I was here for that. I was part of that whole thing. There was a group of us that

met monthly at different campuses." Hathaway cited Western's medical transport policy

as a legacy of the state policy. Under this policy a student found intoxicated and

transported for medical attention is required to meet with the Wellness Educator, but is

not subject to disciplinary action. Hathaway explained:

> That was the big [leverage] piece with the alcohol transport policy. I used every
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> bit of leverage I could at the time with that, as did our University's police chief…
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> I don't know if we didn't have that leverage back then if we would have ever
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> [gotten the medical transport policy implemented], I don't think we would have
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> done it and I don't know where we would be now with it. That has just evolved
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> and [has] gotten better.

Dr. Hathaway recalled that though the state system-wide policy was adopted at Western,

it was adopted because "presidents had to [adopt it]… It was, 'okay well everybody else

is doing it' and that was it, he wasn't even involved."

Like their colleagues at Atlantic University several participants interviewed at

Western had some limited or vague awareness of the policy. Vince Carter, Director of

Student Conduct stated that he was not familiar with the policy but was aware that there

was a state zero tolerance policy. When the policy's proscribed sanction of suspension

for a third offense was described Carter noted that "we kind of kept them but we changed

the language on it to level one, level two, level three. But our level three… is not

suspension; it is a possibility of it." He added "We haven't had any University

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suspensions for alcohol in the last three years." Accordingly, Western's changes in student conduct have steered it away from the state system's alcohol policy. Chief McCandles of the University Police Department demonstrated knowledge of the historical basis for the state system-wide policy. He noted that while there have not been historical alcohol-related critical incidents at Western, he explained "looking at the history of what really triggered the spark starts back at MIT…that was the…wakeup call for universities and colleges to start paying attention…to underage drinking." When the topic of parental notification of student alcohol policy violations – which was required by the state system-wide alcohol policy, and is also incorporated into Western's campus alcohol policy – was discussed Chief McCandles stated that "by law we don't tell the parents. If they are 18 years or older, parents aren't notified. That's an overall [University] policy." In one brief exchange, McCandles showed an astute understanding of the historical basis for the statewide alcohol policy and in the next moment demonstrated a lack of familiarity with (a) the state system-wide alcohol policy, (b) Western's alcohol policy and student conduct code, and (c) with key components of the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (20 U.S.C. § 1232g; 34 CFR Part 99).

Half of the participants interviewed at Western were completely unfamiliar with the policy, including Steve Douglas, Judy Robinson and Mary Ann Summers from Residence Life, Michaela Quinn, Director of Health Services and Mattie Ross, Wellness Educator.

Since the state system-wide alcohol policy was passed, top leadership at the state governing board has changed multiple times. Turnover in presidents and vice presidents

have also occurred at both Atlantic and Western since the system-wide alcohol policy was implemented. Researcher fact checking revealed that there is no onboarding process to brief or orient either new state governing board members or new state university presidents or vice presidents on policies passed prior to their start dates. While more recent policy actions and minutes are published on the state governing board's Web site; older policies are not available.

Sensemaking and professional perspectives. Sensemaking is a process through which individuals in an organization interpret, explain and give meaning to activity (Bess & Dee, 2008). Through retrospection, sensemaking allows the individual to organize that which feels disorderly or confusing, and create a frame of reference that serves to stabilize experience (Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld, 2005; Bess & Dee 2008). Through review of the data, sensemaking emerged as a theme of the case study interviews. For individuals responsible for implementation of college alcohol-control policies this includes developing cognitive strategies for responding to moral and ethical challenges encountered in fulfilling expectations and responsibilities.

Related to sensemaking, professional perspectives and outlooks also emerged from data analysis. For purposes of reporting the results of this study, professional perspectives and outlooks comprise (a) perspectives derived from programs, activities and values held in professional communities of practice; (b) the influence of policy pushback; and, (c) complacency and other ways in which professional staff members may limit their effectiveness in the implementation of alcohol-control policies.

Sensemaking and alcohol policy implementation. There were a number of ways participants interviewed conceptualized a frame of reference to support the challenges they faced in implementing alcohol-control policies. Staff members were aware that policy implementation and enforcement included actions that can have significant and impactful negative consequences for students. Those taking such actions face potential complaints about their decisions or performance, may be accused of treating students inequitably, have to manage negative interpersonal interactions with students and guests, and carry the emotional burden of balancing care and empathy for students with the consequences they anticipate may be imposed on students.

While many students learn from bad decisions and experience growth in psycho-social development, this impact is typically not immediate and the positive growth associated with an incident, in some cases, may not be recognized for years. Accordingly, those staff members responsible for enforcing alcohol policies, but who by the nature of their position don't typically stay in a position for long periods, may have not worked with students long enough to fully understand and appreciate the positive impact their work may have on students. Resident Assistants, student security staff and some residence directors and campus police officers may fall into this category. Participants interviewed who were in a position to confront behavior in violation of formal alcohol policies, enforce state liquor laws, set or impose sanctions through disciplinary actions or who impose or lift interim suspensions are aware that such actions may dramatically impact a student. All of the participants interviewed are sometimes placed in the position of working directly with students and the emotional turmoil that may be associated with

college student drinking. In some cases they have come to know a great deal about the student, including deeply personal information. They are aware that, depending on the incident, a student may face formal consequences which could include incarceration, having a criminal record, loss of a driver's license, university suspension, expulsion or loss of on campus housing, payment of fines or restitution, and loss of eligibility to participate in athletics or student leadership activities. Staff members may also be aware of other associated impacts a student can face. For example, severed or strained relationships with friends, family or social supports; feelings of letting others down; self-deprecating behavior; financial hardships; homelessness; recognizing and treatment of dependence; mental health impacts; negative academic impact or threat to college persistence; and loss or threatened loss of dreams. In considering these factors it became clear that developing cognitive frames of reference that enabled participants to meet their professional responsibilities was an important factor influencing those charged with implementing alcohol-control policies and reducing excessive student drinking. Frames of reference cited by participants in case study interviews are reported below.

Safety first. One of the conceptual frames expressed by participants centered on student safety. Mindfulness of student safety was valued and evident in interviews with participants at both institutions. While a sense of direct responsibility was especially important for those staff members responsible for confrontations, the topic was not limited to participants in confrontation roles. At both Atlantic and Western medical amnesty policies, bystander intervention programs, required online courses for new students, medical transport policies, care and threat assessment team assessments, and the

referral of students to a brief motivational intervention or BASICS program were some initiatives where a focus on keeping students safer could create motivation and ease implementation. In some cases, a student may be removed, but with the idea that removing one student may be an important contribution to the safety of other students. Kelly Leak, Atlantic's Security Coordinator, reflected on the importance of student safety in the work of security staff and proclaimed "If you don't internalize it as a care issue, you're not going to last." Leak went on to explain that this was true for both student security staff members as well as fulltime security staff. He reflected:

> we have students that come back [to the security position] year after year….These students are not here for [the security job]. They didn't come here with a dream of becoming a security officer. No. Nobody wants to sit at a desk until 2 in the morning, inspecting bags, signing in guests, and looking for policy violations. Many of the people that are able to do it year after year, it's because they have internalized it and have said 'this is my community and I want to keep it safe and this is my part of doing that. It's the reason why I come back year after year.'

Residence Director Jimmy Blake explained that while calls to report intoxicated students may result in arrests, protective custody and medical transports, they are very much made out of concern for student safety. Director of Student Conduct Amanda Whurlitzer praised the effect of the University policy changes enacted under President Gardner, noting "significant law enforcement has had many, many positive impacts on student safety." Reflecting on that practice moving forward Whurlitzer posited "our [new] president has made community safety…a bedrock of his tenure. I cannot imagine that

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there is going to be a lot of change when it comes to how we enforce alcohol laws and

policies on our campus." Finally, another example of the focus on student safety was

expressed by Deputy Chief Hockett, who shared his firmly held philosophy that

intoxicated individuals have compromised judgment and must be removed from the

environment. Hockett shared a story of a conversation he had with a law enforcement

colleague who worked in another police department where officer discretion was the

general approach to alcohol-related incidents. Hockett challenged his colleague on the

discretion approach, asking "how is that keeping the community safe?" Hockett relayed

that his colleague's responded "I can't believe you told me that. I've been haunted [about

a discretion decision] for almost ten years….There was like six people drinking and I

went over and asked for their stuff, and don't you know one of them got in the car and

killed himself on the way home, hit a tree." Hockett concluded the story saying "and I

said 'that's exactly why we do what we do!'"

At Western University the institution's policy for the medical transport of

intoxicated students was described by several participants as an initiative that works well

and contributes to student safety. High regard for this policy was expressed by Vince

Carter, Jennifer Curran, Michaela Quinn, Jane Hathaway and Alice Nelson. Alice Nelson

vividly recalled that prior to the medical transport policy there were nights she would go

to bed praying that a student wouldn't die in their residence hall bed. Hathaway

speculated on what might have happened had the medical transport policy not been

implemented. Despite the regard held for the medical transport policy some staff,

notably those in the Residence Life department, felt the medical transport policy was not

being implemented consistently. Steve Douglas relayed that "communication is not what it should be when it comes to that [amnesty policy]," because residence hall staff have encountered students with multiple transports who have never been seen by the Wellness Educator. Douglas declined to speculate on whether the problem rested with the Wellness Educator, or if incidents were not being shared with the Wellness Educator. With a tone indicating some level of frustration, Douglas stated "I think we have probably rested on the fact that…there has never been a huge issue or…disastrous event." In addition, Residence Life staff members reported that recently the University Police and emergency responders had allowed intoxicated students to voluntarily decide on their own whether or not they needed to be transported to the hospital. Residence Director Mary Ann Summers spoke about the importance of student safety in her role:

> You can't predict what is going to happen and you hope that you keep residents as safe as possible…it's not just students being transported, it's…friends fighting and things like that. So I think it's like what could we have done to prevent this and what can we do to prevent this in the future.

The clear fact that an intoxicated person who may have their decision-making ability compromised or incapacitated was of great concern to the participants who disagreed with the approach taken by the University police out of concern for student safety. At the time the interviews took place there were participants who indicated that these student safety concerns were going to be addressed with Chief McCandles.

Mattie Ross, Wellness Educator, noted that when she discusses prevention of excessive student drinking with students, staff and faculty her messages intentionally

address student safety. She added "maybe I can get people to listen to some of the things I hear my students talking about… they are in support of them [many alcohol-control policies] and they [students] do want to be safe."

Caveat Emptor. Atlantic University's Director of Student Conduct Amanda Whurlitzer is sometimes required to make decisions on whether a student cited in a complaint had in fact violated University alcohol policies. If she decides the student did violate policies she has the responsibility to impose disciplinary sanctions on the student. Whurlitzer is very conscious of how serious consequences can impact students and families. One way Whurlitzer is able to continue to care about students and work through common student reactions, which include distress, anger, aggression and denial, is to adopt a frame of mind that students knew that these consequences would be forthcoming, and made the decision to act in violation of the policy anyway. Whurlitzer remains very aware of this paradigm and reminds herself that students are responsible for their decisions and behaviors and, accordingly, are also responsible for the associated consequences. She explained:

> when I'm at orientation I'm very transparent about what will happen if they drink underage… So I tell them this - caveat emptor - buyer beware! When you come here It's not like "Surprise! – We're checking your bag"... We tell you on our campus tours. We tell you *everything*…do students like it? No…you know, I'm not naïve to that but it's what you signed up for. If I wanted to go to the Army and then complained about doing push-ups, I shouldn't have gone into the Army.

There are a lot of other campuses that don't have the policies that we do, so go

there, or don't live on campus…that's okay.

Scott Smalls, SSAO, shared the "*buyer beware*" perspective as well, stating "Our

students who are complaining about the rules and enforcement of the rules, they knew

before they came here and are frustrated to see the reality that we are not a party school."

Smalls shared his belief that students paid attention to the articulated consequences and

noted that although there are still plenty of incidents referred to Student Conduct he

added "I think many value living on campus more than they value hosting a party with

alcohol in their room"

At Western University there were also participants who referenced that their

thought process also took into account the fact that students know what is expected with

regard to student drinking. Residence Director Mary Ann Summers noted "They don't

come in thinking it's a wet campus. SSAO Jennifer Curran noted that she has heard

Admissions Tour Guides inform prospective students and their parents that the campus is

dry. Chief McCandles also commented that students know what to expect, saying "I

think students know what the difference is between right and wrong…students

understand the law and heard it from…their parents, [and were] disciplined through their

younger years, through middle school and elementary school. So they have an

understanding."

At both campuses, for staff to embrace the "buyer beware" frame of reference it is

required that students are aware of what the expectations and consequences are. Thus,

there are numerous examples of ways that prospective and current students are informed

of institutional expectations. The point is, these messages are not simply informative communications or responses to frequently asked questions over time. This information also serves the need for staff members to maintain a frame of reference that allows ongoing implementation and enforcement of alcohol-control policies.

Whatever gets you through the night. Atlantic University's Amanda Whurlitzer, commenting on alcohol law arrests, confirmed "Well, we arrest everybody. They have to go through the DAs office and [are] processed by the courts who run a diversion program." Later, Deputy Police Chief Larry Hockett revealed a significant aspect of the diversion program when he described its influence on officers making arrests for violation of state liquor laws. The diversion program evolved after being discussed by an Atlantic University police officer and a court officer interested in such programs. In speaking with Deputy Chief Hockett it was clear that the University Police highly value the diversion program and also took pride in their role in its creation. This pride was evident when Deputy Chief Hockett informed the researcher that he and the Captain of Atlantic's Police Department had made arrangements for the court officer to be interviewed by the researcher if desired. This was a clear signal of the value they placed on the program. Hockett further explained that the diversion program "helps our officers and us a lot, because what happens is you feel less guilty, if you will…because it [arresting students] is very difficult." Officers are aware of the impact a criminal record can have on a student. In some cases the student being arrested may remind the officer of their own children, a sibling, or maybe even a younger version of themselves. This

phenomenon may influence the arresting officer's feelings and could lead to an officer considering whether an arrest should be made. Deputy Chief Hockett reflected:

> You know, I have two girls, one who is recently graduated…and one that is a freshman. You know, I could get that call right now and you know I'd be a fool to think otherwise…and you know it would kill me to say she now has a record. You know what I mean? So believe me, as a parent I see it from both sides but I can tell you with a tremendous degree of confidence - I have been an EMT for nearly 30 years - what I have seen throughout my career, without question I am 1000% proud of what we do here and 100% convinced that if you don't manage your alcohol, you cannot have a safe community.

In this way, the diversion program is an important initiative that supports Atlantic's "arrest as prevention" approach. Further, the management of the diversion program appeared to be tightly controlled by the court liaison and Atlantic PD Captain who collaborate to manage the program. Amanda Whurlitzer, who has been active in implementing change in Atlantic's Student Conduct office shared in her interview that she "tried to reach out to the DAs office who runs it [the diversion program] but I've had some resistance there."

At Western University Chief McCandles identified transference as an issue impacting University police officers and staff members implementing alcohol-control policies. In his opinion the impact on law enforcement personnel was more pronounced than on administrators. McCandles noted that, like other law enforcement personnel, "I have to go by the rule of law. I am not here to make sure everybody has a good time. I am here to make decisions based on law and regulations" He explained that police officers

are bound to make decisions that may not be popular, saying "I have to do the right thing and the right thing a lot of times is not the most popular thing." Chief McCandles saw college administrators as both less disciplined, and generally less capable, than law enforcement staff in making decisions based on law or policy. McCandles then shared one of the paradigms he holds as a personal frame of reference. McCandles shared that, in his experience, students tend not to be truthful when they are cited for a violation. He stated:

> A lot of staff members look at students, like, they have kids their age. So there is that automatic compassion connection." He explained "I think again as a parent myself who put two kids through college, this caused me a lot of sleepless nights especially with my son being a division one athlete, and so I can see where kids can tell their parents one thing and their parents are automatically going to believe their kid but it might not be the full truth and that's based on what I see here on a daily basis with students… they have a tendency to lie….or exaggerate. A lot of exaggeration….I could see where they could convince a staff member [of their accounts].

Individuals responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies generally work in professions centered on helping others. As these individuals implement alcohol-control policies they can be emotionally influenced by the empathy they feel for students. At times their personal moral compass may be challenged and they may also be the target of student and parent scrutiny and complaints. Cognitive frames of reference have been developed over time to support the difficult work associated with of alcohol-control

policy implementation. In some cases associated initiatives, such as Atlantic's diversion program, may be developed to support the work of alcohol-control policy implementation. Just as characteristics of the campus drinking culture are often passed on to new students entering the campus culture, the philosophies, values and beliefs that counter the drinking culture and support implementation of alcohol-control policies are also passed on to new officers, staff members, and administrators.

Comparisons to past experiences and other contexts. There were a number of times in the interviews that participants' past experiences and comparisons to other contexts appeared to influence participants' sensemaking processes. For some participants, this included comparisons with their own undergraduate experiences. It also sometimes included comparisons to previous work experiences or comparisons of their campus to other campuses' student bodies. When staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies introduce their own personal experiences into the assessment of their campuses drinking culture, a level of objectivity is lost in understanding and responding to present context.

Karen Kinsella, Atlantic's Associate Director of Residence Life, in describing the student drinking culture at Atlantic University, made comparisons to the party culture at her undergraduate institution as a way to make sense and give meaning to her observations about Atlantic. Kinsella attended a very small private college located in another state several hours from Atlantic University. Not only did Kinsella's undergraduate institution have enrollment less than 10% of Atlantic's, it was also a private institution located in a somewhat remote rural town of just over 3,000 residents

and far from any large city. In addition to the significant differences between the institutions it had also been approximately twenty years since Kinsella had been an undergraduate. Despite these seemingly obvious differences, Kinsella's comparison seemed natural to her and was unflinchingly communicated during her interview. When describing the drinking culture at Atlantic Kinsella recalled of her own undergraduate days "we would get a keg and go into a field and drink with headlights on….that's what happened…but I always kind of describe our students as kind of lame in that sense because that doesn't happen." Kinsella shared that she believed the students referred to meet with her through Atlantic's disciplinary system were often new drinkers who didn't know their limits. Whether this is or isn't the case, the fact that Kinsella enters her own experiences from 20 years ago into the assessment is significant. Director of Residence Life Ann Savoy made a comparison to her undergraduate days on a much larger campus where as a Resident Assistant she helped deal with alcohol-fueled sports related riots. Betty Horn, Wellness Educator, commented on why her colleagues may have grossly underestimated Atlantic student support for alcohol-control control policies, stating:

> Probably to some extent it might have to do with the ages of the staff, and when they went to school, and how things were different….I think the perception might be to some extent from people's own past experiences and what they're bringing with them in terms of their drinking habits from college. That's what I'm thinking it must be for our president with the beer tent because when he graduated the drinking age was under 21.

Some parents may similarly be prone to judging their son or daughter's drinking behavior with their own behavior at a similar age. Scott Smalls, Atlantic's SSAO, described parents he has spoken with who accept their student's drinking because they drank illegally when they were in college and felt they came through the experience just fine. Smalls also drew on prior work experience, including his most recent experience at a public university in another state with a considerable student drinking culture. Smalls shared:

> The drinking culture here is a lot lower than most of the other places I've worked….I've been here 3 1/2 years and I haven't gone to a funeral of a student that is that related to alcohol and that is the longest I've gone in higher education without that happening - either on campus or off…I had 13 in my first six months at [a former institution].

Responses to current alcohol-control challenges should be largely framed in the present. While institutional memory can be a valuable asset in combating problems in some ways it can also create a liability. In some cases, for example, placing excess focus on the institution's past may feed complacency by creating a cognitive frame that the situation isn't so bad – compared to what it was. It may also lead to the allocation of resources based on past, versus forward thinking plans to continue positive change. Security Coordinator Kelly Leak believes in the benefits of increasing security at Atlantic. Leak shared how many years ago he and his wife, who was a Residence Director, would not leave campus during Spring Weekend out of concern for their safety. He recalled that fights, violence, and drunk drivers in the area were significant. Leak and

his wife would buy food and whatever else they needed before the weekend and hunkered down in their apartment until the weekend was over. Leak currently views the Spring Weekend program based on the current level of problems and considers ways to continue positive change. It can be easily imagined, however, how another person in Leak's position might be inclined to simply "hold the course" based on past progress achieved.

At Western University there was a similar tendency for participants to compare the present to other campus contexts and times. Mary Ann Summers, a Residence Director with five years of professional experience, frequently drew on her past experience as a touchstone in evaluating student drinking at Western. Berry was finishing her first semester at Western when she was interviewed and had spent the three previous academic years at a less competitive private university in another state. That institution was known to many for its beautiful location and robust party scene. Berry noted that Western was "definitely different than my previous experience, which was…a wet campus, so it was definitely tolerated there. You could have large amounts of alcohol per person." The drinking, she continued "definitely goes on [here] but not as much as it would at a wet institution, from my experience." Berry spoke about how the alcohol incident experiences of the Resident Assistants on her current staff differed from that of RAs on her previous campuses. She explained "it's a really different experience than at other schools that are wet. It is definitely like RAs here think it is a lot and I'm like 'don't stress, it is very minimal compared to what I have dealt with in the past.'" Vince Carter, Director of Student Conduct, partially weighed the level of attention given to alcohol-control policies according to his recollection of his experiences as an undergraduate student, noting "There is a lot more programming, prevention and consumption

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awareness versus what there was when I was student." Wellness Educator Mattie Ross similarly weighed student drinking culture to her undergraduate experience at Western. Jennifer Curran, hypothesizing about why 2/3 of Western students surveyed supported increased sanctions for students who repeatedly violated alcohol policies, reflected on her own college experience at Western as well, "if you think back…you get that one or two drunk kids in your hall who are consistently intoxicated, they're throwing up all over the restroom….The loudness, the damage, the average student waking up wouldn't want that." Describing student drinking attitudes and behaviors at Western Steve Douglas, Director of Residence Life, considered his previous higher education experiences and concluded "I would say it's probably pretty standard for most places that I've been." Finally, Chief McCandles, who stated he supported officer discretion and giving "breaks" to respectful students in alcohol policy confrontations also mentioned his past experience as a frame of reference. McCandles reflected "we've all been students; we've all been 18 years old at one time, and those of us in leadership positions of authority have to take a lot of things into consideration."

Other paradigms. One participant, Atlantic University's Kelly Leak, shared his detailed paradigm in support of alcohol-control policies. Over his time at Atlantic, Leak was very familiar with the organizational sagas and the history of problematic alcohol-related behavior at the University. Leak shared his belief that the Atlantic administration:

> has tried to really make it so that when you mention [Atlantic University], it's a
> brand that people know and recognize for something other than just being a party
> school. I think they realized that, I don't think you're going to get a one hundred

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million dollar science building built - when there's no building anywhere else in

[the region] - on the school that's known for just ripping it up. You gotta have

that brand that says we're worth putting your money into.

Leak felt the University recognized the need to improve its reputation and stated "they've

done a tremendous job of cleaning that up." At the same time Leak believes the drinking

culture is still a challenge for his security staff. Alcohol, he said "is still one of those

influential things because people hear the tales and they are like, they've got to top it."

Leak's paradigm was unique among participants interviewed, but appeared to aid in

sensemaking related to Leak's responsibilities for implementation of alcohol-control

policies.

  Professional perspectives and outlooks. Through analysis of the data it became

apparent that certain professional perspectives and outlooks also influenced participants

in the implementation of alcohol-control policies. Some of these perspectives and

outlooks appear to enhance and support the implementation of alcohol-control policies

while others limit or detract from implementation efforts. These perspectives and

outlooks are further identified below.

  Influence of professional communities of practice. Participants interviewed at

Atlantic University expressed satisfaction and confidence in many of the initiatives and

programs implemented to support alcohol policy objectives. One initiative, the

mandatory online alcohol course, is also embraced by professionals on many other

campuses across the country. The online course currently used at Atlantic sponsors

training certificate programs in alcohol prevention and shares research during hosted

professional development programs for their customers. Data collected from students

who complete the course can inform Atlantic's resource allocation decisions and future

policy initiatives. The course was cited by Betty Horn as an important alcohol prevention

initiative she believes is working well. Horn was appreciative for President Chapel's

commitment to a required online alcohol course. Horn said "I think it gets people to pay

attention and our outcome data…[indicates] they [students] don't hate it, and they feel

like they get something out of it."

Perhaps no one initiative was held in higher professional esteem by participants

interviewed than Atlantic's BASICS brief motivational intervention program which was

implemented through the Student Conduct Office. Director Amanda Whurlitzer

disclosed that she won approval of a grant proposal to fund the BASICS program, which

is coordinated by a graduate assistant working out of Whurlitzer's office. Horn also

recognized Student Conduct's use of an online student drinking assessment program and

contract with a regional substance abuse treatment center where students identified

through Student Conduct as being at risk for an alcohol use disorder are referred to

complete formal substance abuse assessments.

While surveys are administered to Atlantic Students to collect student drinking-

related data, participants interviewed did not make significant use of available data. Ann

Savory noted that Residence Life administers a nationally normed survey to resident

students which generates a tremendous amount of data, including a number of items

related to student drinking. Savoy shared that the Wellness Educator, who is a 10 month

employee running a one person office, has little time to invest in data review and

planning because students return to campus just after her contract begins for the fall

semester. Because many student affairs staff members have neither the time nor expertise to conduct research or immerse in deep review of robust survey data, they often look to professional resources to obtain general information. Accordingly programs presented at regional or national conferences, professional organization publications, and information provided by contracted service provider partners serve as valuable sources of general information.

Several Atlantic participants interviewed have felt the intense scrutiny and press coverage associated with past critical incidents. These experiences likely served as a catalyst to coordinate efforts and information so that actions and initiatives can be defended in the event of a future critical incident. The programs Betty Horn cited, for example, are widely known among those interviewed, are used at many of Atlantic's sister campuses. In addition, the online alcohol course and BASICS are rated as effective in the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism's *CollegeAim* (NIAAA, 2015) matrix of strategies to address harmful and underage college student drinking.

Residence Director Jimmy Blake cited the outreach education campaigns and social norms marketing efforts initiated by Betty Horn as programs that work well. He also praised the progressive efforts of Amanda Whurlitzer in Student Conduct, for bringing in the BASICS program, which he also felt had a positive impact on students. Though Blake did not have Atlantic University specific data to support the impact of the programs he praised, he did have awareness of professional support for these programs. Overall, participants interviewed at Atlantic were aware of many of the programs and initiatives managed by other offices on campus and trusted that these programs had some

level of effectiveness based on knowledge obtained through professional learning communities.

At Western University a somewhat different dynamic was evident. Western, like Atlantic, required first year students to complete an online alcohol course and applied registration holds on the accounts of students not in compliance. Jane Hathaway, Director of Counseling, felt the course was an important asset in efforts to influence excessive and underage student drinking. Hathaway added "we are fortunate…We have had it for a while. That's a chunk of change." Unlike their colleagues at Atlantic, however, those interviewed at Western appeared to have much less awareness of alcohol prevention and policy implementation efforts managed by other offices. The exceptions to this generalization were Jane Hathaway and Mattie Ross who both demonstrated a comprehensive understanding.

Western's prevention initiatives and alcohol-control policy implementation efforts managed outside of the Wellness Educator tended to be based on long-used traditional strategies with no assessment plans in place. Current strategies included offering alcohol free programming, encouraging RA educational alcohol awareness bulletin boards, and the University's medical transport and amnesty policy. One major program embraced by those interviewed was a late night programming initiative. The program consists of an activity or event held on campus every Thursday night between 10:00 p.m. and midnight. With average attendance of 70 to 100 students, Associate Director of Residence Life Judy Robinson said "People are getting into it, which is nice….it is providing an alternative for our students who don't want to [drink]….It is our third year and it gets bigger every year." The program was similarly touted by Alice Davis, Vince Carter and

Steve Douglas. While there was some concern that the program wasn't necessarily attended by students in lieu of drinking, there may still be important value by supporting social connections and a stronger sense of community among the growing number of nondrinking students at Western.

The medical transport and amnesty policy was the one measure that Western participants were familiar with and supported strongly. It was also seen as a progressive and innovative effort in contrast to policies based on strict zero tolerance approaches. For all of the accolades expressed about the policy, however, there were clear shortcomings in the program's execution, and some participants interviewed were vocal in their criticism of colleagues who were seen as not meeting expectations in responding to students in accordance with the policy.

Western University participants interviewed conveyed little to suggest they were concerned that alcohol-control policy implementation and prevention efforts could be subject to scrutiny in the future. It is likely that this is because none of the interview participants at Western University had experienced alcohol-related critical incidents in the past like their counterparts at Atlantic. Regardless, among Western participants interviewed there was no acknowledgement of a need to prepare for such an incident in the future, nor concern shared about the effectiveness of current initiatives and the potential need to defend decisions in the future. Not coincidentally, the medical amnesty and transport policy and alcohol-free programming nights are both categorized by the NIAAA (2015) as strategies having unknown effectiveness.

Another consistent element throughout interviews at Western was that most participants had little or no awareness of data related to Western student drinking. Jane Hathaway and her direct reports Mattie Ross and Michaela Quinn, Director of Health Services were exceptions. They had access to, and were familiar with data from both their online alcohol course and the American College Health Survey.

While it is very difficult to fully understanding complex personal and political relationships based on one interview with ten different staff members, participants interviewed at Western did not appear to be operating in isolation. All seemed to have some sense of cursory approval for the alcohol-control policy implementation actions and prevention initiatives they were managing. Having that cursory level of approval was influential, however, and enough to support continued investment in implementation and prevention initiatives.

Two staff members interviewed, Wellness Educator Mattie Ross and Director of Counseling Jane Hathaway, appeared to be influential with other participants interviewed, colleagues, and executive leadership. Mattie Ross was perceived as having a positive influence on, and credibility with, other participants interviewed. Ross was the last participant interviewed at Western University and was the only individual whose work had been recognized and praised by all nine other participants interviewed. Judy Robinson, Associate Director of Residence Life highlighted Ross's recent social norms campaign, enthusiastically noting "last year she had a great campaign.… [she] did a great job." SSAO Jennifer Curran agreed, explaining "for the first years [she was here] her existence was all about reducing drinking and harm." Chief McCandles, who was not reserved in speaking out on faculty and staff shortcomings, had nothing but praise for

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Ross. McCandles stated "Her whole mission and function in life is to deal with alcohol prevention, maintenance, training, treatment… you get shipped out of here by ambulance, you have to report to her the next day…that is her mission." Director of Counseling Jane Hathaway added praise for "the work she [Mattie] has done with the athletes. She has created an athlete orientation…she works collaboratively with Athletics." Hathaway recalled that "we have seen more athletes this year than ever…[and] last year was one of the best years ever." It was also clear that it was Ross who took a leading role in efforts to address drinking concerns at the Homecoming event with President Addison. In doing so Ross seemed to earn the respect of student affairs colleagues who agreed with the need for changes to Homecoming revelry.

Jane Hathaway, Director of Counseling has worked at Western for more than twenty years. Interview data analysis revealed Hathaway to be an influential professional who has been instrumental in achievement of several change initiatives related to alcohol-control policies. As an administrator, astute political advocate, policy maker and leader willing to engage various internal and external constituencies, Hathaway has influenced the outcome of alcohol-control policy change initiatives. Hathaway's influence on past change initiatives include the leadership she provided in the revision of Western's campus alcohol policy to comply with the state's system-wide alcohol policy, and her role in the development and implementation of the medical transport and amnesty policy. The later example required bringing representatives from other local universities, local hospitals, city police, and multiple independent ambulance service companies together to

reach agreement on intoxicated student protocols and consistent approaches by emergency responders.

Policy pushback. Participants at both campuses spoke about pushback against alcohol-control policies. Pushback most often consisted of comments made by students to staff members, but also included words or actions from parents, faculty and other administrators. Policy pushback can influence individuals responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies by contributing to the formation of inaccurate cognitive frames of reference.

Atlantic University Residence Director Jimmy Blake noted that student pushback against alcohol-control policies has been limited to individual students protesting some aspect of policy. Blake relayed that he is most aware of student complaints about the residence hall bag check policy which supports policy enforcement and helps limit the quantity of alcohol in residential areas. He added that on occasion he has also received student pushback on parent guardian notification following an underage alcohol policy violation. Blake added:

> I've heard a lot of students say that we are too strict this year. I don't agree with them that were too strict, but I have a feeling that we probably enforce the alcohol policy the way they we're supposed to compared to other campuses.

Blake concluded "my gut sense is that we're more strict….we always involve the police, which I don't think is the case at most places."

Amanda Whurlitzer, Director of Student Conduct reflected on student pushback stating "they don't like the fact that they can't drink here because society has told them that they can." She further explained "our students, unfortunately, are not self-advocates" but also noted that currently there is more pushback on marijuana and drug policies than there is on alcohol policies. Whurlitzer also shared that she has heard there may be some students advocating for a campus pub type venue that serves alcohol, but that she personally did not support the return of a campus pub.

In the experience of Michael Palledorous, Director of Counseling, student pushback to alcohol-control policies was quite limited. He added "anecdotally you hear some students say things like "I'm not going to go here anymore because it's no fun. I'm gonna try to go to [large public university]….that's where they have fun." Palledorous also noted another more subtle and active form of pushback which occurs despite what he categorizes as the good work of Resident Advisors and Resident Directors:

> students tell us that they bring alcohol quite often into their [residence]
>
> halls….Atlantic has a reputation that we're pretty strict about alcohol enforcement
>
> and I think that's pretty adhered to. Students can be savvy though and figure out
>
> what they can get away with…it's kind of underground.

In addition, contemplating Atlantic student pushback on a larger scale he added "I think there is a pushback sometimes from some students about what we would term '*doing things correctly*' - whether it's alcohol education, race relations, gender stuff, you name it."

Associate Director of Residence Life Karin Kinsella confirmed other participants' perceptions about a lack of organized student pushback, stating Atlantic students "don't support a cause or rally together. They don't pay attention enough to it, and we don't have a population here on campus that drinks that would care enough to fight it." She also added that such rallies would be ineffective in the end because Atlantic isn't focused on retaining students at the cost of liberalizing the University's alcohol-control policies.

Deputy Police Chief Larry Hockett believed that the occurrence of student pushback on alcohol-control policies has been "less and less" over time. Still, he believes that there are students who see the University's alcohol policies as bogus. He explained "I would say that a lot of them probably see the alcohol policy as what a lot of the general public sees. They think the cops are trying to get court time. 'They're [cops] being unreasonable.' That type of stuff." He added that the "pushback that we're seeing of late - I don't know that I would necessarily tie it to the alcohol - but there has been a general disrespect for law enforcement over the last year that's really intensified." While this pushback may not be directly related to alcohol-control policies, Hockett noted that "you see that when they're intoxicated… and they use what they've seen in the media, and then it comes out."

Security Coordinator Kelly Leak didn't hesitate when asked about student pushback on alcohol-control policies, promptly stating "Bag searches. That is the big one. Bag searches. Bag searches and asking about suspicious shapes on their person… so checking for the road beer in the back pocket on the way up." Further describing student pushback to bag searches, Leak summarized "as far as alcohol, unfortunately,

goes…*people hate that one.*" Leak combats pushback by focusing actions on those

within the purview of security staff. To that end, Leak works to mitigate complaints by

placing a priority on consistency when security staff enforcement of alcohol-control

policies. Reflecting on past critical incidents, Leak recalled more significant student

pushback when the University strengthened efforts to reduce excessive student drinking

following off-campus student deaths and large student house parties adjacent to campus

property. Leak shared "You got pushback from students who were like 'it's my senior

year', 'It's a couple weeks until I graduate', 'I just want to have one last hurrah'….but

over the years, it has kind of gone down." Leak credited increased alternative

programming sponsored by student affairs colleagues as assisting in the decline of

pushback at that time.

Ann Savoy, Director of Residence Life, shared that they experienced student

policy pushback years ago when 24-hour residence hall security staffing was first

implemented in the on-campus apartments and freshman residence halls. Over time

coverage was expanded to additional halls and last year it was announced all remaining

halls would have 24-hour security desk coverage. Savoy recalled "When I announced

last year that we were going 24-seven [in remaining halls]… yeah, there was student

outcry. We had heard a lot like 'no one's going to want to live there' and that everyplace

else will be more popular." Speaking about Atlantic student pushback over time Savoy

explained "Our students never get to the point where they mobilize. They kind of

complain and then let it go, even when we became a dry campus. They came to some

meetings and voiced their concerns. It didn't stop them from living here. It didn't hurt our

enrollment numbers. It didn't hurt our occupancy numbers." When asked how things turned out last spring Savoy smiled knowingly and said "when we did room selection it didn't stop people from choosing to live there. The numbers were consistent." Savoy's decades of experience working with Atlantic students coupled with her knowledge of the local community mitigated the influence of the most recent student pushback. She noted that while some rental properties have emerged on streets adjacent to campus "Once you get past [those houses] there is not too much for student rentals."

Wellness Educator Betty Horn reported that overall she did not feel that pushback on the University's alcohol-control policies were having a detrimental effect, adding "I haven't heard much [about] pushback impacting practices." That being said she also reported that she has personally experienced pushback on the policy requiring completion of an online alcohol course by new students to the University. She reported that it is has been typical for her to get some level of pushback from those students who "wait until the last minute" to complete the course after learning they had a hold placed on their account precluding registration until the course was completed. More recently, however, Horn reported an increase in parent pushback on the policy. She explained "I was surprised by the number of parents I had step in… I just had a lot of angry parents. I shouldn't say a lot… probably four or five who were just very unpleasant." When some complaints rose to the new president's office Horn experienced another level of pushback when that office decided to remove holds on those students who hadn't completed mandatory online courses. During his interview Michael Palledorous acknowledged his office does hear some grumbling from students about the required on-line alcohol course. He added:

I don't know if it's because it's something that's forced…the mere fact of them having one more thing they have to do, or if…it's like, 'Oh God, will they just leave us alone about alcohol, I know all the stuff' but then when the results come out a lot of students seem to have learned something

While the reasons are unclear, the quantitative results of this study did show that student support for the online course was mixed and was significantly lower than student support for the same online course at Western University.

When asked about student pushback on Atlantic's alcohol-control policies, SSAO Scott Smalls replied:

Oh yeah they [students] hate it. There hasn't been a year that's gone by that SGA doesn't say they're going to come after me in some way, shape or form around the alcohol policy and they'll sit there and say that it's excessive, quote 'worse than any other school I've been at or know of' but then I tell them directly 'You are correct' and that is one of the reasons why I came here because I knew the president was no BS on campus policy and I wouldn't have to fight to convince upper administration that enforcement is what we needed to do… and as long as I'm here, I'll fight tooth and nail to keep the policies and enforcement of them the way they are, if for no other reason, to be selfish since I'm the person that has to call when people die

Smalls also shared that he also gets pushback from parents; "I find that… alcohol use by college-age students is still on some level accepted [by parents and guardians]." Smalls

also stated that he believes the strategy to arrest for alcohol law violations has an impact but that what "parents [who] call me on these topics hate is the fact that we do arrest."

At Western University policy pushback was also a topic of discussion by participants interviewed. Some of that pushback, previously described, has come internally from Western's own administration. This includes pushback from University advancement staff, as well as from the University's Police Chief.

As expressed by Dr. Jane Hathaway, Director of Counseling, pushback "only happens with homecoming and advancement. That's a homecoming issue…huge, huge with alumni.' Not all participants were in agreement however. Residence Director Mary Ann Summers, a live-on staff member in her fifth academic year of professional experience, was perhaps most keenly aware of student pushback. She shared "In recent weeks, I have fought a lot about our judicials [with students], because students have been challenging me on things, not in a bad way, but they are trying to get an understanding on it [alcohol policy enforcement]." She has embraced numerous messages from other professionals that disciplinary actions are meant to be educational, and not simply punitive. She reflected, however, that "We aren't really educating them. We do what we can." While she felt there was some value to the online alcohol course required of freshmen – with failure to comply resulting in a registration hold just as at Atlantic University – she confided that "I think they can only get so much out of a computer program. I'm not that much removed from college….You do it because you have to, but you don't necessarily learn that much." Berry considered the students who had been challenging Western's alcohol policies and offered an explanation; "I think students look

at alcohol like it's legal at some point so it's not that big of a deal, whereas drugs are a bigger deal." Berry stated the pushback doesn't constitute an "uprising" but that there are "groups of students who definitely would like it to be wet, or at least 21 plus housing." Berry summarized her understanding of where students may stand on alcohol-control policies by adding "I think they wish they could do it, and it's not like they don't do it…They just want to be able to do it without any chance of repercussions." In response to these attitudes, according to Berry, "students don't live on campus all four years because they want to be able to drink in their apartments and have people over and do what they want to do behind closed doors." The fact that this migratory pattern works with Western's limited housing and campus footprint has likely mitigated student pushback. Berry also believed that the opportunity to socialize in the city at numerous clubs, bars, restaurants, and off campus apartments further mitigates student pushback.

In contrast to Berry, neither of her department supervisors, Associate Director of Residence Life, Judy Robinson, and Director of Residence Life Steve Douglas, believed student pushback had any significant effect on Western's alcohol-control policies. Robinson stated "our students are some of the most apathetic students I have ever met….sometimes you'll hear a fuss, but never about our alcohol or drug policy...They don't make a noise about anything; it is the weirdest thing." Similarly, when asked about the influence student pushback may have on alcohol policy implementation and enforcement Steve Douglas quickly replied "No, none - [with] regard to anything. I'm not actually sure what we got pushed back on - ever. They are not a highly vocal student

body." Douglas concluded "they're so docile…my guess is that they're like 'eh if that's what it is, that's what it is.'"

University Police Chief McCandles explained that students tend to protest about policies when "they think 'everybody else is doing it, why are you picking on us?'" McCandles explained that often students may protest that "it was in front of me but it wasn't mine - one thing that I have found…is that students aren't truthful." McCandles explained that even if "students are yelling and screaming…I have to do the right thing at the end of the day, and make a decision that might not be popular." McCandles had less confidence in faculty and administrators, stating they "might be more sympathetic, more passionate, [and] more willing to side with the students." McCandles concluded by stating "As a police administrator it has to be black or white. You can't be in that grey area and say well some of the time you can do it, and some of the time you can't."

Western's SSAO Jennifer Curran reported that significant student pushback has generally been limited to occasions where "there has been some sort of pushback for a student getting suspended or expelled." Curran did share that at a much lower level there is some pushback from students found responsible for being in the presence of alcohol. Students cited often argue that they had just arrived and were not drinking. Curran explained that in these cases they tend to initially escape the student conduct process with no more than a warning. Curran continued that the common "in the presence of" defense might work at first, "but eventually, after we've seen you a couple times…you're moving to that first violation. People who get caught in that [sometimes] think it's bogus." Overall, Curran confirmed that Western has not experienced unified pushback from

student government or other groups of students.   Alice Nelson, Associate Dean of Students, concurred, stating that students "are too busy trying to work and go to school." Director of Health Services Michaela Quinn similarly confirmed that she did not believe student pushback influenced the implementation and enforcement of alcohol-control policies.

Director of Student Conduct Vince Carter attributed pushback, in part, to a growing sense of entitlement by Western students. Carter believed that in the past students tended to responsibility for their mistakes, explaining "people would take it – 'yup I screwed up. Thanks, I'll see you when I do it again.'" Carter lamented that now "everyone is entitled. I just had a kid who walked in before - 'oh I played football and I shouldn't be in trouble because I got caught drinking twice.' [I'm like] Sorry man, I don't know what to tell you." Carter shared that because sanctions for a first violation of the alcohol policy "here is not a big deal, it's a slap on the wrist really" pushback tends to occur with his office only following a second violation. Carter explained "maybe that student is an athlete or involved in a club or organization, that's when it hits them because they can't play; they're on a different level of probation….the first time, I don't think they think it's real." Carter's perception is that students don't see the University's alcohol policy as legitimate, he shared "they're in college that's what they are going to do….[they say] 'my friends at other schools can do it, why can't we do it here?' That's crap.'"

Mattie Ross, Western's Wellness Educator utilized data provided through Western's mandatory online alcohol course to shape her outlook on student pushback.

Ross stated "one of the questions we ask is about policy and …they all seem - not all of them - the majority, say it's fair…. they understand them." Ross continued, "The only time I ever get push back is when someone gets caught and they're in trouble and they're mad….they're not necessarily mad at the policy, they're just mad that they got caught breaking the policy." To illuminate the point Ross relayed the story of a 21-year old student mandated to attend an alcohol education class. During the class the student proceeded to strongly vent her opposition to the University's alcohol policy. Shrugging off the incident, Ross reflected "at the end of the day... [the student] still broke the policy because our policy is regardless of age." Ross said pushback like this is not typical and overall "I don't think we get a lot of pushback on it."

For participants interviewed at both campuses it was apparent that pushback from other administrators led to perceptions that colleagues were not supportive of their work. Perceived pushback from executive staff or senior administrators was especially impactful. In such cases confusion or ambiguity about organizational values, conflict with personal values, and questions about fulfillment of job expectations can enter into the dynamic. Student pushback was, on some level, anticipated by participants who generally had some level of defense prepared to respond. Staff members need to be conscious, however, not to generalize student pushback as necessarily representative of the larger student population. The differential between student support for alcohol-control policies and staff estimates of student support may speak to the influence of policy pushback interactions. It becomes important, then, for those staff members responsible alcohol-control policy implementation to be mindful that policy pushback

may not be representative of the larger population. Atlantic University's Betty Horn put

a perspective on this during her interview when she explained "it's based on who people

interact with….like the counselors, for example, think that everybody has anxiety; and

health services thinks everybody's drinking and getting pregnant… it's who you're

interacting with."

   Complacency. Complacency emerged from analysis of the case study interviews

as a factor influencing staff members responsible for alcohol-control policy

implementation. Kotter (2008) characterized complacency as stagnant activity that puts

aside new opportunities or risks, and focuses on past norms. Complacency can impede or

halt ongoing change initiatives and detract from alcohol-control policy implementation

efforts.

   Participants at both Atlantic University and Western University - while clear that

they were concerned about consequences associated with excessive student drinking -

described conditions of complacency.   Effecting true transformative change by

preventing dangerous and excessive college student drinking requires that change to the

student drinking culture must also be achieved. Because cultural change only occurs very

slowly and over long periods of time, changing student drinking culture requires the kind

of sustained change effort that Kanter (1999) referred to as a "long march." This is in

contrast to other types of change that might be effected quickly through what Kanter

(1999) termed "bold strokes." Considering the impact of complacency on efforts to lead

transformative change, Kotter (1996) identifies sustained urgency as a factor crucial to

ultimately anchoring change in culture. Complacency, then, undermines the kind of sustained effort required to facilitate cultural change.

While complacency may reflect indifference or opposition to the implementation of alcohol-control policies other conditions may also result in complacency. When activity toward goals is stagnant, it may also mean that institutional leaders have identified and redirected resources to new priorities or change initiatives. Complacency may also occur when the effectiveness of change initiatives are questioned, or when participants are resigned to believe that the current direction is not desirable. Participants described all of these scenarios in the course of case study interviews.

Atlantic University Residence Director Jimmy Blake, commenting on his perception that executive staff paid low attention to the prevention of excessive student drinking, commented "I don't think there has been anything recently that has made them feel they need to get involved." Wellness Educator Betty Horn similarly described a level of complacency toward alcohol control policies by the campus's executive leadership.   In the past, she noted, there were two wellness educators and her role was dedicated to alcohol and drug education. Over time, the University's other health educator position was cut and that position's duties were merged with Horn's, effectively reducing her work on alcohol prevention. She stated "that has detracted from my ability…I used to be much more focused on the alcohol." When asked about the attention given to the reduction of excessive student drinking by executive leadership SSAO Scott Smalls confirmed the perceptions of Blake and Horn, stating "I would say it's pretty minimal. To be perfectly honest, the one person that has a high level of

expertise on campus is [Betty Horn]… She does not work 12 months the year." While Smalls stated that he does not feel like the issue is left to fall on his shoulders by his executive staff colleagues, he added "in my three and a half years here I've never had a discussion related to alcohol use on campus; never been questioned about statistics, never questioned about why."

Karin Kinsella, Associate Director of Residence Life felt that there is less urgency for alcohol-control policy implementation now than there was 15 years ago. She further observed that it has been her observation that attention to alcohol-control policies and excessive drinking prevention "ebbs and flows" following critical incidents. Kinsella recalled that incident resulting in the death of the student exiting a bar several years ago drew lots of attention. She stated "Then it was all amped up again for a while." Then, Kinsella explained, students most impacted by the incident moved on and as an institution "it's where you get comfortable in the moment. That's why I say a lot of times that it's [attention to prevention of excessive student drinking] reactionary." Kinsella's supervisor, Ann Savoy concurred, explaining "when I started working here we had 1,800 students who lived on campus and now we have 3,300….and we still have one 10-month employee…responsible for outreach education" Savoy felt that was evidence that "it has not been a high priority for the institution." Savoy's observation is that increased attention is only in reaction to critical incidents. Savoy stated:

No one is giving us the resources, the staff, or putting anything in place, but our job is to control it. Alcohol is related to so many other things that happen on our campus, like we were in the news for sexual assaults… alcohol [was] involved in

all or those situations. But we weren't having a conversation about alcohol. We

were only having a conversation about sexual assault and anyone who knows,

knows that there's a link there… It's like we ignore it."

Doris Murphy, Director of Health Services, felt that other more pressing issues

have been the focus of leaders in recent times. Murphy shared her perceptions that "They

are more concerned with suicide prevention and academic engagement….I don't think

it's perceived how much alcohol interferes with the ability of a student to be successful. I

do know that they're very interested in opioid prevention." Michael Palledorous, Director

of Counseling, talked about the difficulties and realities of responding to shifting

priorities with static resources. Palledorous offered the example of sexual assault

prevention which, he noted, is getting much needed, and deserved, attention. At the same

time he acknowledged "sometimes something else has to give in order to address those

growing needs."

There were also signs of complacency at Western University. Vince Carter,

Director of Student Conduct, conveyed complacency in his view that he had little

influence on realizing the objectives of alcohol-control policies. His office, he explained,

doesn't influence what happens, "we deal with the after effect. Counseling Center,

Health and Wellness, and Res Life are the ones doing the programming that talks about

it." Carter expressed a belief that college student drinking is relatively unchangeable and

he did not present the conduct process or imposed disciplinary sanctions as having a

deterrent effect on excessive student drinking. His views appeared to express far more

resignation than urgency in discussing alcohol-control policies and the prevention of excessive student drinking.

Western's Associate Dean of Students, Alice Nelson, has been involved in alcohol-control policy implementation efforts for more than two decades in her state's public higher education system. Nelson shared that from her perspective attention to excessive student drinking has waned over time; she stated that during her first years at Western "I think there was more attention on how to address [excessive student drinking] as an administration." Western's Police Chief Jacob McCandles position on the current attention level given to excessive student drinking is that other issues have emerged which, unfortunately, have taken priority and drawn resources away from the prevention of excessive student drinking. McCandles reflected "terrorism is trumping everything. Campus violence is trumping everything. Alcohol and drugs have taken a backseat to basic public safety." Chief McCandles explained that faculty, staff and students are heeding the promoted "see something-say something" community safety mantra and are making reports when they observe people they think are acting strange. McCandles said that whether drugs, alcohol, or mental health issues are underlying concerning behavior resources have been devoted to community safety above all else.

Finally, even Mattie Ross, Western's Wellness Education who was hailed by colleagues for her work in the prevention of excessive student drinking, seemed stymied on what else she could do to sustain urgency and realize changes in excessive student drinking. Ross's interview occurred on a cold day in December about half way through final exams. The partially vacant parking lots were showing signs the end of semester

student migration was well underway. When asked about resources allocated to alcohol-control policies and prevention of excessive student drinking, Ross reflected "I think everybody would always say they would want bigger budgets and things, but you know honestly I don't know that would really change the efforts that we put into alcohol education." She further explained "it's funny because a lot of the people around me think I need help, and I probably do, but yet the alcohol piece can be done by me and, you know, with the support I have." It is quite possible that Ross was feeling the fatigue frontline staff can feel at the end of a long fall semester – especially a semester that included the tension associated with challenging the president to make changes in alcohol-control policies at Homecoming. It also, however, may be that Ross signaled a level of satisfaction with, or perhaps submission to, the status quo. Ross explained:

> What I'm finding is that there is only so much you can do. I can talk to these kids everyday about alcohol, but they've tuned me out after day one." I kind of feel like what we have in place at this time is enough, if that makes sense."

Ross's comments also included a level of acknowledgement that colleagues respect her contributions and look to her leadership in prevention of excessive student drinking, even as the doubts of the fading semester refused to fade. She concluded "I don't know that everyone around me would agree on that, because some people want more and more… and it wouldn't hurt, but at some point they've heard it enough times."

Self-limiting mindsets based on inaccurate or faulty assumptions. Two participants discussed pre-filtering, a dynamic in which staff members placed limitations

on their own alcohol-control policy implementation and enforcement work based on inaccurate or faulty assumptions.

Atlantic University's SSAO Scott Smalls recalled that when he began working at Atlantic University he noticed that "people had been *trained not to ask for what they needed* [emphasis added] to do the kind of work they wanted to do." Smalls described this dynamic as resulting primarily from one of two scenarios. He further explained that staff members either "had been told 'no' enough times that they stopped asking", or that they "were trying to be responsible with funding constraints." In some cases staff, in the interest of being a "team player," voluntarily sacrificed resources. Smalls explained that this dynamic might also involve bringing in trainers and presenters with less expertise than desired because a staff member assumes that it is more desirable to minimize expenses than to invest in more knowledgeable and experienced trainers. Smalls continued "I think we've gotten a little bit better… but I want initiatives to work. So you need to ask for enough resources."

Director of Residence Life Ann Savoy agreed with Smalls that pre-filtering occurred, but for different reasons. Savoy explained "if you ask for what you need you're admitting you have a problem, and we don't admit we have an alcohol problem. We just deal with it." Accordingly, if staff ask for significant resources to address an issue, they are highlighting the fact that the issue is not "under control." If those staff members also perceive there are expectations that having the problem under control is their responsibility, then asking for significant resources may be perceived as making a public statement to leaders that you are not meeting your job expectations. If a staff

member believes leaders might see their request in this light they may be reluctant to make the request for resources.

While only discussed by two participants, the depth of consideration and detailed reflections provided by both Scott Smalls and Ann Savoy warranted the reporting of these results.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework Themes

Two inductive themes based on the study's conceptual and theoretical framework were reviewed and considered during case study data analysis. The first of these themes is labeled *Implementation Clearances and Delays.* This theme is based on Pressman and Wildavsky's (1973) implementation model. The second theme, *Evidence of Transformative Change Initiatives*, was derived from Kotter's (1996) model for leading transformative organizational change.

The emergent theme results were presented first because they include significant descriptive information and rich details about the two university cases in this study. As a result, the emergent theme results introduce and inform discussion of the inductive theme results.

Implementation clearances and delays. Pressman and Wildavsky's (1973) conceptualization of implementation considered that participants have (a) a directional preference for implementation ranging from positive to negative; (b) a level of intensity associated with their directional preference, ranging from high to low; and (c) some level of resources, ranging from high to low, which can be used to aid or block implementation

efforts. The combined impact of these factors may result in expedited implementation, or conversely, in delays ranging from minor to maximal.

Implementation clearances and delays at Atlantic University. Participants interviewed at Atlantic University had a role in alcohol-control policy implementation at the University. All participants interviewed conveyed positive preference for implementation, and all were relatively consistent in their level of intensity in the positive direction. These two findings would support minimal delays in implementation efforts. The third component of the model, however, is the resources participants could employ to realize implementation. Considerable resource challenges were communicated which appear to be the primary factor delaying implementation at Atlantic through the lens of this model.

More specifically, Atlantic University staff reported that simultaneous commitment to other competing priority issues resulted in delays in alcohol-control policy implementation. Response to these issues served to lower resources and intensity if preference devoted to alcohol-control efforts. As Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) observed, when programs are not being implemented it may not mean that participants disagree on the ends desired; in some cases, they explained, implementation failure is the result of the ordinary means required to attain desired ends. Staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies reported they were concurrently responsible for, and occupied with, other salient issues which were currently a higher priority. Most prominent among cited priorities was response to sexual violence prevention and Title IX compliance and enforcement. Passage of the Violence Against

Women Act (VAWA), the White House initiative on ending sexual violence on campus, and Title IX letters of guidance issued by the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights placed universities on notice that their federal financial aid funds would be in jeopardy if they failed to respond to these issues and comply with a myriad of new regulations and federal guidance documents. Atlantic's Wellness Educator, Betty Horn noted "[attention to alcohol-control policies] is less, only because other issues have become bigger...now it's violence prevention and sexual assault prevention and Title IX are sort of the forefront and getting all the funding." Similarly, Associate Director of Residence Life Karin Kinsella shared "they [OCR] came out quickly with a lot of new policies and procedures… [Title IX] became much more prevalent. We were in 3-day long trainings."

Further, while staff members identified clear links between alcohol and sexual violence, frustration was expressed at the at the difficulty staff had in trying to address excessive student drinking while also addressing sexual violence prevention. Doris Murphy, Director of Health Services estimated that 75% of the sexual violence cases she was aware of through her work had an alcohol component, while the Deputy Police Chief Larry Hockett stated "I would say 98 to 99% of sexual assaults involve alcohol, in both the suspect and the victim/survivor's situation…I can't tell you how many I have investigated in my career." Hockett added "as you know, you need to be very careful how you even speak [about alcohol] as it relates to sexual assault." The Director of Student Conduct concurred stating "I think people are hesitant to be seen as victim blaming or perpetuating rape myths when you make those two connections….you just

have to be very delicate in your messaging." Betty Horn also confirmed the difficulty of addressing the connected issues, "we tried to get people to understand…alcohol being involved in the majority of sexual assaults…is not blaming the victim… there was a lot of pushback." Horn shared that it was perceived staff were blaming victims. This dynamic has been observed by the researcher in other contexts and has also been well documented in professional publications (Jaschik, 2014; Wilson, 2014).

Violence prevention was also cited as a concurrent issue demanding the resources and attention of the same university staff members responsible for implementing alcohol-control policies. Mental health related incidents, discrimination, and terrorism have all been woven into the fabric of lethal violence on campus. From the Columbine High School shootings in 1999, through the Virginia Tech shootings in 2007, to the mass shooting at Oregon's Umpqua Community College in 2015, violence prevention has been vying for scarce university resources. Betty Horn reflected on how "other issues have become bigger. We had grants and things back then and now it's violence prevention… [at] the forefront and getting all the funding." Director of Student Conduct Amanda Whurlitzer confirmed that the campus safety plan was a top priority outlined by the university's president.

With regard to available resources, Doris Murphy, Director of Health Services discussed that prevention resources have been cut over time, noting "We had two…[Wellness Educators] until 2008 and then one of the positions was lost in the budget crunch." While the direction of all staff members interviewed at Atlantic University on prevention of excessive student drinking was clearly positive, the resources

available to be applied to implementation were weakened by competing priorities. Dr. Scott Smalls, senior student affairs officer (SSAO) at Atlantic University characterized the level of attention paid to reducing excessive student drinking at the institution as "pretty minimal." Amanda Whurlitzer's view, however, was that it was the institution's decisions regarding resource allocation, and not a general lack of resources, that was the issue. Noting that the institution was recently able to afford a high cost celebrity performer at an event she added "don't tell me that you don't have money when that [one performer's expense] would have paid for two positions - so it's not about resources."

In terms of the implementation and delay model, the risks associated with being perceived as not being attentive to current prioritized issues, combined with limited resources, staff training needs, and the challenges of discussing alcohol use in the context of sexual assault prevention, all served to lower the intensity of direction on alcohol-control policy implementation.

Implementation clearances and delays at Western University. Unlike participants interviewed at Atlantic University, those interviewed at Western University did not consistently convey positive preference for alcohol policy implementation. In addition, there was also more variance in the intensity of direction. Like Atlantic University staff members, participants at Western also reported that the resources available for implementation were limited.

In contrast to Atlantic University, the direction of all staff members interviewed on implementation of alcohol-control policies to prevent excessive student drinking wasn't as clearly positive. In particular questions emerged about (a) the direction, and (b)

intensity of direction communicated by Director of Student Conduct Vince Carter and Police Chief Jacob McCandles. Both expressed positions that indicated an alternative perspective on alcohol-control policy implementation that was corroborated in interviews with other staff members.

Vince Carter saw his student conduct role as one that simply responded after the fact follow up and had no deterrent influence on student's future decisions or behavior. Unaware of the state's system-wide alcohol policy, Carter worked to change the sanctioning structure away from the state policy. Commenting on the alcohol policy, Carter reflected "I don't think it's working…I don't think people want it… most people are going to do it no matter what you tell them." He expressed belief that state regulations may interfere with reducing excessive student drinking and posited "if we were a private school we wouldn't have as much [problems]…if it was a wet campus I think it would be different…numbers at first would skyrocket but then it would equal out." While he acknowledged that a wet campus could create a "foreseeable liability" he argued "but so is me walking on campus every day with all the school shootings." Carter viewed alcohol policy implementation and prevention practices as stagnant, explaining "we have a lot of stubborn - I don't want to say older folks - but opinionated - who say 'this is how it's always been'…and I think that's a big reason why things are the same."

Director of Residence Life Steve Douglas lamented on what he perceived as shortcomings of the student conduct system at Western. Douglas said:

> it is tough because the RAs will document it…and the hearing officers will find the people responsible and it will go to appeals and it…doesn't take…very long to

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figure out that if you go to appeal at Western you get off. So it makes it frustrating.

Carter, however, estimated that in recent years about half of the cases appealed were overturned, and appeals are decided at a level beyond Carter's purview. Judy Robinson, Associate Director of Residence Life shared that Carter "has very different opinions on alcohol use and abuse…if we can sell it or spin it to him then he'll support it [through the conduct system]." Wellness Educator Mattie Ross observed "I don't know that there is very good follow-up with the judicial system and I feel bad…but I think there are inconsistencies there." This is not to say that Carter supports excessive student drinking or its related negative consequences. In addition, it seemed that Carter did work generally to uphold policies despite his philosophical differences. It is the terms under which he participates in the system and the intensity of his support for policies that seem to be most questioned. For example, for all of the interactions Carter's office has with students who violate Western's alcohol policies he firmly believes "the best thing we do is the alcohol transport policy that gets the people the help [hospital transport] instead of sleeping it off."

Prior to his appointment as Western's University Police Chief Jacob McCandles worked for several years in the police department at another of the state's public universities. Prior to that McCandles served as a state police officer. McCandles had more awareness of the history of the system-wide alcohol policy than most interviewed. Despite his knowledge and experience in the state's higher education system McCandles was a bit of an enigma in answering questions about alcohol-control policies. Other

participants interviewed felt that he and his department were not consistently enforcing

alcohol-control policies. Several staff members voiced concerns about the police

department's work related to alcohol policy implementation. Most significant were

reports that the university's medical transport policy had been allowed to evolve into a

voluntary transport policy based on police response. Associate Director of Residence

Life Judy Robinson reported:

> All of a sudden students can sign off that they aren't 'drunk enough' or we have
>
> officers telling RAs that… 'Friends can watch them - No they'll be fine, just
>
> make sure she doesn't roll over.'…that is completely against everything we train
>
> our staff to do, so it is developing a huge ridge between our staff and the police
>
> with responding officers asking intoxicated students if they *wanted* to be
>
> transported.

Vince Carter, who had voiced his strong support for the medical transport policy

expressed his concerns noting "the police…don't really care about it [alcohol-control

policy implementation] under our…leader over there. He runs it more like a military

[organization] and 'we [the police] should deal with police issues and not alcohol…that's

student affairs' and all that stuff." Five other participants interviewed also expressed

some level of concern over the University Police responses related to alcohol-control

policy implementation.

When asked in his interview about consistency of enforcement, and despite

previous comments stating that police must consistently enforce policies and laws, Chief

McCandles shared a seemingly contrary expectation that the University Police should

take a discretionary approach to alcohol policy enforcement:

> I think we are all human and you can't be Nazi Gestapo…and if my officers were
>
> to walk around [enforcing policies with zero tolerance] I would be very upset with
>
> that abuse of power… I think going up to a bunch of students who got caught, and
>
> they're drinking, [making the students] pour out their stuff and tell them 'we don't
>
> want to see you doing it again'...and if everybody is 'yes sir yes sir' and they
>
> cooperate, no problem at all, we turn around and walk out the door…If you get
>
> caught with your hand in the cookie jar and you own up to it and follow
>
> directions, chances are you get a bye.

This approach to alcohol policy enforcement described by McCandles is based on (a)

respect shown to officers, and (b) being contrite when confronted by officers. The Chief

further explained:

> If…they say 'How come?' 'Why?' [or] 'You're picking on us', blah blah blah
>
> well guess what, then we are going to spend a little more time with you now…
>
> and if you don't get the message to shut up you know you could end up spending
>
> the night with us.

While neither Carter nor McCandles could be considered to have an overall negative

preference on alcohol policy implementation, on *certain* implementation clearances, their

negative preferences were clear. In those cases their positions would clearly contribute to

delays in meeting alcohol policy objectives.

The remaining eight participants interviewed at Western University had a clearly positive position on implementation of alcohol-control policies. In the interview with Steve Douglas, Director of Residence Life, he echoed the importance of policy support direction identified by Pressman and Wildavsky when he stated "in the past…changing policy or things like that may be challenging because even if the policy is changed, if not all the players buy into it, then they just kind of ignore it or they don't support it."

Like their counterparts at Atlantic University, Western participants interviewed also cited Title IX compliance, sexual violence prevention, and campus violence preventions and as competing priorities vying for the attention and resources of staff. Because these competing priorities draw on the resources of unchanged staff and budgets, participants have fewer resources to bear with regard to alcohol policy implementation.

Alice Nelson, Associate Dean of Students added "I think sexual assault has taken over, I think title IX has taken over. I think it…will [continue to be] for the next five years. Just like the Cleary act, I think alcohol has taken a backseat." Nelson added that the addition of unfunded mandates forces the institution to further divide available resources. She explained "they don't give us the resources [needed]... If you are given a pot of money, and you are going to have a choice, alcohol or title IX, [today] it would probably go to title IX." Western's SSAO Jennifer Curran explained that staff members have been forced into a reactionary mode:

> Right now I would say it's more about being focused on how to get the word out about title IX, how to report it, what to do, and…the state [mandated]

process….it's more the federal government coming in and putting [in] the unfunded mandate.

Associate Director of Residence Life Judy Robinson consistent with others reported that demands related to Title IX have significantly increased in the past 18 months. Jacob McCandles, University Police Chief, added that "alcohol is really tied into sexual assaults 90% of the time." Like participants at Atlantic University, participants at Western acknowledged that addressing alcohol and harm prevention as part of sexual violence response of prevention was difficult. While Chief McCandles felt his department had "sufficient staff to accomplish our mission" he also acknowledged that "staff can be depleted with one significant case. If there is a sexual assault case my entire staff is dedicated to that which means you've got all this other stuff…that is not being supervised."

Interestingly, compared to those interviewed at Atlantic University, participants at Western appeared to have less overall awareness of how Title IX and sexual violence prevention impacted their colleagues in implementing alcohol-control policies. Jane Hathaway, Director of the Counseling, was unaware of how Title IX related responsibilities impacted others in implementing alcohol-control policies, but estimated that "80% [of sexual assault cases her office is informed of are]…alcohol related." Her perspective was largely informed only by cases and experience of her office. Michaela Quinn, Director of Health Services, was aware "that there has been a big sort of revamped focus" on Title IX but added she didn't know if those responsibilities had taken away from alcohol education. Regarding sexual violence policy complaints she

explained that "the few [cases] that I have seen…have all involved some sort of alcohol consumption, whether it be a lot or even a little."

Though many cited demands associated with Title IX and sexual violence prevention, a notable exception was Mattie Ross, Western's Wellness Educator. Ross reported her role remained largely focused on alcohol prevention and she didn't feel the same pressure others reported in shifting her focus. When asked she responded "Title IX? ... Not for me. Maybe campus police. Not so much for me." An exception to the perspectives conveyed by others, Ross did not see resources as a factor which may weaken implementation efforts.

Similar to Atlantic University, campus violence prevention was raised as a competing priority demanding resources and attention. Unlike Atlantic, however, only the University Police Chief voiced this issue. Chief McCandles expanded on the importance and priority of this issue in law enforcement efforts nationwide and on campuses as well as in municipalities. He explained "alcohol and drugs have taken a backseat to basic public safety…in the world we live in…there is more heightened awareness in security." He went on to explain that providing training to faculty and staff and communicating the severity of the issue was an important priority of the University Police Department.

Overall, participant preference direction, intensity of direction, and resources would impact alcohol policy implementation by contributing to delays. While findings on resources at Western closely mirror those at Atlantic, there is significant difference

between the two institutions on positive direction of participant preferences on implementation, and the intensity of those preferences.

Evidence of transformative change initiatives. Kotter's (1996) framework for leading change was employed as part of the conceptual and theoretical framework in the study. Case study data were examined through the lens of this framework for indicators of transformative change initiatives related to alcohol-control policy implementation at each of the two institutions. Analysis also considered evidence of any lasting influence of the state's system-wide alcohol policy, which was shared by the institutions, and any associated transformative change initiatives. Finally, leadership for change in alcohol-control policy implementation was examined under the framework.

Atlantic University Change Initiatives. Review of the Atlantic University case study data were further refined to consider whether change efforts constituted past initiatives, current initiatives, or ongoing initiatives.

Past initiatives. Information related to change initiatives shared by participants in interviews at Atlantic University were confirmed through document review and fact checking. Specifically, records in the university's archives and press coverage media coverage at the time of the incidents were reviewed and validated accounts given. These documents further illustrated staff accounts of historic critical incidents shared through organizational sagas, the oldest of which dated back to the 1990s. While tension between town officials and the university related to student drinking pre-dated these incidents, this was the clear starting point of a significant past change initiative related to excessive student drinking.

Following the fire alarm "riot" incident, student drinking-related behavior drew extensive negative media coverage and strong criticism from local officials and town residents. Town selectmen made their grievances public and called for the University to take tough action. The incident occurred approximately a week after the Spring Weekend event. During Spring Weekend Atlantic had already decided to not allow one traditional outdoor music and drinking event on campus. Students responded angrily and voiced opposition by hanging signs of protest in residence hall windows.

The first three stages of Kotter's framework combine to help create a climate for change. The first stage is to create a sense of urgency around the problem to be solved and change needed. When the fire alarm incident occurred a week after Spring Weekend and its associated student protests, the issue of alcohol on campus had increased in policy saliency. The student newspaper coverage following the fire alarm incident indicated a level of tension between students defending the campus drinking status quo, and discussions of the need for alcohol policy reform. Town official criticisms related to student drinking and the negative press associated with the fire alarm riot incident further contributed to the sense of urgency. Atlantic University President Gardner responded quickly to maintain and further heighten the sense of urgency for review of student drinking and the University alcohol policy. President Gardner immediately appointed a panel to conduct a critical review of the fire alarm incident. The review panel's work began, but was delayed over the summer when needed student input could not be gathered. Accordingly, the panel completed review and made recommendations early in the fall term.

By the following fall semester evidence of Kotter's second stage emerged as President Gardner began to worked on the issue of student drinking with the University's Police Chief, vice-presidents, health and counseling staff, town officials, trustees and state higher education leaders. Adding to the sense of urgency, the review panel completed its review of the fire alarm incident. First among the recommendations was that the University needed to address student alcohol abuse.

At the same time the early weeks of that fall semester was marked by several highly publicized alcohol-related college student deaths across the nation including the drinking-related hazing that resulted in the death of MIT freshman Scott Krueger. National press coverage of college binge drinking expanded exponentially, often accompanied by statistics culled from Harvard College Alcohol Study research. As warnings about college binge drinking were diffused, parents of students became increasingly concerned about safety of their children. The series of deaths, combined with publicity about the dangers of college student binge drinking and parent fears combined to draw the attention state and federal government leaders. In Atlantic's state the governor helped spur the state's higher education governance board toward the policy action that resulted in the passage of the public higher education system-wide alcohol policy.

Following passage of the state governance board's system-wide alcohol policy town selectmen made recommendations to President Gardner. Specifically they wanted Atlantic University to make all residence halls dry and expand the hours of the campus pub, which, they felt, would help keep student drinking on campus where it could be

managed in a controlled environment. The selectmen's recommendations were thoroughly covered in local media.

The fourth through sixth stages of Kotter's change model serve to more significantly involve members and further prepare the organization for the change. President Gardner started to communicate the change vision, stage four, when she made public comments indicating she favored making residence halls dry given the high percentage of resident students who were under 21 years old. By holding campus meetings and open forums she encouraged participation in the dialogue and empowered broad based action in the change initiative, the fifth stage in the Kotter model. While the system-wide alcohol policy may have presented an opportunity to quickly enact a new policy, Gardner wisely maintained a commitment to engage the community in the change initiative. Gardner named an Alcohol Task Force with representatives selected to represent key groups of student leaders including Student Government, the Residence Hall Association, and Greek Advisory Board as well as Board of Trustee, faculty, and staff representatives. Gardner, having communicated a change vision, also scheduled community open forums where discussion could be held in the presence of the Task Force. Together, these decisions served to empower broad based action. The Alcohol Task Force heard public comment and made recommendations on policy changes to President Gardner. Consistent with Kotter's sixth stage, "creating quick wins" Gardner considered the Task Force's recommendations and moved quickly to make her own to Atlantic's Board of Trustees who approved the new alcohol policy in late November. The policy allowed 21 year old residents to continue to drink in the campus pub in

addition to designated areas in certain to be determined residence halls on campus. Importantly, the policy also affirmed the University's commitment to strict enforcement of state liquor laws - with an emphasis communicated with regard to underage drinking. President Gardner also reaffirmed that the University's alcohol policy would be consistently enforced in a uniform manner inside and outside of the residence halls.

Immediately after the policy was passed two camps emerged to provide pushback against the new policy. A level of unorganized and expected student pushback emerged fighting for what they saw as their right to "their college experience." The second pushback came from town selectmen. Upset that the University decided not to embrace either of the two recommendations they had made to President Gardner the selectmen took to local media to protest the new alcohol policy and asked President Gardner to reconsider and further strengthen the policy. These two positions represented different ends on the spectrum of alcohol policy opinion, and it appeared whatever pressure might have been exerted by one was offset by the other.

President Gardner's efforts to lead transformative change in reducing problematic student drinking at Atlantic University had advanced to the final two stages of Kotter's framework. In the seventh and eighth stages of the framework actions are taken to implement changes and sustain the initiative by working to have it institutionalized into organizational culture. In Kotter's seventh stage organizations consolidate gains and produce more change. The process shepherded by President Gardner facilitated this stage by building into the new alcohol policy the expectation that Atlantic's Vice-President of Student Affairs would work to determine how to operationalize and implement the

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policy. In addition, issues and concerns raised through open forums and review of the

initial incident provided opportunities for additional change.

By January additional changes made included the addition of around the clock

security in the residence hall where the fire alarm incident occurred. Security guards

were to conduct checks of bags entering the building or deny entry of those bags. One

separate enclosed residence area housing only upperclassmen, was determined to be the

only residence hall where students of age would be allowed to drink on campus. In

addition, a new set of sanctions were implemented which included educational

components and progressive discipline culminating in suspension from the University in

the event of a third violation of the alcohol policy. All actions announced were cognizant

of, and intentionally designed to be in compliance with the state's system-wide alcohol

policy. Betty Horn, Atlantic's Wellness Educator remembered how President Gardner

had empowered more change, recalling "we were one of the few institutions that did

everything we were supposed to do."

With Atlantic's new alcohol policy University police were not only empowered,

they were *expected* to maintain commitment to enforcement of state liquor laws. Deputy

Chief Larry Hockett explained the benefits associated with the department's commitment

to arrests for liquor law violations:

> A student doesn't say 'oh I'm not going to drive now because I'm drunk' -
>
> because they're drunk, and they don't use good judgment. So that's one of the
>
> reasons they gotta be taken out of the environment….I can tell you with a
>
> tremendous degree of experience that as a result of the alcohol enforcement,

sexual assaults are down. Your assault and batteries are down. You have the

false fire alarms down. All of your tragic crimes and the people jumping off the

roof, they're all down. And you can see it. It's like flipping a switch.

A few years after Atlantic's alcohol policy was initiated, however, the focus on

the policy issue and change efforts had stagnated. While new student behavioral

expectations were being reinforced, the sense of urgency began to wane. It should be

noted that the decline in urgency mirrored the involvement and perceived commitment to

the policy by the president and other high level leaders. By the time President Gardner

retired, approximately four years later, the level of urgency directed toward excessive

student drinking had changed dramatically. College binge drinking had been displaced

on the national stage by other issues. Safety and security related concerns took center

stage with the 1999 Columbine High School shootings and the 2001 attacks on the World

Trade Center in New York City capturing the nation's attention. As the country entered

the War on Terror campuses grappled with restrictions on international students while

working to comply with the Patriot Act and Homeland Security procedures. Given the

changes that had occurred nationally, it is not surprising perhaps that when William

Chapel became Atlantic's president in 2002 he did not initially make his predecessors

change initiative on student drinking a high priority. Beyond national issues of attention

both the state's governor and higher education governance board leadership had turned

over since the system-wide policy was enacted. Just as the issue of excessive college

student drinking faded from the attention of executive leadership at Atlantic, however,

the two off campus alcohol-related critical incidents reignited urgency for the issue. As

urgency increased President Chapel empowered additional change. Most notable among additional changes was the requirement that all first year students complete a required on-line alcohol course, the expansion of 24-hour residence hall security, and increased planning and communications between town and campus police. Deputy Chief Larry Hockett described one outcome, a regular town-gown meeting involving "The town manager, typically the president of the university, some senior management, our chief, myself, the town chief, the fire chief, and the second in command of the town PD." As had been the case following the initial alcohol policy changes under President Gardner's leadership, however, it appeared that Dr. Chapel shifted attention from the issue before the change objectives were realized.

At the same time, the existence of the organizational sagas told at Atlantic nearly 20 years later support the argument that efforts to effect transformational change in the student drinking environment at the University have been institutionalized, at least to some degree, in the organizational culture. The versions of the sagas shared in interviews were not always factually accurate, but it is important to note that their purpose isn't a historical account. SSAO Scott Smalls, for example, had less than five years' experience at Atlantic and relayed a version that was somewhat vague, but which retained important messages:

 Several years before I got here there were a series of issues - big fights and someone was killed and someone lost an eye and our president at the time…had had enough and not only did they look at alcohol policies but also how they were being enforced

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Amanda Whurlitzer, who had worked at the University for three years shared her understanding of the organizational sagas this way:

> There was a stabbing at a bar…and somebody died. There were at least two fatalities from OUIs, and somebody got hit by a car as well, and those would have been in the late 90s or early 2000s…The story goes that the president was walking around with the police chief and the campus is just littered with beer cans and it was just a disaster. Retention rates were down. Graduation rates weren't there…And it's hard to argue that there's not a link between the heavier enforcement of alcohol and our graduation rates seem to have gone up at that point in time as well

Whurlitzer's account of how the University's alcohol policy changed was greatly simplified:

> There were some large scale incidents…then…[the former] President said 'enough', and then literally within 24 hours it was a lockdown….I also don't see us changing or moving away from the if you're under 21 you get arrested rule…that significant law enforcement has had many, many positive impacts.

The factual inaccuracies in the stories shared should not discount their importance. As Bess and Dee (2006) wrote about conceptualizations of organizational culture, the significance of the organizational sagas is in the transfer of organizational values and shared beliefs. Accordingly factual inaccuracies in the stories are mitigated by their purpose.

The fact that all staff members interviewed knew the stories of critical incidents related to excessive student drinking demonstrates that there have been efforts to pass shared values and beliefs on through organizational sagas.

When asked if the level of excessive drinking in the residence halls had changed over the past 15 years Karin Kinsella, Associate Director of Residence Life, replied "Oh my gosh yeah…Our RA's are like 'I heard…a ping-pong ball…and there's like three people in the room.' They're not having ragers…that level of alcohol isn't in the buildings." Deputy Chief Larry Hockett summarized the change over time from his perspective adding "It really has become much more manageable and safer."

Current state of change initiative. In the decade since the last two major critical incidents occurred at Atlantic University the attention to the reduction of excessive student drinking appears to have once again diminished. While many practices and policies associated with past policy changes remained recognizable and anchored to some degree in Atlantic's culture, efforts seemed to have stagnated in a familiar holding pattern. Michael Palledorous of the Counseling Center seemed resigned when he stated "I guess the urgency is that there is always a risk that somebody could die." Beyond a lack of urgency, some participants interviewed expressed concerns that past gains could be reversed. Two noted concerns about the message the current executive leaders may be sending during the Homecoming. Betty Horn shared her worry that "One of the things… they brought back this year for our Homecoming was the beer tent. We hadn't had that for years, so I was kind of surprised…I'm not sure that that sends the best message to

students." Urgency on the part of senior executives is also called into question by a disregard for drinking at football tailgating parties.

The second stage in Kotter's framework is the creation of a guiding coalition. The presidents who provided leadership and helped establish guiding coalitions in the past have both retired. Several of the staff members interviewed provided leadership to committees, sat on task forces, and engaged community partners when past changes were implemented. During the interviews, staff members were asked about their current involvement with coalitions or committees working to reduce excessive student drinking on campus. Betty Horn reported that there were none "that I'm involved with…we used to have an alcohol task force when we doing all the changes to the policy." While she occasionally participates with a town committee that has an underage drinking grant she lamented "they are trying to use the money for opioid addiction prevention." While Horn felt alcohol abuse was far more prevalent and could result in more impactful use of resources, Doris Murphy, Director of Health Services, concurred that "those collaborations have changed into the opioid task force." Pointing out a powerful reflection on institutional urgency and the lack of leadership for change, Ann Savory noted that while the resident student population increased by 83% in the nearly 20 years since the fire alarm riot, the fact that "We still have [only] one 10-month employee in the Wellness Center responsible for outreach education speaks volumes…that it has not been a high priority for the institution." Wellness educator Betty Horn concurred stating "My office has remained as a one-person prevention office over the years, so I don't know how

much of that is 'we want to say were doing something', but how much commitment is actually behind that?"

Participant interviews indicated that as of the time of the interviews there is neither a strong sense of urgency, nor a guiding coalition to lead additional changes aimed at reducing excessive student drinking. No staff members interviewed knew of a current guiding vision or of strategies Atlantic University had for creating more change. The highest level where goals and strategies may exist may be at the department or program level. Director of Health Services, Doris Murphy, confirmed this stating "I think there are goals but I think they are housed in pockets."

Western University Change Initiatives. Western University has not experienced the tragic loss of life and high profile critical incidents that precipitated change at Atlantic University. While these difficult and painful incidents are not desirable, the fact that organizational resolve can sometimes be enhanced through such experiences can also not be denied. Because critical incidents touch communities deeply and may be formative in shaping organizational values and beliefs, institutions who do not experience such incidents may have less developed initiatives seeking transformative change.

Consideration of transformative change initiatives related to excessive college student drinking at Western University must take into consideration the institution's location. Western's student drinking culture is influenced by the city in which it resides, and to some degree by the student drinking culture reinforced by students attending nearby colleges. Promoters bring large scale events such as themed dance parties targeting the city's population of college students of all ages. Serious intoxication from

"pre-gaming" drinking has historically been associated with such events according to a former Western University police chief. In addition, because Western is not the only local university in the city relationships with the city's police, fire, hospitals and ambulatory services involves a much more complex set of relationships than those experienced by Atlantic's administration. Including community level initiatives in efforts aimed at reducing excessive student drinking has been reported as important strategy (Saltz et al., 2010). For Western University and the challenges associated with its location this is especially important.

Past Initiatives. When the state system-wide alcohol policy was enacted. Western University President Anthony Nelson had not been forced to respond to high profile incidents related to excessive student drinking as was President Gardner at Atlantic University. President Nelson, however, was aware of the national attention college student binge drinking had drawn. He was additionally aware of the pressure by the state higher education governing board to take policy action. Supporting the policy was politically expedient and also advantageous from a risk management perspective since alcohol responsibility law had already changed dramatically from the hands off approach in courts of the 1960s and 1970s (Lake, 2013). The state governing board had informed campuses of the 34 student drinking related deaths that had occurred across the nation in the previous year, and no university leader would want to appear to have deliberate indifference after being presented a with such a data backed warning. President Nelson, without the need for a carefully orchestrated response to student drinking incidents like was underway at Atlantic, simply directed his staff to review Western's alcohol policy

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and bring it into compliance with the system-wide alcohol policy. Document review of the state system's records and Western University's student handbooks confirmed these actions occurred. Dr. Jane Hathaway, Director of the Counseling, recalled "There was…the sign-off that the presidents had to do, but at the time, he didn't do anything [else]. It was 'okay, well everybody else is doing it' and that was it, he wasn't even involved." Hathaway further explained how the system-wide alcohol policy impacted policymaking at Western; "it was great leverage and our vice president [at the time] was all over it." Accordingly, change at Western may be viewed as part of a state higher education system-wide change initiative with Western's executive staff and trustees acting only to comply with the system-wide policy. Student affairs staff took advantage of the opportunity to engage in the process and helped lead desired change. It was clear, however, that the initiative for change was the state governing board's call to action and would not have otherwise been launched by Western.

Four years later a new vice president of student affairs led the division until her retirement in 2013. Both student affairs vice presidents provided leadership and support for the reduction of excessive student drinking. The system-wide alcohol policy had placed responsibility on Western to provide impactful alcohol education programs, strengthen alcohol policies, ensure consistent enforcement, register all campus social events involving alcohol, work with their cities and towns to enforce underage drinking laws, and prohibit alcohol deliveries to campus. For staff members responsible for these activities, this came as extremely clear and uncommon direction from the governing board. The accompanying sense of public accountability helped fuel some sense of

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urgency and student affairs leaders engaged in the broad-based action related to the policy and leveraged financial and other support from executive leadership to implement policy actions. While Western University had not experienced tragedies like other campuses, staff members were well aware of its potential for being afflicted along these lines. A former chief of the Western University Police Department recalled "we used to worry about…intoxicated students going back to the res halls drunk…and praying they didn't die in their bed." Dr. Jane Hathaway reflected on those fears as well as the lack of tragic incidents at Western and commented "you want hear my philosophy about that? It's called luck...I'm very vocal about that."

The system-wide policy set forth a vision and strategies for change. From a Western University perspective President Nelson and Western's trustees empowered student affairs staff for broad-based action by delegating responsibility and authority for policy compliance to his student affairs division. Jane Hathaway recalled "I was here for that. I was part of that whole thing…There was a group of us that met monthly at different campuses." Those staff members began to initiate change and made progress. One need they effectively addressed was a community-related change impacting all of the universities in the city. In the 1990's it was not uncommon for city police or emergency medical personnel to refuse medical transports and let students "sleep it off." Additionally, it was not uncommon for hospitals to release intoxicated students without treatment, especially if they were released to the custody of friends. To change this response the attitudes and beliefs of police, fire, ambulatory and hospital personnel related to student intoxication had to be reshaped. In addition, the desired change also

required similar support from the city's other colleges and universities. Jane Hathaway explained that reframing student intoxication so that responders would be "thinking that is was a medical issue versus 'oh it's just another drunk college kid.'" represented a significant challenge. In the end it also turned out to be a major accomplishment in the change initiative. Hathaway explained how the environment at that time created a unique opportunity and recalled that she:

> used every bit of leverage I could at the time…as did our [former] university police chief…[we], worked collectively and we brought in all of the [city's] colleges and universities…brought in all of the ambulance and medical people…and had a big meeting. We talked a lot…I don't know if we didn't have that leverage back then if we would have ever…done it and I don't know where we would be now…That has just evolved and gotten better.

Dr. Hathaway explained that the Western University staff, led by student affairs, continued to make change: "We just used as much of that as leverage [as we could]. That helped with [funding the online course]. That's in large part how we got that here. It was all in that time frame." In addition, Western University's approval for addition of a wellness educator was added six years ago and is evidence of continued change efforts out of the student affairs division.

Dr. Hathaway was the only participant in the study with the longevity to have personally observed the entire change process as a staff member at Western, giving her a unique perspective on how change has evolved over time. Compared to her early days at

Western she reflected on the current state of attention to reducing excessive student drinking, stating there is:

> A lot more [attention] than years ago… and I can give you some examples…We do [the online alcohol course], [and] we've been doing [it] for a really long time…the academic affairs side of the house has allowed us to put holds on registration…So, you know, in terms of educational programming and those things, we do a lot of programming. We've done… a lot of work with the student athletes. We've got some buy in there that we never used to have.

Associate Dean of Students Alice Nelson has spent the past 15 years at Western and had a different view on the level of attention currently given to reducing excessive student drinking. Nelson stated "I think there was more attention on how to address [student drinking] as an administration [in the past]." From Nelson's perspective administrators came together with more purpose given the clear direction and glaring needs 15 years ago. From the perspective of Kotter's framework, Nelson sensed more urgency in the past than exists today. Jenny Curran has also worked at Western for 15 years and served in several different positions before becoming SSAO in 2013. When asked about the impact of the system-wide alcohol policy she measured her response before stating "I think there has been some. You know folding parents in may or may not have helped...15 years ago the attitudes on alcohol were different."

Despite the increased attention reported, some question whether any real progress has been made in changing the drinking culture at Western University. Two of the participants interviewed in the study were once undergraduate students at Western

University. Vince Carter, Director of Student Conduct, has worked at Western for a decade. Carter's opinions were shaped by his time as an undergraduate student at Western. When asked about changes in student drinking attitudes and behaviors over time at Western he replied:

> I think it's probably the same. I mean my freshman year was a blur so that will tell you one thing. I think the way people do it is different now. People get more belligerent now. People would drink to excess then, but they weren't jerks. I think the attitude of intoxicated people now is horrible compared to what it used to be.

Mattie Ross, Wellness Educator, was also an undergraduate at Western. When asked how student drinking behavior and attitudes have changed since her undergraduate days she replied:

> Probably not too much change since then…there hasn't been tons of changes outside of more and more freshman coming in as non-drinkers…what I hear, is that it's a change in *what* [emphasis added] they're drinking - alcohol itself has become more flavorful, and things like that, over the years.

When viewed historically and considered from an outsider's perspective, it seems clear that implementation efforts have resulted in changes in the efforts to respond to and reduce excessive student drinking at Western University. The online alcohol course required of first year students is now an expected program, including mandatory completion required for spring registration. The student survey conducted in the

quantitative phase of this study noted a high level of student support at Western for this program. Similarly, involving parents of students under 21 has become routine and expected practice over time. The creation of a full-time 12 month Wellness Educator and ongoing work with Athletics on student drinking provide further evidence related to alcohol policy implementation efforts. The fact that so many participants interviewed had strong negative response to reports of campus police officers making medical transport of intoxicated students optional speaks to how normalized medical transports had become. These examples point to practices that have become anchored in institutional culture, the eighth and final stage identified in Kotter's framework. At the same time it also speaks to a current lack of urgency in efforts to reduce excessive student drinking and implement the University's alcohol policy.

Unlike the change process at Atlantic University, alcohol policy change and efforts to reduce excessive student drinking at Western University were not initiated by a university-based guiding coalition assembled with a sense of urgency to develop and communicate a change vision. At Western, the state governing board's system-wide alcohol policy and national spotlight on student binge drinking served those purposes. The state governing board became the powerful guiding coalition and developed and communicated a change vision. As President Nelson delegated leadership for bringing the university's policy into compliance with the system-wide alcohol policy Western student affairs staff members became part of the effort to encourage broad-based action and build on the changes already made. It was at these stages that student affairs leaders

took on the role of a guiding coalition at the campus level and leveraged policy

implementation responsibilities to produce more change at the university.

Long term staff members including Jane Hathaway, Alice Nelson, and Jennifer

Curran confirmed coordinated policy implementation efforts and discussed how change

efforts have evolved over time.   At the same time, neither of the two former Western

student participants, Vince Carter and Mattie Ross, felt that Western's student drinking

culture has changed significantly in their experience at the institution. The vast majority

of information shared by participants was based on personal observation. With limited

exceptions, participants interviewed made few references to research data. One such

exception occurred when Mattie Ross attributed changes to the Western drinking culture

to changes in high school student drinking behavior which they bring with them to

college. While Ross noted that Western's online alcohol course data suggested a

positive impact on students, she believes that there has been little change in Western's

student drinking culture over the past two decades.

It is important to note that other organizational differences between Atlantic and

Western were apparent that may have had an influence on the perspectives of

participants. Compared to Atlantic University participants, staff members interviewed at

Western generally demonstrated much less awareness of, and support for, the alcohol

policy implementation activities and efforts of offices other than their own. It was not

uncommon for participants at Western to be openly critical of colleagues in other offices.

Staff members interviewed, for example, had differing perspectives on consistency in

alcohol policy enforcement. In contrast to Residence Life expectations that the policy be

enforced consistently, the University Police chief expected his officers to generally use discretion in enforcement, including discretion based upon student's attitude toward the responding officers. Residence Life staff members were critical of the student conduct process and felt that any student who appealed a decision was very likely to avoid accountability for policy violation. Residence Life staff also felt that students transported for intoxication were sometimes not seen by the Wellness Educator in a timely fashion. The Wellness Educator, in turn, felt that there were some inconsistencies in the processes used by the Office of Student Conduct. Most participants interviewed were unaware of the history of the system-wide alcohol policy or the evolution of Western's alcohol-control policies. The researcher was unable to determine the validity of many of these criticisms or if the dynamic was reflective of larger organizational behavior dynamics at Western. Nonetheless, the less than ideal level of teamwork and critical outlooks likely results in less consistent accounts of activities and program efficacy than the more consistent accounts provided by participants at Atlantic.

In contrast, participants at Atlantic were far more aware of other department's activities and programs related to alcohol-control policies. They were similarly more supportive of their colleagues. One reason for this may be related to the occurrences of critical historical incidents experienced at Atlantic University. These incidents, to some extent, served as shared experiences around which staff members rallied. They also provided the content for the organizational sagas shared which play a role in passing on shared organizational beliefs and values.

Current transformative change initiatives. The current sense of urgency was considered in the analysis of the present state of change initiatives. It is reasonable to conclude that, with one exception, other policy and national issues demanding resources and attention have combined to greatly diminish the sense of urgency for expanding prevention efforts and implementation of alcohol-control policies at Western. The demands created by these issues have also supported a sense of complacency with established alcohol-control policies and prevention efforts. The exception was the urgency conveyed by participants around Western University's Homecoming tradition as being inconsistent and problematic. Ethical dilemmas related to the event were conveyed by several participants. It is important to note that the sense of urgency was limited to those with a role in implementation of alcohol-control policies and wasn't shared beyond the SSAO. Further, institutional and executive leadership systematically enabled the problems associated with the event.

While teamwork among staff members responsible for alcohol policy implementation was not a strength displayed at Western, they still displayed unity in the urgency they expressed for changes to the Homecoming event. The term "Homecoming" was uttered 134 times over the course of the ten interviews, and the emotional urgency with which the term was discussed was unmistakable. Even Chief McCandles, who stated that he expected officers to approach violations of the University alcohol policy with leniency, shared concerns about the homecoming event:

> we run into a problem…when we have a major school function like Homecoming, where you have a lot of tailgating going on, and you have parents here, and you

have some parents that feel it is okay that my kid is drinking with me. Well, no it is not okay that your kid is drinking with you…number one, this is an alcohol free campus, and number two, we are making an exception for you, but that isn't a carte blanche for students.

Given that there is at least a limited sense of urgency for change to enhance Western University's alcohol-control policies during Homecoming, evidence of a guiding coalition was considered. Implementation of alcohol control policies at Western have been led primarily through grassroots efforts since the system-wide alcohol policy was enacted. These efforts bring to mind Pressman and Wildavsky's (1973) conceptualization of implementation as links made in a causal change to attain outcomes sought. While the classic application of Kotter's framework outlines planned change initiatives with top down leadership, Kotter (2008) recognized that leadership for change could originate from sources other than hierarchical authority and acknowledged these forms in subsequent iterations of the framework. To effect change in alcohol-control measures during Homecoming Weekend it is, in fact, the executive leaders who have historically blocked such measures. Given that none of the three presidents who have served at Western have taken a leadership role in alcohol-control policies it was not surprising that the majority of participants interviewed believed that executive staff and trustees had little interest, and expressed no urgency, in prioritizing changes to alcohol-control policies.

There is evidence that a coalition to lead change in this issue has emerged from within the organization. Specifically, Jane Hathaway, Director of Counseling, Mattie

Ross, Wellness Educator, Associate Dean of Students Alice Nelson and SSAO Jennifer Curran form the core of a guiding coalition. Since the system-wide alcohol policy was enacted Jane Hathaway has orchestrated and led change. Hathaway provided leadership to change the approach to intoxication medical transports across the city and more recently worked to produce more change as she gained approval to add the Wellness Educator position. Retelling the story Hathaway explained that alcohol prevention programming "got talked about when we hired [Mattie Ross]….a lot of campuses have…alcohol and [other] drug people and – hello! - you know we don't and we need to." Hathaway leveraged the increase demand for student counseling services to leverage the change. She recalled "I stopped …alcohol-related [work] because my counseling case load was off the charts." Hathaway described how the biennial review required by the Drug Free Schools and Communities Act (20 U.S.C. § 1011i; 34 C.F.R. § 86.1, 1989) is being employed as a tool for change, and is not just a regulatory requirement. She explained "we're trying to use that a little bit as leverage…our Homecoming issue…can't continue to be a weakness in that biannual review time after time…at some point they [OCR] are going to take a look at it." Given her long service to the university, Dr. Hathaway has also developed many relationships with faculty, staff, students, and alumni and it was clear that she is politically astute. While she noted it is hard for staff members to truly know the interests of trustees she added:

> we did have a trustee…walk through [the] Homecoming tailgating area, and word
> got back that it needs to get cleaned up. So I'm sure something may happen now,
> but I don't know…I just heard that. I didn't see it. I don't have any direct

[knowledge] whether that's actually true - I don't know. They don't have much

contact. The only reason they would is if there was an incident or there was

something significant that got presented to the board of trustees. So you and I

know when you have an incident everything becomes reactionary, and all of a

sudden it comes to the forefront…and we don't want that.

Mattie Ross, Wellness Educator, authors Western University's biennial report and

a recommendation in one of these reports led to the appointment of an Alcohol and Other

Drug Task Force by the president in 2011. The Task Force, which is also chaired by

Ross, centered the group's work on identifying the University's strengths and weaknesses

with regard to alcohol and other drugs along with recommendations for improvement.

Homecoming Weekend has been listed in that report multiple times. During the current

academic year Ross took the Task Force's recommendations a step further and forwarded

a letter to President Addison on behalf of the Task Force recommending changes to

alcohol-control policies during Homecoming Weekend. The Task Force saw the event as

a potential institutional liability and environmental health and safety risk. One

participant interviewed commented on the letter, saying "you know, it's a huge potential

liability…our University attorney says it's a huge liability, letting people get liquored up

and leaving campus in their cars…The committee received a less than positive response

from the president." Vince Carter described it more graphically: "the [chair] sent a

letter…to the president on behalf [of the Task Force]…saying they want to change it

[homecoming] and he flipped out and he made us all work Homecoming because it was

an inappropriate letter." Judy Robinson recalled "there is someone from Alumni

[appointed now]…because…[there was a big] hoo-ha fight…they [Advancement] did not want to be involved in monitoring alcohol at Homecoming, but it is their event…and they don't care because it is a fund raising event." Ross's decision to write the concerns and recommendations to President Addison had the effect of placing him on written notice and largely removing deniability in the event of a future incident. Her approach was an example of activist leadership rising from within the organization and, for an administrator, is not without risk of repercussion. Vince Carter reflected on the approach and added "whether or not that Task Force will proceed with the same vigor [in the future], we shall see."

Jenny Curran is Western's senior student affairs officer and is regarded as an individual who helps to maintain urgency about the issue. An impression was made upon Residence Director Mary Ann Summers who recalled that her supervisor, Judy Robinson was off campus in a professional development meeting when she was contacted by Curran. Summers relayed that Curran "was like, when you come back just check in with me because we had a busy night - so it [attention to alcohol incidents] kind of stems from there." Judy Robinson confirmed that both Curran and Associate Dean of Students Alice Nelson maintain a sense of urgency around student drinking incidents. Mattie Ross reported that Jenny worked with her to develop a strategic plan outlining goals and action steps to advance the work of the Wellness Education Office.

Finally, Alice Nelson has a leadership role in advancing change in reducing excessive student drinking at Western University. Nelson's work in higher education has been centered on student safety and security and she has found Homecoming Weekend to

be a problematic event. Her view of the Task Force letter to President Addison was decidedly more optimistic than Vince Carter's; Nelson reported "We wrote a letter to the president saying some of the concerns we had, and the safety measures - simple ones that could be put into place…and it got his attention. It [also] went to the senior leadership, his direct reports." Nelson also reported she was reaching out and working with University Police with the goal of changing the reported practice of voluntary or discretionary medical transport of intoxicated students.

The vision and strategy for change is not public and is limited to Homecoming Weekend practices. The outcome of this initiative is uncertain at this time and whether the leadership provided may turn current levels of complacency into urgency for change.

Cross Case Findings. Leadership for enacting the system-wide alcohol policy was provided in a top down hierarchical authority manner. Since the policy was enacted there have been widespread changes in elected and appointed state leadership. At the campus level, both Atlantic and Western have seen presidents, vice presidents, deans and directors come and go. As campuses adopted alcohol-control policies and programs, saliency increased for other policy issues and attention to alcohol-control policies declined. The departure from any kind of significant leadership role by state and campus leaders has influenced ongoing attention to the problem. There is evidence on both campuses of policies and protocols related to the system-wide alcohol policy which remain intact or have become anchored in institutional culture. Concurrently many participants interviewed demonstrated a lack of awareness of the state's system-wide alcohol policy and what was required for policy compliance. The researcher confirmed

that at the state governing board level there is no compendium of indexed state governing board policy actions provided to incoming board members, campus presidents, or trustees that would increase awareness and potentially support initiatives aimed at effecting transformational change in higher education.

Staff members at Atlantic University, propelled by several high profile critical incidents, overall presented a united front and showed signs of consolidating past gains while embracing common institutional values and beliefs. Leadership for change at Atlantic has come from top down leadership which historically has been elevated only following high profile incidents. Based on analysis using Kotter's process for leading change (1996) there was not an active transformative change initiatives underway at Atlantic at the time interviews were conducted. The conditions for more change, however, may be facilitated by Atlantic's most recent Spring Weekend incidents. At Western University, staff members interviewed presented as unified on changing alcohol-control policies related to Homecoming Weekend. Around this issue at least, the institution is moving along a trajectory toward continued change based on review of institutional conditions and Kotter's (1996) framework for leading transformative change.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This chapter will provide a summary of the research study followed by discussion of the study's conclusions. The implications of these conclusions for practice will be reviewed next. In addition, this chapter will discuss the study's limitations and recommendations for future research.

Summary of Study

Excessive student drinking in the higher education context remains a pervasive problem with consequences extending beyond individual student drinkers and negatively impacting campus learning environments. Given that the U.S. Department of Education has communicated how future economic growth will require an increased number of Americans to pursue education beyond a high school diploma (U.S. Department of Education Web site, n.d.) excessive student drinking also has societal implications.

Researchers have established that excessive college student drinking is associated with a wide range of issues which can hinder or impede learning and academic progress. The significance of these barriers should be considered pressing at a time when the financial stakes to obtain a college degree have dramatically increased for college students and their families. At its core the process for producing a college graduate requires a university to establish an effective learning environment with appropriate

instruction and resources combined with a qualified student's commitment to study and engagement in teaching and learning activities. In this relationship financial risk is a borne fully by the student and a failed investment in attainment of a degree hinders the student's future financial prospects.

While the individual student has responsibility for personal behavior, excessive student drinking is also influenced by the campus drinking culture. Individual students typically have neither the experienced nor time to lead the lengthy process associated with effecting cultural change. From this paradigm, the problem cannot be left to students and university leaders have a moral and ethical responsibility to respond to excessive student drinking as a barrier which impedes student learning and academic success.

This research study was conceived with the goal of enhancing implementation of alcohol-control policies to effect change leading to the reduction or elimination of excessive college student drinking and its associated consequences. More specifically this study was designed to contribute to the existing body of knowledge by examining influences on university staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies. Examination of these influences formed the study's central research question. The researcher wanted to better understand what these influences were and how they impacted alcohol-control policy implementation by university staff members. Four related research sub-questions helped guide the research study. These questions were (a) what level of student support is there for campus alcohol policy compliance and implementation and enforcement actions at individual institutions sharing a system-wide alcohol policy?, (b) how are alcohol policy implementation decisions and actions

influenced by student policy compliance and support for implementation and enforcement actions at institutions sharing a system-wide alcohol policy?, (c) how do implementation decisions and actions contribute to, or detract from, efforts to lead transformative change in excessive student drinking at individual institutions sharing a common system-wide alcohol policy?, and (d) how has commitment to attainment of desired policy outcomes, on-going implementation decisions and actions, and policy development changed since a system-wide alcohol policy was enacted?

This study employed multiple sources of information and yielded rich and detailed data consistent with the advantages of case study identified by Creswell (2007). Case study findings were enhanced by survey data. Additional sources of information included interviews, document review, observation and fact checking. These sources of information were critical to both the study's findings as well as in attending to questions of research validity.

Conclusions

A number of influences on the decisions and actions of university staff members responsible for implementing alcohol-control policies were identified through this study. In addition, the study's findings informed the study's research sub-questions. These findings warrant the consideration of higher education leaders and policy makers interested in the efficacy of alcohol-control policies and the reduction of excessive college student drinking.

Executive Leaders Set the Tone

A key conclusion from this study is that executive leaders at top of the organization have a significant impact on effecting change, and have tremendous influence on staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies. Investigation of change initiatives in this study revealed the influence of both campus executive staff, and the state's higher education governing board as agents critical to addressing the problem of excessive college student drinking through policy making. The expectations and messages communicated by executive leaders indicating their support, indifference, or lack of support for alcohol-control policies influenced staff members responsible for policy implementation.

Organizationally both Atlantic University and Western University are organized as authority based top-down hierarchical structures. It was clear that the active leadership of the state's higher education governing board communicated a sense of urgency and activated university trustees and presidents. Campus presidents echoed the sense of urgency and engaged their executive staffs, and especially their student affairs and campus police staff, into guiding coalitions to facilitate change initiatives. Collaborative work from a broad array of campus staff members resulted in support for, and implementation of, new alcohol-control policies.

It was clear that policy implementation agents in this study were heavily influenced by the leadership, priorities, and sense of urgency conveyed by those up the hierarchical chain of command. The commitment of these staff members was further heightened by their job responsibilities related to student drinking. Their implementation

actions were further validated by the knowledge that state governing board leaders and trustees also saw the problem as one of an urgent nature. Just as staff members responsible for alcohol-control policy implementation responded to hierarchical authority, campus trustees, presidents and vice-presidents responded to the tone set by the state governing board. While Atlantic University was actively contemplating alcohol-control policy change, the state's system-wide alcohol policy was a top-down initiative. When the state governing board communicated urgency and engaged in policy making activities to address excessive student drinking campus executives and trustees became responsive and supported change initiatives. The role of state and campus leadership in establishing a sense of urgency, creating guiding coalitions, developing a change vision and strategy, empowering employees for broad-based action, and making initial change was consistent with the dynamics for leading change identified by Kotter (1996).

State higher education governing board influence. The state's public higher education system influenced staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies indirectly. The state higher education governing board provides oversight of individual public universities through a hierarchical system of authority and control. This system rewards those who contribute to the governing board's priorities and act in compliance with its policies. Conversely, institutions in non-compliance with governing board policies may expect negative consequences. While President Gardner at Atlantic University and President Nelson at Western University both supported the state governing board's system-wide alcohol policy and worked toward implementation on their respective campuses both also were reportedly interested in remaining in positive stead with the state governing board.

The state governing board's system-wide alcohol policy, as applied at Atlantic and Western, provides an example of the type of successfully implemented top-down policy approach described by Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983) in which the policy problem objectives were clearly communicated while individual institutions were allowed to determine campus specific procedures and protocols which they endorsed as campus level policies.

In formulating the policy the state governing board involved respected researchers and prevention experts with expertise related to college student drinking as it contemplated policy responses to the issue. In addition to informing the policy-making process and creating a shared vision for change, expert involvement also helped increase perceptions of policy legitimacy. By working to increase policy legitimacy the governing board understood that these efforts would benefit staff members involved in policy implementation who would be engaged in a sense-making process. These efforts, then, helped support a sense of policy legitimacy with staff members responsible for implementing the policy. Since support by constituent groups is a condition associated with effective policy implementation (Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983) these efforts were important to the policy's ultimate impact. Further, deLeon and deLeon (2002) reported that since every rule requires interpretation, the policy must have administrative legitimacy and the general support of the universities expected to comply with the policy. Another positive effect of the developed system-wide alcohol policy was that it provided sufficient guidance and clarity, a factor Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983) cited as necessary to advance successful implementation.

Considered from the perspective of the Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) framework, the governing board's policy preference, intensity of their preferences, and the resources they could bring to bear all aligned to assure minimal delay in policy implementation. The direct system of hierarchical authority and control between the state's higher education governing board and the system's individual institutions resulted in the cascading of preference for policy implementation down organizational structures. Ultimately, staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies felt called to action on an urgent campus problem and felt supported by the state governing board which mitigated the effect of student and parent pushback.

Eventually the state governing board also influenced the compliance of staff members responsible for policy implementation by commissioning a compliance audit consistent with Mazmanian and Sabatier's (1983) finding that ongoing policy implementation is aided by designed feedback mechanisms. The audit found Atlantic and Western to be in full compliance.

While Atlantic and Western both supported the system-wide alcohol policy, the question of how the policy influenced campus implementation compliance remained. At Atlantic University, President Gardner was in the midst of responding to critical incidents related to excessive student drinking and the timing of the student drinking-related tragedies drawing national attention and the state governing board's policy making process may have been serendipitous, but also likely forged a stronger commitment to policy outcomes. The state governing board's system-wide policy supported the actions being considered by Atlantic University's president and deflected some of the pushback

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which might otherwise have been fully directed at Atlantic staff members responsible for the implementation of alcohol-control policies. At Western University, President Nelson's support appeared to be more motivated by compliance and the desire to stay in the good graces of the state governing board. The policy likely also promoted staff support for policy implementation from a risk management perspective since court findings at the time were refining the duty of care standard expected of universities in relation to student behavior (Lake, 2013).

Staff members charged with responding to, confronting, and enforcing alcohol-control policies felt a level of support for implementation actions. Many of these staff members longed for more effective ways to address the problems they confronted associated with excessive student drinking and embraced policy implementation.

The state governing board's system-wide alcohol policy was also influential because it was a successful innovative act. Rogers (2013) cited control of substantial financial resources and ability to cope with uncertainty as prerequisites for innovations. It is important to note that implementation of the system-wide alcohol policy and campus alcohol-control policies placed state universities on relatively even footing with regard to campus response to alcohol policy protections. The system-wide alcohol policy, therefore, increased support for implementation by leveling the playing field among state universities who often competed for the same pool of potential students. The role assumed by the board as innovator also served to deflect criticism away from the individual universities and policy enforcers.

The state governing board acted in the early adopter role described by Rogers (2003). Rogers characterizes early adopters as those who potential adopters turn to for advice and information. Early adopters also tend to be seen as respected among their professional peers, based on their experience in adopting innovations. In this manner the work of staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies at Atlantic and Western were rewarded by professional peer recognition.

At the state governing board level leadership has turned over multiple times and systematic approaches to retain institutional memory have been very limited. The result is that though the system-wide alcohol policy is still an active policy, the influences which initially provided positive influences on staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies are no longer of consequence. The state governing board no longer conveys any sense of urgency toward the problem of excessive student drinking. As a result, the positive influences on staff implementation agents through communicated policy actions as well as through the support by campus trustees, presidents, and executive staff trustees has been nullified. There has been little or no policy attention directed to the problem of excessive college student drinking by the state governing board for well over a decade and staff members know that policy implementation actions are effected with no urgency conveyed toward the problem. The state governing board no longer conveys a strong preference for alcohol-control implementation actions nor does urgency for the issue any longer cascade down the organizational chain of command.

Campus executive staff influence. Campus presidents and vice-presidents influence staff members charged with implementing alcohol-control policies. At both campuses perceived presidential urgency and support resulted in more robust implementation and enforcement of campus alcohol-control policies. It is important to note that staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies are keenly aware of their place within the institution's system of hierarchical authority and control. Many of these staff members place high value on the hierarchical authority model. Campus police officers, for example, work within a paramilitary structure where obedience with direct orders is deeply engrained into the work culture. For staff members working in wellness education, residence life and student conduct a significant portion of their work is related to setting, implementing, and enforcing residence hall and campus policies. On a daily basis they work within a hierarchical authority system where they expect students to abide by policies and conduct themselves in a manner consistent with proscribed behavior. Accordingly, they look for, and respond to direction from the president or executive staff. In general, these staff members want to keep their jobs and want to be seen as an asset to the institution and to be trusted to do a good job. They do not want executive staff to associate them with unwanted problems.

When presidents and executive staff expressed urgency in responding to the problem of excessive student drinking they positively influenced staff members who must interpret policy meaning and make decisions regarding alcohol-control implementation actions. Presidential support was also an important catalyst which generally moved the actions of implementation agents beyond complacency. When implementation agents perceive executive urgency and support for alcohol-control

policies it signals approval to advance alcohol-control initiatives which will be supported by executives in the wake of inevitable complaints and policy pushback. Support from the president and executive staff also sent powerful messages about communicating a vision about the place alcohol abuse has on the campus and the institutions commitment to reducing excessive student drinking.

At Atlantic University the urgency and engagement directed at the issue by President Gardner led to the *arrest as prevention* approach which remains an active protocol supported by overwhelmingly supported by staff members. This was built into Atlantic's campus alcohol policy in the revisions made to ensure campus compliance with the system-wide alcohol policy. This strategy was identified following the critical incident involving the local fire department's response to false fire alarm pulls at a University residence hall. Illegal student drinking was believed to have contributed to the incident and unruly student behavior. Implementation of this alcohol-control policy would have been unlikely without the establishment of urgency and vision of the University's executive leaders. To present day Atlantic University's statistics for liquor law arrests remain the highest, by a wide margin, among the state's public universities.

Support of executive leaders is not an "all or nothing" proposition, however, and the implementation framework based on the work of Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) provides a useful filter to consider support. Executives can have a positive or negative preference for pursuit of alcohol-control policies, and the strength of their preferences can range from strong to weak. In addition, executive staff members are usually in a position to bring resources to bear on implementation or, conversely, may limit resources.

In cases where the president and executive staff support alcohol-control policies implementing staff members, like students, faculty, staff, and other constituents become more aware of institutional commitment to alcohol policy goals. Communicated support enhances the commitment of implementation agents and may be a significant factor in shifting the campus drinking culture.

President Gardner at Atlantic University had a strong positive preference for policy action and brought significant resources to the issue. Implementing staff knew she increased the sense of urgency toward the problem and helped develop a shared vision which she helped communicate by engaging trustees, local officials, faculty, student leaders and the press. Staff members who would be responsible for implementation of the alcohol policy including Wellness Educator Betty Horn and the University's Police Chief were empowered to further refine campus alcohol-control policies and, as a result, their commitment to implementation was strong.

Within a few years executive support for alcohol-control policy implementation had ceased and Atlantic had both a new president and vice president of student affairs. In In the absence of executive leadership establishing a sense of urgency for the problem of excessive college student drinking a sense of complacency took hold in which certain programs and approaches were maintained, but not advanced. Atlantic's new president, Dr. Chapel, cast further doubts on executive support by eliminating one of the two wellness educator positions because of budget cuts. In the wake of the alcohol-related incidents which resulted in deaths and student arrests President Chapel worked to re-establish a sense of urgency for response to excessive student drinking. Chapel

responded by enacting a new alcohol-control policy which required the completion of an online alcohol course by all new students to the University. In addition to designating the required funding for the online course Chapel also committed to strengthening relationships with local emergency responders and town officials. The remaining wellness educator, Betty Horn, was involved in planning a response and tasked by President Chapel with administering the program. Horn was encouraged by President Chapel, and had his full support in enforcing the policy and holding students accountable for course completion. Horn was empowered by President Chapel's support and consistently held the line despite the conflict and unpleasant interactions which occurred each year involving students, and occasionally their parents, who disagreed with the requirement or had ignored the many attempts made for assistance in completing the course.

During case study interviews it was clear that staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies were trying to size up the preferences and strength of preference Atlantic's current president, Hamilton Porter, has for alcohol-control policies. In the absence of making his preferences and strength of preference known staff implementation agents were looking for information to guide their interpretations and responses to alcohol-control policy issues. While Porter had not directly made his position clear, some staff interpreted his support based on his previous role and trusted he supported their work. Others questioned whether the increased presence of alcohol at Homecoming signaled a more relaxed stance toward alcohol-control policies. Betty Horn, who was charged by former President Chapel with enforcing completion of the mandatory on-line alcohol education course, was shaken

when the President's Office waived the mandatory course requirement in the wake of student and parent pushback. The effect of President Hamilton not addressing the problem of excessive student drinking reinforced the idea that communicated support enhances the commitment of implementation agents and, may be a significant factor in changing student behavior. The absence of clear messages appeared to influence staff to become more complacent with regard to new alcohol-control initiatives, have less confidence in directing implementation actions, and feel unsure of whether their contributions to university efforts would be valued or looked down upon by campus executives. Staff members interviewed continually reflected on whether they were doing the right thing in implementing, interpreting and enforcing alcohol-control policies. They considered the consequences alcohol-policy implementation and enforcement would have upon the student, and expressed sometimes feeling the burden of these decisions. They shared how students occasionally responded by vigorously pushing back against their actions, sometimes characterizing them in very unfavorable ways to those up the chain of command. All reported having to manage their own emotional response to alcohol-control policy implementation actions at times. A supportive tone set by campus executives appears to provide direction and reassurance that their contributions are appreciated and the sometimes difficult work implementing and enforcing alcohol-control policies represents a positive contribution to students and the university community.

At Western University President Nelson empowered staff for broad-based action by involving staff members responsible for alcohol-control policy implementation and delegating revisions to campus alcohol-control policies to be in compliance with the

system-wide alcohol policy. This level of support empowered the development of innovative alcohol-control policies including reform of the policies related to the medical transport of intoxicated students at all of the city's colleges and universities. Jane Hathaway and Alice Nelson described this achievement with pride when interviewed.

In the time since the system-wide alcohol policy was passed and Western's campus alcohol policy was reformed there has been no significant support communicated for policies to reduce of excessive student drinking by the president or other executive staff, with the exception of the senior student affairs officer who was not perceived as representing the president or other executive staff members. The city's night life and problematic reputation of nearby private universities with more robust drinking cultures deflects attention away from comparatively less problematic excessive student drinking at Western. Western's administration has not had to come together to respond to significant critical incidents related to excessive student drinking and, perhaps in consequence, staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies have not developed the collaborative relationships evidenced by their counterparts at Atlantic University. With Western's executive leaders establishing no sense of urgency for alcohol-control policies, and providing limited support at best, and mixed messages at worst, staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies expressed significant complaints, and reported conflicts with staff members responsible for alcohol-control policy implementation working in other departments. Despite their differences and evident conflict, those interviewed found common ground in their frustration with the alcohol-control policies established during Homecoming Weekend by current President Addison and viewed as strongly influenced by the University's Vice President for

Advancement and Alumni Affairs. Many participants interviewed felt that homecoming

weekend, and several other campus events represented a level of hypocrisy with the

campus's stated policies and influenced their credibility in working with students.

President Addison, participants reported, has not helped to establish any sense of urgency

on reducing excessive student drinking. In the absence of executive leadership support

for implementation of alcohol-control policies and perceived mixed messages negatively

influencing the campus drinking culture staff members responsible for alcohol-control

policy implementation reported variance in staff commitment to alcohol-control policy

implementation and enforcement. They also provided many examples of staff member

inconsistencies in policy implementation and enforcement at Western.

Executive Transitions and Policy Saliency

An important conclusion drawn from this study is that urgency for responding to

the problem of excessive college student drinking and realizing ongoing policy objectives

dissipated with leadership turnover. This effect was exacerbated by shifts in policy

saliency and the political climate. Combined, these elements had significant influence on

staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies. Executive

level leadership transitions at both the state and campus levels influenced staff members

in implementation of alcohol control policies.

Executive leadership transitions. After the system-wide alcohol policy was

passed by the state governing board a sense of urgency, vision and strategy had been

established, and campus executives had been engaged to guide the policy initiative

forward. The governing board had leveraged its authority with the campuses while

simultaneously creating a sense of policy legitimacy and managing risk. These efforts resulted in short-term wins as support cascaded down the hierarchical organizational structure and a number of staff members who would be responsible for alcohol-control policy implementation were empowered to advance the initiative at the level of the individual campus. This approach was effective at both Atlantic and Western where staff felt empowered and more change was produced. The new policies, aided by the fact that all universities in the system responded to the system-wide policy, became accepted as the norm and became anchored in the culture at both Atlantic and Western. At Atlantic University, organizational sagas and the campus's "arrest as prevention" strategy illustrate how change has become anchored in institutional culture. At Western most participants interviewed continue to look upon their medical transport policy with pride.

In the years following the enactment of the system-wide alcohol policy executive leadership turnover began to occur. Each year the terms of a portion of higher education governing board members expire. The executive director of the governing board has turned over several times, as have the presidents of both Atlantic and Western University. In addition, a number of other executive leadership positions have also turned over several times. This study revealed that when executive leadership transitions occurred the sense of urgency for the problem of excessive student drinking declined. With each successive generation of new executive leaders at either the state governing board or at the campus level institutional knowledge related to the change vision and strategies eroded and eventually the vision and strategy stopped being shared. In the context of Kotter's (1996) framework urgency, which is necessary to continue to effect change, began to decline and eventually declined sharply. Urgency toward the problem of

excessive college student drinking was replaced with complacency which undermines change initiatives (Kotter, 2008). This approach is problematic because, as Kotter (2008) reports, complacency undermines change initiatives.

As new executive leaders transitioned into their positions they looked to establish their own agendas while responding to current issues and demands. One of the successors selected for executive leadership at the state governing board, a public figure in the field of higher education, had been publically critical of the governing board's system-wide alcohol policy when it was being developed. By the time of his appointment, however, the governor, board members, and board chair that ushered in the alcohol policy had all departed. The governing board's commitment to reducing excessive student drinking as a policy issue was gone and priority for the issue no longer cascaded down the hierarchical organizational structure. At the campus level trustees, presidents, and executive staff focused their attention on their identified campus priorities while also attending to new state governing board priorities and initiatives. At the campus level William Chapel, a new president at Atlantic University, citing budget cutbacks, eliminated one of the campus's two wellness educator positions, citing the need to cut the budget. Those positions had been established by President Gardner as part of her efforts in reducing problems associated with excessive student drinking. The office of Atlantic's current president, Hamilton Porter, waived accountability for student completion of the mandatory online alcohol course policy established by President Chapel and introduced a drinking tent at the Homecoming football game. The resulting effect was that staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies

are unsure of the commitment executive leaders have for attainment of alcohol-control policy objectives.

Influences on staff members. Staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies are impacted by the effects of executive leadership turnover and policy saliency in several ways. Primarily, when new executive leaders do not reinforce or establish urgency and a vision related to alcohol-control policies, staff members are left with uncertainty about where the new leader stands on these issues and is left to ponder the commitment of their new executive leaders in supporting alcohol-control policy implementation actions. For this discussion it is important to remember that the nature of policy implementation requires staff to interpret and make judgments related to policy when engaging in implementation and enforcement actions. The uncertainty they feel is important because the actions they take are not always popular and may result in complaints up the organizational structure, or may escalate and involve external parties including the state's governing board, lawmakers, the media, or lawyers threatening legal action.

Participants interviewed presented as motivated to make meaningful contributions to their institutions through their work and be well regarded by executive leaders. Overwhelmingly participants conveyed that they liked both their institutions and their specific jobs. Several spoke of the personal value and meaning they placed on their work directly with students. All expressed pride in their work and departments. Like employees in many fields, and in all types of organizations, they wanted to be seen as an asset to the organization and appreciated by leaders up the chain of command. In

addition, staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies understand and respect the hierarchical structure and generally avoid actions which *may* not be supported up the chain of command. This is especially true of campus police departments who typically operate within a paramilitary command structure and Residence Life departments who rely on the structure to manage a large staff dispersed across many buildings. Given these characteristics the uncertainty staff members experienced about the support executive leaders had for alcohol-control policies and associated implementation and enforcement actions were impactful.

Participants also expressed levels of concern about security, which was interpreted to mean anything from experiencing diminished status in the organization to job security. One participant interviewed hesitated before answering a question and informed the researcher that the participant didn't want to get fired. When given assurance of her anonymity the participant went on to voice concerns about transitions in leadership. While participants genuinely conveyed that they wanted to be seen as organizational assets, and valued by executive leaders, it was equally clear that they did not wish to be viewed with diminished status, as being in conflict with institutional priorities or threaten the security of their jobs in any way. One noteworthy dynamic emerged through the study related to how staff members believed executive leaders perceived their work. Several participants believed that campus trustees and executive staff did not see reducing excessive student drinking as a priority on their agenda, noting that any attention to the issue would probably be related to significant critical issues or negative media coverage. Further, several staff members believed campus executive staff viewed implementation staff as responsible for responding to excessive student drinking

as well as keeping it from rising to the executive staff agenda. As previously noted, alcohol-control policy implementation actions sometimes resulted in grievances being escalated up the organization. If staff members believe executives will see them as "not doing their job" when problems come to their attention they may act with more complacency and are less likely to launch initiatives that may challenge the status quo and result in complaints. Further, this paradigm assumes that the problem of reducing excessive student drinking, widely seen as complex and rooted in campus culture, can be significantly advanced at the level of policy implementation staff in the context of a centralized hierarchical organizational structure. Finally, this dynamic may discourage staff members from engaging executive staff for assistance or petitioning for needed resources if they believe doing so, on some level, would involve reporting their own ineffectiveness to deal with the problem.

Kotter (2008) observed that complacency increases as urgency decreases and this dynamic is important because complacency undermines change initiatives. In the absence of any conscious efforts to sustain urgency for the policy initiative, staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies, unsure of the commitment of new executive leaders, tended to maintain the programmatic status quo and generally avoiding any new or potentially risky actions. Complacency, as theorized by Kotter (2008), had replaced urgency. This reaction follows a certain logic in consideration of the current context where: (a) reducing excessive student drinking was not an issue communicated as a priority, (b) priorities are communicated through the hierarchical organizational structure, and (c) many of the programs being continued were developed when the issue was a priority and were positively received. The researcher

noted that there was a noticeable lack of new alcohol-control initiatives undertaken at either of the two case study sites and there was little evidence that any staff members interviewed were actively monitoring current research on excessive student drinking. Consistent with these findings, Bess and Dee (2008) reported that centralized organizations experience more resistance to small changes than decentralized organizations.

The influence of implementation clearances on staff members can also be examined in the context of the Pressman and Wildavsky framework (1973). In top-down organizations staff members look to executive leaders for direction and support. Staff members looked, sometimes anxiously, for signs indicating new executive leader's direction of preference for alcohol-control policy implementation and the resources he or she is willing to bring to bear on implementation. Under budgetary constraints, for example, President Chapel was not willing to bring the same resources to the problem as his predecessor and cut half of the wellness educator resources that had been established. As leadership transitions occurred each successive leader showed less strength of preference than was evident when policy saliency was high. Examination of leadership turnover in the context of the Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) framework illustrates how routine events – in this case the process of staffing positions vacated by leaders who retired or moved to other positions - can impede policy implementation.

Staff members responsible for alcohol-control policy implementation are influenced by numerous uncertainties related to transitions in executive leadership. Staff members want to know if the implementation actions they take reflect the beliefs,

values and priorities of executive leaders and if they will be seen as advancing

institutional objectives through their actions. They also want to know if executive leaders

support the work of implementing alcohol-control policies and what vision they have for

the work of staff charged with implementing policies. They want to know if executive

leaders support current policy interpretations and related protocols and procedures. Staff

members implementing alcohol-control policies want to know whether their policy action

decisions are likely to be upheld, and whether executive leaders may compromise their

credibility in enacting implementation actions moving forward. Other uncertainties

include understanding how new leaders are likely to respond to competing priorities

when it comes to alcohol-control policy implementation. Staff can act with more

certainty and experience less cognitive dissonance if executive leaders are consistent with

regard to alcohol-control policy expectations and do not undermine staff credibility

through their actions and decisions, as staff at Western University believed was occurring

with special liberal alcohol policies approved by executive leaders for Homecoming

Weekend and through other events. Similarly, after holding the line with students who

were told they could not participate in registration because they had not completed the

mandatory online alcohol course, and fielding calls from several angry parents, Betty

Horn, Wellness Educator at Atlantic University was shaken when she was informed the

new president ordered registration holds lifted for new students who did not complete

required online courses. The decision undermined her credibility with those students and

parents and created uncertainty over where the new president stood on alcohol-control

policy implementation. In the absence of communicated messages specific to alcohol-

control policy implementation staff members engage in sensemaking to try inform their

uncertainties. Comments made in an inaugural address, for example, may not directly apply to alcohol-control policy implementation, but may be used in an attempt to understand uncertainties. For example, if a new president shares that student retention is a very high priority, but provides no direction on alcohol-control policy actions, a staff member responsible for Student Conduct may wonder whether current standards and considerations for suspending a student for violation of alcohol policies will be supported by the new president, or whether retention considerations may trump suspension as a sanction. Within a few years of the enactment of the system-wide alcohol policy the types of uncertainties and concerns impacting staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies were largely unattended to during leadership transitions at the two case study sites.

Policy saliency. The influence of turnover in executive leadership appears to be related to the effects of policy saliency. Recalling that policy issues are more likely to be acted upon when saliency for the policy issue is high (Kraft & Furlong, 2007), executive leaders are expected to be attentive to the current climate and the politics of policymaking. As public opinion and social, political and economic contexts shift, policy issue saliency changes and influences the policy agenda of leaders. The policy agenda began shifting from college student drinking shortly after the system-wide alcohol policy was first passed and began being displaced on the national stage by other issues. Along with excessive college student drinking college executive leaders have had a myriad of policy issues emerge.

Policy issues vying for attention and increasing in policy saliency included the following:

- Attention to school violence and lethal mass violence began to increase following the 1999 Columbine High School shootings;

- Concerns about terrorism, safety, and security increased following the September 11, 2001 attacks. The Patriot Act and Office of Homeland Security impacted campus dealings with international students and partners;

- Fiscal stability concerns escalated following the global financial crisis of 2008;

- Campus sexual violence prevention as a policy issue demanded dramatically increased attention beginning in 2011 following guidance issued by the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights (OCR). With loss of federal financial aid funding at risk for violations of federal law, regulations, and guidance, the issue continues to demand the attention of college and university leaders.

Many significant incidents and conditions emerged since the system-wide alcohol policy was enacted and a base expectation of executive leaders is that they monitor and attend to diverse conditions potentially impacting their campuses including matters of national and regional interests. From this perspective the problems related to excessive college student drinking may seem to recall a simpler time. As has been outlined in this study, however, the problem remains a complex contemporary issue of importance.

Further, at a time when the speed of information has accelerated through social media platforms and powerful mobile technologies leaders must find ways to maintain commitments to ongoing policy initiatives seeking incremental change. This is especially important considering that over time planned large-scale change initiatives launched by leaders sharing a vision, but ultimately implemented by others tend to "get watered down and loses energy" (Bess & Dee, 2008).

Summary. Kotter (2006) asserted that keeping urgency at elevated levels requires a "conscious effort" (p.170) and neither of the two universities which served as case study sites engaged in conscious efforts to sustain urgency for reducing excessive student drinking. Additionally, the state governing board, which had been so instrumental in prioritizing the policy issue and launching the change initiative, failed to plan conscious efforts to help maintain urgency for the issue over time. One conclusion of this study is that ongoing change initiatives were undermined by a lack of consciously planned strategies to maintain urgency and vision for the desired policy outcomes over time. Certainly the occurrence of retirements and other staff turnover is a routine event that can be accounted for in planned change initiatives. Some organizations, for example, employ detailed leadership succession and continuity of operations plans in anticipation of eventual leadership turnover. Executive onboarding programs and providing new executive leaders with a published policy index with copies of formal policy actions are examples of strategies that could be employed. In this multiple case study, however, it was concluded that neither of the two universities, nor the state higher education governing board providing oversight to the two universities currently utilize any significant strategies to plan for and consciously advance ongoing policy issues. This

condition indirectly impacts staff members responsible for alcohol-control policy implementation by diminishing established urgency, fostering complacency, and disruption of actions which "forge subsequent links in the causal chain so as to obtain the desired results" (Pressman &Wildavsky, 1973, p. xv).

Student Support for Alcohol-Control Policies

Several conclusions related to student support for alcohol-control policies and campus drinking culture were identified through this research study. Data collected through the initial quantitative phase of the study indicated that students at both sites, overall, reported high levels of support for alcohol-control policies. This finding was consistent with other studies on student support for alcohol-control policies. In addition, data collected during the initial phase demonstrated that staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies underestimated the amount of support students had for alcohol-control policies. Staff members consistently undervalued student support for alcohol-control policies with staff at Western University underestimating student support on nearly 97% of the survey's 33 alcohol-control measures by an average of 24.02%, and Atlantic University staff underestimating on nearly 88% of the measures by an average of 15.08%.

Through the emphasized qualitative phase of the research study participants interviewed were asked about student support data. Through this exploration a rich understanding of how staff considered and reacted to the levels of support for alcohol-control policies reported by students on their campus.

Review of case study data revealed that staff member response to reported student support for alcohol-control policies was remarkably similar at the two sites. When presented with data on reported student support for alcohol-control policies staff members expressed varying levels of surprise. The majority of participants presented with uncertainty about the significance of the information, while a few responded with enthusiastic fascination and one hesitated before expressing some skepticism about whether the data accurately reflected student support. While participant's responses confirmed the results of the survey data, they also revealed that staff members did not employ strategies to accurately gauge student support for alcohol-control policies. Participants interviewed posited that their colleagues likely based their estimates of student support on the impact of their interactions with the limited number of students vigorously complain or challenge staff members while enforcing or otherwise implementing alcohol-control policies.

Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983) report that the support of constituency groups is one of the conditions associated with effective policy implementation. Similarly, professional literature highlights support for policies by the population the policy is imposed upon as an important factor that may influence attainment of policy outcomes (Fosdick & Scott, 1933; deLeon & deLeon, 2002; DeJong, Towvim & Schneider, 2007; Bertelli & Richardson, 2008). While research supports the importance of policy support, staff members interviewed generally did not generally acknowledge the significance student support of alcohol-control policies had on implementation and enforcement efforts. Approximately half of participants thought that knowledge of student support for alcohol-control policies might have some benefits for front line student staff members

responsible for enforcement such as Resident Assistants or student security staff. Some participants, however, felt that these student staff members wouldn't benefit from this information because of their already high level of performance. A small number of participants felt that the information would not be helpful because students would not find the rates of student support believable.

The vast majority of participants interviewed did not believe that information on student support for alcohol-control policies would be influential if presented to executive staff members. While reasons varied, most believed that the issue was simply not a priority for executive staff, with the possible exception of the occurrence of a serious alcohol-related incident. One participant believed that executive staff might believe the presentation of such data as a strategy to lobby for more staffing or funds. One of the senior student affairs officers felt that executive staff would make use of the information because it might help in response to escalated complaints. The other senior student affairs officer felt that it would not be influential with executive staff. Finally, a few participants optimistically felt the information would be helpful but couldn't state how the thought executive staff would make use of the information. None of the staff members interviewed believed the information would prompt an increased sense of urgency or interest in elevating the issue as a priority. The general outlook of the staff also served to confirm the level of an overall sense of complacency that had become fixed in the void of urgency for the change initiative.

Sensemaking and Policy Implementation

While individuals engage in sensemaking as a process to interpret, explain and give meaning to their work, (Bess & Dee, 2008) it is also a social process through which shared meaning is developed which may, in turn, inform future activities and actions. Weick (1995) describes the ongoing process as reflective and grounded in identity in his conceptualization of sensemaking. Participants in this research study demonstrated how sensemaking influences implementation actions. Further, analysis of case study data also revealed how the sensemaking process signaled staff member's perceptions of their universities and shared visions for commitment to alcohol-control policies related to the work of policy implementation.

Participants in this study confirmed that cognition, which follows sensemaking, impacts policy implementation in important ways consistent with the findings of Spillane, Reiser and Reimer (2002). Spillane, Reiser and Reimer (2002) noted "a key dimension of the implementation process is whether, and in what ways, implementing agents come to understand their practice, potentially changing their beliefs and attitudes in the process" (p.387).

A frequent occurrence during interviews in this study was the referencing of past personal experiences, knowledge or beliefs related to excessive college student drinking to the current context of the problem on their campus. Participants repeatedly framed their understanding of the problem in personal experience rather than in the context of their work. In some cases this behavior may have been motivated by a desire to provide assurance to staff members responsible for policy enforcement that the challenges they

faced were not dire. In the absence of attention to the problem from executive level staff such comparisons also provide a source of missing feedback on the efforts undertaken. Additionally, in the absence of the assessment that might be generated from an executive led initiative, the sensemaking process introduced readily available metrics by which policy effectiveness could be considered. The number of student alcohol-related funerals was such a metric mentioned by Atlantic SSAO Scott Smalls.

In general, drawing on experiences retrospectively is an inherently normal activity which is to be expected in the sensemaking process. Implementation after all requires understandings of what the actual desired objectives are, what would constitute non-implementation, and what actions are required to effect desired change (Lane, 1983). Further, retrospection allows the individual to organize that which feels disorderly or confusing and create a stabilizing frame of reference (Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld, 2005; Bess & Dee 2008). What stands out as a significant finding in this research study, however, is not the act of retrospective contemplation; rather, it is the degree to which staff members relied on these outdated comparisons to other contexts. Heavy reliance on comparisons to other places in past times may not provide reliable comparisons and could undermine attainment of desired objectives.

Moreover, attention to staff responses to sensemaking served to confirm the status of the change initiative to reduce excessive student drinking. Sensemaking reflections revealed that at neither campus did participants interviewed have a shared sense of the interest and support of executive staff on reducing excessive student drinking. Most participants felt executives had little or no interest, while others while others thought

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interest would increase only with future critical incidents. Few had faith that executives did care and had interest in the issue. Participants who believed campus executives were concerned about excessive student drinking – in the absence of direct messaging on the issue - were left to construct their opinions based on possible indirect indicators of support such as continued University funding of offices or positions, the establishment of a task force, or expression of student safety as a general priority. Further consideration of the widespread referencing of past personal experiences by participants is consistent with staff who may be struggling to create a shared vision of what would represent compliance, and non-compliance with policy implementation. Given the number of participants interviewed with significant experience at their respective university, this dynamic would also be consistent with staff members feeling the need to find new ways of viewing a policy issue (Weick, 1995; Bess & Dee, 2008).

Change Anchored in Culture

This study concluded that current alcohol-control policies had been anchored in the organizational culture at both universities and, in turn, influenced staff members responsible for implementation. The change initiative was examined by the researcher through the lens of Kotter's (1996) eight-stage model for leading change as well as through the Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) implementation framework. Analysis of data from this case study has led to the conclusion that these initiatives were successful in effecting transformational change of each university's alcohol-control policies with change anchored in institutional culture.

The change initiative began two decades ago when the state governing board engaged in policy making designed to mitigate or ameliorate the effects of excessive college student drinking. A salient issue locally and nationally, the state's higher education governing board determined to act on the issue with the resulting alcohol policy applied to all public colleges and universities in the state's higher education system. The policy was designed to prompt reform of campus alcohol-control policies and each public college and university in the system was required to bring their campus policies into compliance with the system-wide alcohol. The required approval of each campuses board of trustees effectively guaranteed engagement of university presidents and many executive staff members. President Gardner of Atlantic University and President Nelson of Western University established urgency and provided leadership for change at the campus level. The two presidents formed their own campus level guiding coalitions to reform campus alcohol-control policies. Atlantic and Western both included staff members responsible for alcohol-control policy implementation on their guiding coalitions. In this process presidents signaled urgency and support for implementation of alcohol-control policies. The presidents also helped insure successful implementation by facilitating the input of those staff members who would be responsible for implementation.

Over time, alcohol-control policy reform resulted in shifts in student expectations and behavioral norms. For the first few years the change initiative consciously worked to maintain urgency and advance further change at both the state governing board and campus levels. Shifts in policy saliency and continued erosion in urgency for advancing policy objectives occurred during each subsequent transition in executive leadership.

Urgency was replaced by marked levels of complacency. Despite the current lack of urgency and direction, which would seem to suggest a course toward a lack of alcohol-control, staff members exhibited great resolve to maintain the status quo. This dynamic, notes Kotter (2008) is a symptom of complacency. While levels of complacency may protect against devolution it also supports brings blind spots to threats and indifference to opportunity.

While research concluded that alcohol-control policies have been anchored in institutional culture at both Atlantic University and Western University, it appears that stronger and more consistent resolve exists to maintain cultural norms at Atlantic University. The climate at Western was marked by inconsistencies in vision, low level conflict, and questioned trust of colleagues, while staff at Atlantic presented as having a much more consistent shared vision, and a generally supportive and collaborative approach to implementation. It may be that the ongoing recurrence of student drinking related critical incidents at Atlantic University has contributed to stronger shared frames of reference among Atlantic staff. This is consistent with the work of Linde (2009) who reported that the influence of narrative on institutional knowledge is significant. Critical incidents may also temporarily escalate urgency and unite staff responding under tumultuous conditions. Four staff members interviewed at Atlantic and one at Western had been involved in initial campus level policy change initiatives following the passage of the system-wide alcohol policy. Over the course of their long tenure the influence of these individuals on other staff members responsible for policy implementation may also contribute to differences between the two campuses.

Implications

A number of implications for professional practice emerged from the findings of this research study. Leaders at all levels of public higher education, and especially those operating within authority based top-down hierarchical structures, may benefit by contemplating these findings.

The higher education governing board was uniquely positioned to lead a change initiative leading to reform of alcohol-control policies at the state's public colleges and universities. The launch of the change initiative, accomplished through public policy making, was brilliantly executed before urgency dissipated and leadership turnover resulted in complete shelving of the ongoing initiative by new leaders. The findings identified through this research study challenge state governing boards to identify strategies to sustain ongoing change initiatives in traditional hierarchical organizational structures, including through transitions in leadership. Time, financial resources, lost gains and opportunity costs are consequences for abandoning ongoing policy initiatives prematurely. Abandonment of ongoing policy initiatives before policy objectives are achieved can be wasteful and a public disservice.

State governing boards, campus trustees, and executive leaders should consider planning for transitions in leadership to include comprehensive onboarding programs, briefings of ongoing policy initiatives, provision of indexed copies of policy actions, and

indexed access to past meeting minutes and reports. Similarly, this study illustrated the benefits that could be realized by extending institutional knowledge through formal continuity of operations and leadership succession plans.

Through fact checking of research data it was revealed that currently the state governing board's system-wide alcohol policy is not included with other indexed policies available through board's web site. It was also confirmed that new presidents and executive leaders at public colleges and universities are not provided with either an index of policy actions or access to enacted policies that were passed before new leaders took office. Accordingly, important organizational knowledge is not perpetuated and may place campus leaders in the position of not complying with a board policy and even being unaware that a policy exists. Since such a condition may create a liability or risk, an implication for practice would be to develop strategies for leaders to be provided with indexed policy actions and access to associated information. While this research study noted this occurrence at the level of the state governing board the same dynamic could occur at the campus level, and so this should be considered an implication for practice considered by all public higher education leaders.

Another implication of this study is the influence of executive leaders on the work of staff members responsible for alcohol-control policy implementation. This study made clear the impact that executive support can have in establishing a sense of urgency, clarifying a guiding vision and supporting the work of staff responsible for alcohol-control policies. Communicating support for alcohol-control policies can increase commitment to implementation by responsible staff and can contribute to changing

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student behavior. While university presidents may not include leading a change initiative to reduce excessive student drinking among priorities, committing a requisite level of attention to support efforts is important. Additional messaging to the university community is equally important. Executive support to staff responsible for implementation is of critical importance in reducing complacency and positioning staff to increase awareness for possible threats as well as innovative opportunities. Campus presidents should create intentional messaging to staff responsible for alcohol-control implementation to convey the that their work is urgent, that executive staff support efforts to reduce excessive student drinking, and acknowledge that alcohol-control policy implementation actions aren't always popular and sometimes complaints may escalate up the chain of command and collaborative efforts may be employed to insure an appropriate response. Because staff responsible for alcohol-control policy implementation look to new executive leaders for resolve uncertainties it is especially important for new leaders to communicate their expectations and support as early as possible.

If campus executives are not routinely supporting the reduction of excessive student drinking university trustees and the state governing board should contemplate strategies to create policies, accountability systems, compliance leverage or incentives to engage campus executives in the issue. This recommendation is congruent with DeJong's (2016) call for college and university trustees to take responsibility for elevating urgency for alcohol prevention as a top institutional priority.

An important implication for practice identified through this study is that the state governing board was extremely well positioned to lead a transformational change initiative related to excessive student drinking through the policy making process. This was especially true given the authority based hierarchical organizational structure at both the system and campus levels. A recommendation is for state governing boards to look for complicated policy issues which may be enhanced by similar application across system institutions.

A recommendation for the professional practice of staff members responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies emerged from the findings of this research study. While sensemaking is a normal ongoing process, staff members can be trained to conduct analysis of their sensemaking activity to evaluate organizational assumptions and recognize when comparisons might not yield a relevant appraisal. Information can be processed with peer groups and supervisors to facilitate common organizational understandings. Thus, a recommendation for practice from this research study is that staff members should understand how policy meaning can best be ascertained by those responsible for alcohol-control policy implementation. Leaders may be able to facilitate sensemaking through intentional activities like onboarding and orientation programs, policy briefings, and sharing organizational sagas.

Kotter (1996) conceptualized an eight-stage model for leading change which was utilized in the conceptual and theoretical model in this research study. In this model the eighth and final stage in the model involves anchoring the change in organizational culture. If successful the change becomes integrated into the shared beliefs and values

held by members of the organization. Those wishing to effect transformative change attempt to successfully marshal the plan to the eighth stage and then maintain urgency and produce additional change moving forward. In this study it was determined that efforts to change alcohol-control policy at Atlantic University and Western University had both succeeded in becoming anchored in institutional culture. Urgency for further change, however, was no longer established and staff responsible for alcohol-control policy exhibited complacency resulting in great resolve to maintain the alcohol-control policy implementation status quo. From this finding a recommendation for professional practice emerged. Leaders working to realize alcohol-control policy objectives should be aware of the consequences associated with a stalled change initiative and resultant high level of complacency. Kotter (2008) described that in such a case the tendency is for energy to be expended maintaining the status quo. During such times sensitivity to threats is diminished and, as a result, may go undetected. Conversely, available opportunities and chances to innovate are likely to be passed by under such conditions. Since increases in urgency will reduce complacency leaders should work to identify ways to increase urgency for the change initiative.

Limitations

Selection of case study methodology was made in this study with the goal of understanding the influences on university staff members responsible for alcohol-control policy implementation. In selecting this methodology the researcher's findings provide a rich descriptive account that envelopes the case's context, participants, activities and experiences (Merriam, 2009). Accordingly, a limitation of this study is that it was not

designed to discern what is generally true of at all universities. While this research study

may not be generalizable in identifying what is true at all sites, the aim of qualitative

research is to establish a level of understanding for the reader (Stake, 1995). It is up to

the reader to decide if what was learned and described in this narrative is applicable and

informs other contexts.

This study illustrated how results can differ between the two seemingly similar

universities selected as sites in this multiple case study. Both institutions are public

universities in the same state and are categorized in the same Carnegie classification.

They belong to the same segment of the state's public higher education system, and are

under the authority of the state's higher education governing board. Faculty and

librarians at the two universities belong to the same union and operate under the same

collective bargaining agreement. The same is true for administrators; support staff,

maintenance workers and campus police officers. Despite these significant

commonalities, there were significant differences in the experiences and ways staff

responsible for implementation of alcohol-control policies acted, allowing comparison of

commonalities as well as differences.

Although the individuals interviewed held a range of positions and experience a

limitation of the study is that it examines the problem only from the perspective of a

grouping of professional staff members with significant responsibilities for

implementation of alcohol control policies. While this grouping of individuals provided

exceptional and detailed perspectives which allowed the researcher to synthesize a

detailed understanding of the influences, challenges and dynamics in play at each

institution, it excludes the perspectives and experiences of other individuals connected to the narrative, and especially executive leaders, resident assistants and resident students.

Beyond the characteristics of the two universities selected as case study sites already discussed, both institutions were primarily organized under an authority based hierarchical structure. On a larger scale the two universities were accountable to a campus specific board of trustees as well as to the state's higher education governing board. These organizational structures represent a limitation in the investigation that may be worthy of the reader's consideration of findings.

The student survey conducted during the first phase of the study informed the researcher about levels of student support for alcohol-control policies. Those findings, in turn, were used to inform inquiry on how levels of student support influence staff members responsible for alcohol-control policies. A small number of staff members interviewed, surprised and perplexed by levels of student support they hadn't anticipated, wondered whether characteristics of the sample might account for some of this effect. While a number of demographic characteristics were collected from student survey participants to evaluate the representative nature of the sample, a limitation of this phase of the study was the number of student characteristics available to filter student survey data. Within the goals of the study and research design, however, the researcher concludes that survey methods were appropriate and reasonable for the larger study purposes.

Recommendations for Future Research

Merriam (2009) observed that the detailed narrative and findings of case study research can offer insights that enlarge understandings and help frame problems to "structure future research; hence…plays an important role in advancing a field's knowledge base" (p.51). It is in this spirit that the researcher recommends several opportunities for future research.

This study explored activities and experiences which occurred within the hierarchical organizational structure of a state's higher education system and two of its universities. The study also noted the significance of policy saliency in the policy making process. The decision to pursue a system-wide alcohol policy did not emerge solely from the personal interests of state governing board agents. Saliency for the policy issue were influenced by the policy issues place in the political process including the support and interest of the state's governor. Thus, the degree to which state executive leaders, including the governor spurred the actions of the governing board and influence change initiatives presents an opportunity for future research. Such research might include compatibility between gubernatorial influence and the governing board policy actions and how state executives influence campus change initiatives.

Because this study was limited to the public higher education context and included the influences of the state higher education system, the understanding of this phenomenon might be expanded through research conducted in the context of private institutions. The influence of executive leaders and campus trustees and influences on

policy implementation staff at private universities could contribute to, and further expand, the professional knowledge base.

This study identified challenges associated with mature alcohol-control policies anchored in campus culture. The literature is void of studies on the efficacy of advancing campus alcohol-control polices anchored in campus culture and the effectiveness of such policies over relatively longer periods of time. Future research identifying how universities can best identify and respond to programmatic complacency and reignite urgency for continued change would represent potentially valuable applied research.

This study concluded that turnover in executive leadership positions influenced staff members responsible for alcohol-control policies. A recommendation for future research is inquiry into how and why turnover in leadership positions negatively impacts policy implementation efforts. Further exploration of this issue may assist leaders in developing strategies to mitigate the effects and promote effective transfer of power which provides opportunities to best make use of resources and better serve constituents.

The implementation of alcohol-control policies on a campus may be a direct challenge to the established campus drinking culture. The culture associated with implementing alcohol-control policies and associated enforcement actions at times may be pitted directly against the student drinking culture. A type of cultural tug of war ensues in which cultural beliefs, norms and values are either maintained, or in small or large ways evolve, thereby contributing to cultural change. At Western University for example, the drinking traditions and Spring Weekend program recalled clearly by Mattie Ross, and evident through document review, had nearly completely faded from

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institutional memory and the campus drinking culture. Conversely, the Spring Weekend tradition continues to have a significant presence at Atlantic University. Research into the historical trajectory of ongoing events connected to campus drinking cultures and factors related to the stability or transformation of these events represents an opportunity for future research which may further inform dynamics influencing the implementation of alcohol-control policies.

Finally, this study revealed that while alcohol-control policies have been anchored in institutional culture at both Atlantic University and Western University, Atlantic University presented as more collegial, and more consistent in its resolve to maintain alcohol-policy implementation. A significant difference between the two universities was revealed to be the occurrence of critical historical events. Such events occurred several times and sporadically over two decades at Atlantic, while such events were virtually nonexistent at Western. While outside of the purview of this study, the effects of the occurrence and nature of critical incidents related to excessive student drinking on campus culture, alcohol-control policies, and related implementation actions may illuminate the effects of, and response to, such incidents. Deeper knowledge may form a basis for campuses to plan responses to best serve campus interests moving through and from such incidents.

APPENDIX A

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN STUDENT SURVEY

Dear ____,

My name is Glenn Cochran and I am a student at the University of Massachusetts Boston in the Higher Education Doctoral Program. I am contacting fellow students to ask for your assistance in a research study I am conducting. Specifically, would you consider volunteering to participate by completing the survey linked below?

Your participation in this research on implementation of college and university alcohol policies will help me complete this study and would be greatly appreciated. In appreciation for your assistance the first 50 participants will be awarded a $5 Dunkin' Donuts gift card and one volunteer will be randomly selected to win a $75 Amazon.com gift certificate. This survey is brief and is estimated to take less than 10 minutes to complete.

Your participation in this research is confidential and your individual responses to questions will not be used in a way that could reveal your identity. Volunteers willing to complete the survey will be taken to an informed consent form where more information pertinent to the study is shared before beginning the survey. To access the survey, please select the following link:

placeholderwww. studentsurvey_link_to_be_provided_here

Thank you for your consideration and assistance in this matter. If you have any questions about in participating in this study, please feel free to contact me via email at
Glenn.Cochran001@umb.edu
Sincerely,
Glenn Cochran
Doctoral Candidate
University of Massachusetts Boston

APPENDIX B

STUDENT INFORMED CONSENT AND SURVEY

Informed Consent for Volunteers Participating in Research Study

Study Title: An Examination of Influences on Policy Implementation Agents Responsible for Reducing Excessive College Student Drinking

Introduction: My name is Glenn Cochran and I am a student in the Higher Education program at the University of Massachusetts Boston. I am asking for your assistance – would you please consider volunteering to complete this survey to assist me with my research on college and university alcohol policy implementation?

This survey is open to participants 18 years of age and older and will take less than 10 minutes to complete.

Your participation in this study will help me complete this research and is greatly appreciated. A number of incentive prizes will be awarded to participants in appreciation for assisting me with this research project. I realize that all students are busy and I greatly appreciate your consideration of this request.

Consent: This consent form will provide volunteers with information on the research project, what you will be asked to do, and the benefits of this research. Please read this form carefully. Your participation is entirely voluntary; if you choose not to participate in this study you may close the survey without progressing past the consent form page.

Incentive Awards: At the end of the survey participants will have the option to enter their email address to have a chance to win an incentive award. Each participant who completes the survey will have the option to be entered in a raffle to win a $75 Amazon.com gift certificate to buy his or her choice of music, books, electronics, clothing, or thousands of other items through Amazon.com. In addition, the first 50 respondents who complete the survey will be eligible to receive a $5 Dunkin Donuts gift card.

Participants email addresses will be maintained separately from survey answer data and will be used only to notify you that you have been selected to receive an incentive award. I will maintain the privacy of your email address – it will not be used except for incentive distribution and will be destroyed after incentive winners are selected.

Purpose: The purpose of this research is to explore influences on the policy implementation practices of college and university staff members responsible for operationalizing college and university alcohol control policies. This research will be used to identify influences on policy implementation practices and inform decisions related to policy implementation and development.

Procedures: As a volunteer participant, you will be asked to complete this survey. The survey will contain some demographic questions in addition to questions about your perceptions of alcohol policy implementation, student alcohol use, and alcohol policies at your university. This survey is estimated to take less than 10 minutes to complete.

Please read this form and feel free to contact me by email at Glenn.Cochran001@umb.edu if you have any questions. You may also contact Kristen Kenny, UMass Boston IRB Administrator by email at human.subjects@umb.edu or Dr. Dwight Giles, UMass Boston, Professor, College of Education and Human Development, by email at Dwight.Giles@umb.edu with any questions. Participants must be 18 or older to participate in this study.

Benefits: This research may or may not have direct benefits to individual participants, but has the potential to inform policy implementation practices related to college and university alcohol policies. Accordingly, this research has the potential to influence student safety, promote student health and wellness, support student academic achievement, and enhance the campus learning environment.

Incentives will be awarded to some volunteers who complete the survey as previously noted.

Risks and Discomforts: There is minimal risk involved in this study and no anticipated risks beyond those typically encountered in everyday life.

Any participant who experiences any concerns or discomfort related to reflecting and/or communicating about alcohol use, alcohol policies, or any other related content included in the survey is encouraged to utilize available support services including:

- Your University Counseling Center
- The ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ Substance Abuse Information and Education Helpline; phone: 800-▮▮▮-▮▮▮▮; TTY: 888-▮▮▮-▮▮▮▮; web site: http://www.helpline-online.com/

Privacy and Confidentiality: You are receiving this survey because you are a matriculated student at one of two universities selected for this research study. Your participation in this research is confidential and will not be used in a manner which would allow you to be identified. Your individual responses to questions will likewise not be used in a way that could reveal your identity. Your response data will be labeled by number and will not be connected to your name.

Provision of your name and email address at the end of the survey is optional. To be eligible to be awarded a gift card or be entered into the Amazon.com gift certificate raffle, however, you will need to provide your name and a valid email address which will be used solely to notify you if you are awarded an incentive.

Voluntary Participation: Participating in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate or you may discontinue your participation at any time without penalty.

Rights and Contact Information You have the right to ask questions prior to, or at any time during this study. If you have any questions or concerns about this research, you may contact

- Glenn Cochran, doctoral student, Higher Education Administration, University of Massachusetts Boston, email: Glenn.Cochran001@umb.edu

- Kristen Kenny, IRB Administrator, University of Massachusetts Boston, email: human.subjects@umb.edu

Dwight Giles, Ph.D. Professor, College of Education and Human Development, University of Massachusetts Boston, email: Dwight.Giles@umb.edu
Questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant may be directed to the University of Massachusetts Boston Institutional Review Board (IRB) Administrator, Kristen Kenny. The IRB oversees research involving human participants and may be reached:

By mail:

IRB, Quinn Administration Building
University of Massachusetts Boston
100 Morrissey Boulevard
Boston, MA 02125
By telephone:

(617) 287-5374

By e-mail:

 human.subjects@umb.edu

Consent Statement
I have read this consent form and have had the opportunity to have my questions answered to my satisfaction. By continuing to the survey I have given my consent to volunteer as a participant in this research study.

Survey Questions – Section 1 of 2

1. As of your last birthday, are you 18 years old or older?
   a. Yes
   b. No **(If NO; END)**

2. What is your exact age, in years, as of today?

3. Which of the following best describes you Student Classification? Are you a:
   a. Freshman
   b. Sophomore
   c. Junior
   d. Senior

4. What is your gender identity?
   a. Male
   b. Female
   c. Another gender identity

5. What best describes your residence hall assignment?
   a. Traditional single room w/ shared community bathroom
   b. Traditional double, triple or larger w/ shared community bathroom
   c. Traditional room with connected private bathroom
   d. Suite
   e. Townhouse or Apartment
   f. Other (please specify): _____

6. Are 21+ students allowed to possess alcohol in your residence hall/area?
   a. Yes **(IF a. GO TO 9)**
   b. No
   c. Not Sure

7. How difficult would it be to bring a 12-pack of beer to your residence hall room?
   a. Very difficult
   b. Difficult
   c. Easy
   d. Very Easy

8. How difficult would it be to bring a large bottle ("handle") of hard liquor into your residence hall?
   a. Very difficult
   b. Difficult
   c. Easy
   d. Very Easy

9. Race/Ethnicity:
    a. American Indian/Alaskan Native
    b. Asian
    c. Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
    d. Black or African American
    e. Hispanic or Latino
    f. White
    g. Other

10. Are you a member of a social fraternity/sorority?
    a. Yes
    b. No

11. Are you a member of a varsity athletic team?
    a. Yes
    b. No

12. Are you a member of a club athletic team that competes against other colleges/universities?
    a. Yes
    b. No

13. How familiar are you with your University's alcohol related policies?
    a. Extremely familiar
    b. Reasonably familiar
    c. Minimally familiar
    d. Not at all familiar

14. To what degree do follow your University's alcohol related policies?
    a. Always follow
    b. Almost always follow
    c. Mostly follow
    d. Sometimes follow
    e. Rarely follow

15. A drink may be defined as one beer, a glass of wine, a shot glass of hard liquor, a wine cooler or a mixed drink. During an average week this semester how many drinks would you estimate you consumed? _____ drinks per week

16. If you consume alcohol, how many drinks would you estimate you consume on average night or drinking occasion? _____ drinks per night/drinking occasion

17. If you find yourself in a setting with other students who are mostly drinking alcohol how likely is it that you would also drink alcohol?
    a. Extremely likely
    b. Somewhat likely
    c. Maybe
    d. Unlikely
    e. Extremely unlikely

Questions – Section 2 of 2

Goals associated with college and university alcohol policies may include:
- improved student safety, health, and sexual decision making;
- better academic performance and learning environment;
- decreasing noise, vandalism and disruptions in residence halls;
- prevention/risk reduction of accidents, fights, domestic violence, and sexual violence.

To what degree do you support the following actions or possible actions at your university?

18. Requiring bartenders and servers both on and off campus to be trained in responsible beverage service, including "shutting off" service to intoxicated individuals
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

19. Prohibiting local bars and liquor stores from targeting college students with low price promotions
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

20. Restrict advertising on campus that promotes drinking a
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

21. Increase enforcement of laws related to operating vehicles under the influence (DUI laws)
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

22. Motor vehicle sobriety check points in the area of the campus by local or state police
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

23. Holding hosts accountable for serving or allowing underage drinking at their place of residence
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

24. Consistent enforcement of alcohol policies by RAs in campus residence halls
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

25. Consistent enforcement of alcohol policies by university police on campus grounds and at campus events
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

26. Use of portable breathalyzer to objectively assess intoxication by campus police on campus grounds and at campus events
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

27. Stronger enforcement of laws and ordinances by local police at off campus businesses and residences
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

28. Consistent enforcement of alcohol laws by local police off campus
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

29. Impose more serious sanctions through the student conduct system for students found responsible for alcohol policy violations on campus
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

30. Restrict the number of drinks an individual can purchase at an establishment to one per hour
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

31. Impose serious sanctions for the use or possession of false IDs
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

32. Require residence halls to have a single point of entry monitored by security staff 24 hours a day
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

33. Stronger enforcement of alcohol policies by university security personnel
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

34. Impose sanctions through the student conduct system for off campus houses/apartments who host parties requiring police response
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

35. Use of undercover agents to hold liquor stores and bars accountable for selling alcohol to minors
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

36. Providing bystander training so students can better help others experiencing drinking related difficulties
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

37. Increased consequences/sanctions for students who repeatedly violate campus alcohol policies
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

38. Require that security staff at residence hall entry check <u>all</u> bags or refuse bag entry
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

39. Require security staff to check bag checks upon residence hall entry if there is suspicion of an alcohol policy violation
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

40. Require that security staff conduct bag checks at entry to athletic venues, concerts, dances or similar campus events
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

41. Enact medical amnesty policies so intoxicated individuals and their friends who initiate calls for assistance may be more inclined to request medical attention
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

42. Colleges and universities should aggressively promote designated driver programs
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

43. Actively promote alternative transportation including taxis and public transportation
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

44. Increase alcohol and drug prevention specialist staffing to educate the community, increase awareness, and work to effect change in campus culture and reduce excessive drinking.
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

45. Increase treatment services to better support students with diagnosed alcohol abuse or dependence
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

46. Require that intoxicated individuals responded to by police or first responders later receive alcohol abuse/dependence evaluation and educational intervention
    a. Strongly Support
    b. Support
    c. Oppose
    d. Strongly Oppose

47. Require that incoming first year students complete an on-line course on alcohol prior to starting classes.
   a. Strongly Support
   b. Support
   c. Oppose
   d. Strongly Oppose

48. Increase the number of university police officers on patrol during peak evenings
   a. Strongly Support
   b. Support
   c. Oppose
   d. Strongly Oppose

49. Notify parent/guardian of students <u>under 21</u> who violate alcohol laws or university alcohol policies
   a. Strongly Support
   b. Support
   c. Oppose
   d. Strongly Oppose

50. Prohibit a student suspended for alcohol policy violations at another ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ state university from transferring into my University until after the suspension period is served.
   a. Strongly Support
   b. Support
   c. Oppose
   d. Strongly Oppose

51. Increase student awareness of the legal consequences and liability associated with excessive drinking behavior
   a. Strongly Support
   b. Support
   c. Oppose
   d. Strongly Oppose

52. Thank you for participating in this survey. Would you like to enter the optional raffle for the Amazon.com gift certificate?
   a. Yes (GO TO 60)
   b. No (GO TO 61)

53. Optional Raffle Information. Your individual responses to questions will not be used in a way that could reveal your identity. Provision of your name and email address is optional and will be used solely to notify you if you are awarded a Dunkin' Donuts gift card or the Amazon.com gift certificate incentive. Incentive award winners will be notified by email. Name and email information will be destroyed after incentive winners are selected. Prizes must be claimed within 30 days of notification.

First Name: _____ Last Name: _____

Email Address: _____

 Thank you for your participation - your assistance is greatly appreciated! You may close this window.

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN STAFF SURVEY

Dear ____,

My name is Glenn Cochran and I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Massachusetts Boston in the Higher Education Doctoral Program as well as a student affairs practitioner in residence life and student conduct. I am conducting a doctoral dissertation research study and am seeking colleagues willing to volunteer to participate by completing the brief survey linked below. The survey is estimated to take less than 10 minutes to complete.

The research study is on implementation of college and university alcohol policies. The perspectives of university staff members responsible for operationalizing alcohol control policies or involved in efforts aimed at reducing excessive student drinking are critically important to my research. Your participation and assistance would be greatly appreciated and would contribute to the body of professional knowledge on this topic.

Your participation in this research is confidential and your individual responses to questions will not be used in a way that could reveal your identity. Volunteers willing to complete the survey will be taken to an informed consent form where more information pertinent to the study is shared before beginning the survey. To access the survey, please select the following link:

survey_link_to staff survey_provided_here

Thank you for your consideration and assistance in this matter. If you have any questions about in participating in this study, please feel free to contact me via email at
Glenn.Cochran001@umb.edu
Sincerely,
Glenn Cochran
Doctoral Candidate, University of Massachusetts Boston

APPENDIX D

STAFF INFORMED CONSENT AND SURVEY

<u>Informed Consent for Volunteers Participating in Research Study</u>

Study Title: An Examination of Influences on Policy Implementation Agents Responsible for Reducing Excessive College Student Drinking

Introduction: Introduction: My name is Glenn Cochran and I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Massachusetts Boston in the Higher Education Doctoral Program. I am conducting a dissertation research study on college and university alcohol policy implementation. I need your assistance and ask that you consider volunteering to participate in this research by completing the linked survey.

This survey is estimated to take less than 10 minutes to complete. Your participation in this study will help me complete this research and is very much appreciated.

Consent: This consent form will provide volunteers with information about my research project, what you will be asked to do, and the benefits of this research. Please read this form carefully. The survey is open to participants 18 and older. Your participation is entirely voluntary; if you choose not to participate in this study you may close the survey without progressing past this consent form page.

Purpose: The purpose of this research is to explore influences on the policy implementation practices of college and university staff members responsible for operationalizing alcohol control policies. This research will be used to identify influences on policy implementation practices and inform decisions related to policy implementation and development.

Procedures: As a volunteer participant, you will be asked to complete this survey. The survey will contain some demographic questions in addition to questions related to alcohol policy implementation and student support for a variety of alcohol control policies. This survey is estimated to take less than 10 minutes to complete.

Please read this form and feel free to contact me by email at Glenn.Cochran001@umb.edu if you have any questions. You may also contact Kristen Kenny, UMass Boston IRB Administrator by email at human.subjects@umb.edu or Dr. Dwight Giles, UMass Boston, Professor, College of Education and Human Development, by email at Dwight.Giles@umb.edu with any questions. Participants must be 18 or older to participate in this study.

Benefits: This research may or may not have direct benefits to individual participants, but has the potential to inform policy implementation practices related to college and university alcohol policies. Accordingly, through your voluntary participation you would be making a contribution to the knowledge base about alcohol policy implementation. This research has the potential to influence student safety, promote student health and wellness, support student academic achievement, and enhance the campus learning environment.

Risks and Discomforts: There are no anticipated risks associated with this research beyond those typically encountered in everyday life.

Privacy and Confidentiality: You are receiving this survey because you are a university staff member with responsibilities for implementing campus alcohol control policies, or who, by the nature of your position, have familiarity with student drinking behavior and attitudes. Your participation in this research is confidential, and your individual responses to questions will not be used in a way that could reveal your identity. Your response data will be labeled by number and will not be connected to your identity.

Voluntary Participation: Participating in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate or you may discontinue your participation at any time without penalty.

Rights and Contact Information: You have the right to ask questions prior to, or at any time during this study. If you have any questions or concerns about this research, you may contact:

- Glenn Cochran, doctoral student, Higher Education Administration, University of Massachusetts Boston, email: Glenn.Cochran001@umb.edu
- Kristen Kenny, IRB Administrator, University of Massachusetts Boston, email: human.subjects@umb.edu
- Dwight Giles, Ph.D. Professor, College of Education and Human Development, University of Massachusetts Boston, email: Dwight.Giles@umb.edu

Questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant may be directed to Kristen Kenney, University of Massachusetts Boston Institutional Review Board (IRB) Administrator. The IRB oversees research involving human participants and may be contacted:

By mail:
IRB, Quinn Administration Building
University of Massachusetts Boston
100 Morrissey Boulevard
Boston, MA 02125

By telephone: (617) 287-5374

By e-mail: human.subjects@umb.edu

Consent Statement

I have read this consent form and have had the opportunity to have my questions answered to my satisfaction. By continuing to the survey I have given my consent to volunteer as a participant in this research study.

Questions – Section 1

1. As of today, are you 18 years old or older?
    a. Yes
    b. No **(If NO; END)**

2. How familiar would you say most students at your university are with alcohol policies at your campus?
    a. Extremely familiar
    b. Reasonably familiar
    c. Minimally familiar
    d. Not at all familiar

3. To what degree do you believe most students abide by your university's alcohol policy?
    a. Almost always follow
    b. Mostly follow
    c. Sometimes follow
    d. Rarely follow

4. Please rank order the housing configuration on your campus <u>most</u> conducive to excessive student drinking with "1" being *most conductive to excessive drinking* and "5" being the *least conducive to excessive drinking*. Use "N/A" if a particular type of housing is Not Available on your campus.
    (Scale 1-5 with "N/A" and "Don't Know" options)
    _____Traditional single rooms w/ shared community bathroom

    _____Traditional double, triple or larger rooms w/ shared community bathroom
    _____Residence hall rooms with private bathrooms
    _____Suites
    _____Townhouses/Apartments

5. Please rank order the following locations from 1 to 8 according to how problematic they are for excessive student drinking at your university. Please rank with "1" being *most problematic* and "8" being *least problematic* for your university. Use "N/A" if a particular type of housing is Not Available on your campus.

_____On-campus traditional residence halls
_____On-campus townhouses/apartments
_____University affiliated/provided housing off campus
_____Off-campus student apartments/ houses (not University affiliated)
_____Local bars/clubs
_____Halls/clubs/restaurants
_____Local hotels/motels
_____Other – (please specify):_____

6. Does your University utilize a single residence hall entry points monitored by security staff to reduce the quantity of alcohol brought into the halls by residents and guests?

a. Yes, in all halls
b. Yes, in some halls
c. No
d. Not Sure

7. How <u>consistent</u> are your University's Resident Assistants in responding to individuals who violate University alcohol policies?

a. Extremely Consistent
b. Mostly Consistent
c. Somewhat Consistent
d. Mostly Inconsistent
e. Extremely Inconsistent
f. No Basis to Judge

8. How <u>consistent</u> are your University's Police Officers in responding to individuals who violate University alcohol policies?

a. Extremely Consistent
b. Mostly Consistent
c. Somewhat Consistent
d. Mostly Inconsistent
e. Extremely Inconsistent
f. No Basis to Judge

9. How <u>consistent</u> are security officers/staff in responding to individuals who violate University alcohol policies?
   - a. Extremely Consistent
   - b. Mostly Consistent
   - c. Somewhat Consistent
   - d. Mostly Inconsistent
   - e. Extremely Inconsistent
   - f. No Basis to Judge

10. How <u>consistent</u> is enforcement of University alcohol policies at campus events (e.g. athletic games, concerts, dances, banquets, homecoming, etc.)?
    - a. Extremely Consistent
    - b. Mostly Consistent
    - c. Somewhat Consistent
    - d. Mostly Inconsistent
    - e. Extremely Inconsistent
    - f. No Basis to Judge

11. How much priority is placed on prevention of excessive student drinking by *parents*?
    - a. Very High Priority
    - b. Significant Priority
    - c. Some Priority
    - d. Limited Priority
    - e. Little or No Priority
    - f. No Basis to Judge

12. How much priority is placed on prevention of excessive student drinking by *neighbors*?
    - a. Very High Priority
    - b. Significant Priority
    - c. Some Priority
    - d. Limited Priority
    - e. Little or No Priority
    - f. No Basis to Judge

13. How much priority is placed on prevention of excessive student drinking by *faculty*?
    - a. Very High Priority
    - b. Significant Priority
    - c. Some Priority
    - d. Limited Priority
    - e. Little or No Priority
    - f. No Basis to Judge

14. How much priority is placed on attaining alcohol control policy goals by the *direct supervisors* of those front line staff members most likely to confront behavior in violation of University alcohol control policies (e.g. Resident Directors, police shift supervisors, security staff supervisors)?
    a. Very High Priority
    b. Significant Priority
    c. Some Priority
    d. Limited Priority
    e. Little or No Priority
    f. No Basis to Judge

15. How much priority is placed on attaining alcohol control policy goals by deans, directors and assistant directors responsible for implementing and enforcing University alcohol policies?
    a. Very High Priority
    b. Significant Priority
    c. Some Priority
    d. Limited Priority
    e. Little or No Priority

16. How much priority is placed on attaining alcohol control policy goals by the University's executive leadership (e.g. president and vice presidents)?
    a. Very High Priority
    b. Significant Priority
    c. Some Priority
    d. Limited Priority
    e. Little or No Priority
    f. No Basis to Judge

17. How dedicated are senior/executive leaders (e.g. president and vice presidents) to attaining alcohol control policy goals at your University?
    a. Extremely Dedicated
    b. Mostly Dedicated
    c. Somewhat Dedicated
    d. Limited Dedication
    e. Little or No Dedication
    f. No Basis to Judge

18. How active are local law enforcement officers (town/city police) in enforcement of alcohol related laws and ordinances with students in the community?
   a. Extremely Active
   b. Somewhat Active
   c. Occasionally Active
   d. Minimally Active
   e. No Basis to Judge

Questions – Section 2

The following questions ask you to think about the level of support students at your University might have for certain alcohol control actions or policies. For each item, please estimate the percentage of students at your university who would either *Support* or *Strongly Support* the action/policy action listed.

19. Requiring bartenders and servers both on and off campus to be trained in responsible beverage service, including "shutting off" service to intoxicated individuals
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

20. Prohibiting local bars and liquor stores from targeting college students with low price promotions
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

21. Restrict advertising on campus which promotes drinking and/or alcoholic beverage sales
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

22. Increase enforcement of laws related to operating vehicles under the influence (DUI laws)
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

23. Increase Motor vehicle sobriety check points in the area of the campus by local or state police
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

24. Consistent enforcement of alcohol policies by RAs in campus residence halls
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

25. Consistent enforcement of alcohol policies by campus police on campus grounds and at campus events
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

26. Use of portable breathalyzer to objectively assess intoxication by campus police on campus grounds and at campus events
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

27. Stronger enforcement of laws and ordinances by local police at off campus businesses and residences
   Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

28. Increase consistent enforcement of alcohol laws off campus by city/town police
   Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

29. Impose more serious sanctions through the student conduct system for students found responsible for alcohol policy violations on campus
   Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

30. Restrict the number of drinks an individual can purchase at an establishment to one per hour
   Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

31. Holding hosts accountable for serving or allowing underage drinking at their place of residence
   Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

32. Impose serious sanctions for the use or possession of false IDs
   Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

33. Require residence halls to have a single point of entry monitored by security staff 24 hours a day
   Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

34. Stronger enforcement of alcohol policies by university security personnel
   Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

35. Impose sanctions through the student conduct system for off campus houses/apartments who host parties requiring police response
   Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

36. Use of undercover agents to hold liquor stores and bars accountable for selling alcohol to minors
   Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

37. Providing bystander training so students can better help others experiencing drinking related difficulties
   Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

38. Increased consequences/sanctions for students who repeatedly violate campus alcohol policies
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

39. Require that security staff at residence hall entry check <u>all</u> bags or refuse bag entry
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

40. Require security staff to check bag checks upon residence hall entry if there is suspicion of an alcohol policy violation
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

41. Require that security staff check bag checks at entry to athletic venues, concerts, dances or similar campus events
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

42. Enact medical amnesty policies so intoxicated individuals and their friends who initiate calls for assistance may be more inclined to request medical attention
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

43. Colleges and universities should aggressively promote designated driver programs\
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

44. Actively promote alternative transportation including taxis and public transportation
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

45. Increase alcohol and drug prevention specialist staffing to educate the community and increase awareness about excessive student drinking
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

46. Increase treatment services to better support students with diagnosed alcohol abuse or dependence
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

47. Require that intoxicated individuals responded to by police or emergency personnel later receive alcohol abuse/dependence evaluation and educational intervention
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

48. Require that incoming first year students complete an on-line course on alcohol prior to starting classes.
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

49. Increase the number of university police officers on patrol during peak evenings
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

50. University notification to parent/guardian of students <u>under 21</u> who violate alcohol laws or university alcohol policies
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

51. Prohibit a student suspended for alcohol policy violations at another █████████ state university from transferring into my University until after the suspension period is served.
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

52. Increase student awareness of the legal consequences and liability associated with excessive drinking behavior
Estimated % of students who Support or Strongly Support: _____

Questions – Section 3

53. What best describes the primary department/area where you work?
   a. Counseling Center
   b. Dean of Students/Student Affairs
   c. Facilities Management
   d. Health Services
   e. Residence Life
   f. Student Activities
   g. Student Conduct
   h. University Police
   i. Vice-President Student Affairs
   j. Wellness/AOD Prevention
   k. Other (please specify):_____

54. How many years have you worked in your current position? _____

55. How many years have you worked at a college or university in your professional discipline/area? _____

56. What is your gender identity?
   a. Male
   b. Female
   c. Another gender identity

Thank you for your participation. Your assistance is greatly appreciated! You may close this window.

APPENDIX E

CHARACTERISTICS OF STUDENT SAMPLE

Table E1

Characteristics of Atlantic University student sample

Variable		Frequency	Percent
Gender[a,b]			
	Male	211	25.1%
	Female	623	74.3%
Race/ Ethnicity[a,c]			
	American Indian/ Alaskan Native	8	1%
	Asian	32	3.8%
	Black/ Latino	113	13.5%
	White	644	76.8%
	Other	39	4.6%
Greek Members[d]			
	Yes	103	12.3%
	No	736	87.7%
Athlete			
	Varsity	60	7.2%
	Club	61	7.3%
Class[e]			
	Freshman	395	31.5%
	Sophomore	388	31%
	Junior	258	20.6%
	Senior	206	16.5%

Note: Table displays characteristics of Atlantic University student sample. $n = 926$.
[a] Response categories selected by less than five students not listed.
[b] Six respondents did not answer this question.
[c] Three respondents did not answer this question.
[d] One respondent did not answer this question.
[e] Five respondents did not answer this question.

Table E2

Characteristics of Western University student sample

Variable		Frequency	Percent
Gender[a]			
	Male	91	22%
	Female	320	77.5%
Race/ Ethnicity[a,b]			
	Asian	8	1.9%
	Black/ Latino	38	9.2
	White	347	84%
	Other	11	2.7%
Greek Members[b,c]			
	No	410	99.3%
Athlete			
	Varsity	57	13.8%
	Club	39	9.5%
Class[d]			
	Freshman	135	32.7%
	Sophomore	130	31.5%
	Junior	81	19.6%
	Senior	65	15.7%

Note: Table displays characteristics of Western University student sample. $n = 413$
[a] Response categories selected by less than five students not listed.
[b] Two respondents did not answer this question.
[c] One respondent did not answer this question.
[d] Two respondents did not answer this question.

Table E3

Characteristics of Total Student Survey Sample

Variable		Frequency	Percent
Gender[a,b]			
	Male	302	24.1%
	Female	943	75.3%
Race/ Ethnicity[a,c]			
	American Indian/ Alaskan Native	12	1%
	Asian	40	3.2%
	Black/ Latino	151	12.1%
	White	991	79.2%
Greek Members[d]			
	Yes	105	8.4%
	No	1,146	91.5%
Athlete			
	Varsity	117	9.3%
	Club	100	8%
Class[e]			
	Freshman	260	31%
	Sophomore	258	30.8%
	Junior	177	21.1%
	Senior	141	16.8%

Note: Table displays characteristics of student survey sample. *n* =926
[a] Response categories selected by less than 10 students not listed.
[b] Six respondents did not answer this question.
[c] Three respondents did not answer this question.
[d] One respondent did not answer this question.
[e] Five respondents did not answer this question.

Dear _____,

My name is Glenn Cochran and I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Massachusetts Boston in the Higher Education Doctoral Program as well as a student affairs practitioner in residence life and student conduct. In conjunction with a doctoral dissertation research study on implementation of college and university alcohol policies I am seeking colleagues willing to volunteer to be interviewed in the case study portion of the research project. Interviews will be approximately 45 minutes in length and can be held at your campus or conducted by video conference.

As a colleague with responsibilities related to operationalizing campus alcohol control policies, and/or involved in efforts aimed at reducing excessive college student drinking, your participation and assistance would be greatly appreciated. Your participation in this research will be confidential and your individual responses to questions will not be used in a way that could reveal your identity.
If you are interested in participating in this study please contact me by email at
Glenn.Cochran001@umb.edu I will then contact you to schedule a mutually convenient interview time.
Thank you for your consideration of this request for assistance. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions about in participating in this study.
Sincerely,
Glenn Cochran
Doctoral Candidate, University of Massachusetts Boston

APPENDIX G
CASE STUDY INFORMED CONSENT
UMASS BOSTON INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

CONSENT FORM – RESEARCH INTERVIEW

Study Title: An Examination of Influences on Policy Implementation Agents Responsible for
Reducing Excessive College Student Drinking

Introduction: My name is Glenn Cochran, a student in the doctoral program in higher education
at the University of Massachusetts Boston. You have been invited to volunteer to participate in a
research study on implementation of college and university alcohol policy. More specifically, the
researcher is examining influences on individuals responsible for implementation of alcohol
control policies with the goal of reducing excessive college student drinking. Participants must be
18 or older to participate in this study.

This consent form will provide you with information on the project, what you will be asked to do,
and the benefits of this research. Please read this form and feel free to contact me by email at
Glenn.Cochran001@umb.edu if you have any questions. You may also contact Dr. Dwight Giles,
Jr., Professor in the College of Education and Human Development at UMass Boston and
dissertation chair for this study, by email at: Dwight.Giles@umb.edu with any questions.

Purpose: The purpose of this research is to explore influences on the policy implementation
practices of college and university staff members responsible for operationalizing alcohol control
policies. This research will be used to identify influences on policy implementation practices and
inform decisions related to policy implementation and development.

Procedures: As a volunteer participant, you will be asked to share your perceptions, experiences
and ideas related to a) implementation of college alcohol control policies, b) student behavior,
attitudes and beliefs toward alcohol use, and, c) the implementation of alcohol policies on your
campus. Participation in this interview is estimated to take approximately 45 minutes. Interviews
will be conducted in a method that is most convenient for participants and may include in-person
interviews or interviews via a web-based video conferencing platform such as Skype.

Benefits: This research may or may not have direct benefits to individual participants, but has the
potential to inform policy implementation practices related to college and university alcohol
policies. Accordingly, through your voluntary participation you would be making a contribution to
the knowledge base about alcohol policy implementation. This research has the potential to
influence student safety, promote student health and wellness, support student academic
achievement, and enhance the campus learning environment.

Risks and Discomforts: There are no anticipated risks associated with this research beyond those
typically encountered in everyday life.
Privacy and Confidentiality: Your participation in this research is confidential, and your
responses to questions will not be used in a way that would allow others to identify you.
Information gathered for this project will be stored in a password protected electronic file that is
accessible only to the research team. This data will be destroyed at the completion of the research
project. Your response data will be labeled by number and will not be connected to your identity.

Information collected will not be stored with your name or other identifying information. Information collected in the interview will be associated and maintained only with an assigned fictitious name after the interview.

Voluntary Participation: Participating in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate or you may discontinue your participation at any time without penalty. If you decide not to participate prior to the interview please contact Glenn Cochran by email at Glenn.Cochran001@umb.edu or telephone at 508-400-6702. You may also discontinue participation at any time during the interview.

Rights and Contact Information: You have the right to ask questions prior to, or at any time during this study. If you have any questions or concerns about this research, you may contact:

- Glenn Cochran, doctoral student, Higher Education Administration, University of Massachusetts Boston, email: Glenn.Cochran001@umb.edu
- Dwight Giles, Ph.D. Professor, College of Education and Human Development, University of Massachusetts Boston, email: Dwight.Giles@umb.edu
- Kristen Kenny, IRB Administrator, University of Massachusetts Boston, email: human.subjects@umb.edu

Questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant may be directed to the University of Massachusetts Boston Institutional Review Board (IRB) Administrator. The IRB oversees research involving human participants and may be contacted by mail at: IRB, Quinn Administration Building, University of Massachusetts Boston, 100 Morrissey Boulevard, Boston, MA 02125. The IRB can also be contacted by telephone at (617) 287-5374 or by email to: human.subjects@umb.edu

Consent Statement and Signatures: I have read this consent form and have had the opportunity to have my questions answered to my satisfaction. My signature on this form denotes my consent to volunteer as a participant in this study. I also confirm that I am 18 years of age or older.

_____   _____
Signature of Participant   Date

_____
Printed Name of Signature

_____   _____
Glenn Cochran, Researcher   Date

AUDIO RECORDING CONSENT

UMASS BOSTON INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

AUDIORECORDING CONSENT FORM
<u>CONSENT TO AUDIORECORDING & TRANSCRIPTION</u>

An Examination of Influences on Policy Implementation Agents Responsible for Reducing Excessive
College Student Drinking

Glenn Cochran
Doctoral Program in Higher Education - Leadership in Education
Email: <u>Glenn.Cochran001@umb.edu</u>; Phone: (508) 626-4631

This study involves the audio recording of your interview with the researcher. Neither your name nor any
other identifying information will be associated with the audiotape (videotape) or the transcript. Only the
researcher team will be able to listen to the recording.
The recording will be transcribed by the researcher and erased once the transcriptions are checked for
accuracy. Transcripts of your interview may be reproduced in whole or in part for use in presentations or
written products that result from this study. Neither your name nor any other identifying information (such
as your voice or picture) will be used in presentations or in written products resulting from the study.

Immediately following the interview, you will be given the opportunity to have the recording erased if you
wish to withdraw your consent to taping or participation in this study.

By signing this form you are consenting to (INCLUDE ONLY THOSE OPTIONS THAT ARE BEING

❑ having your interview recorded;

❑ having the tape transcribed;

❑ use of the written transcript in presentations and written products.

By checking the box in front of each item, you are consenting to participate in that procedure.

This consent for recording is effective until the following date: <u>Aug. 1, 2016</u>. On or before that date, the
audio file(s) will be destroyed.

Participant's Signature _____ **Date**_____

**Case Study Interview
Guide & Protocol**

Study Title:
**Influences on University Staff
Members Responsible for
Implementation of Alcohol-
Control Policies**

Glenn Cochran
University of Massachusetts Boston
Glenn.Cochran001@umb.edu
(508) 475-7414
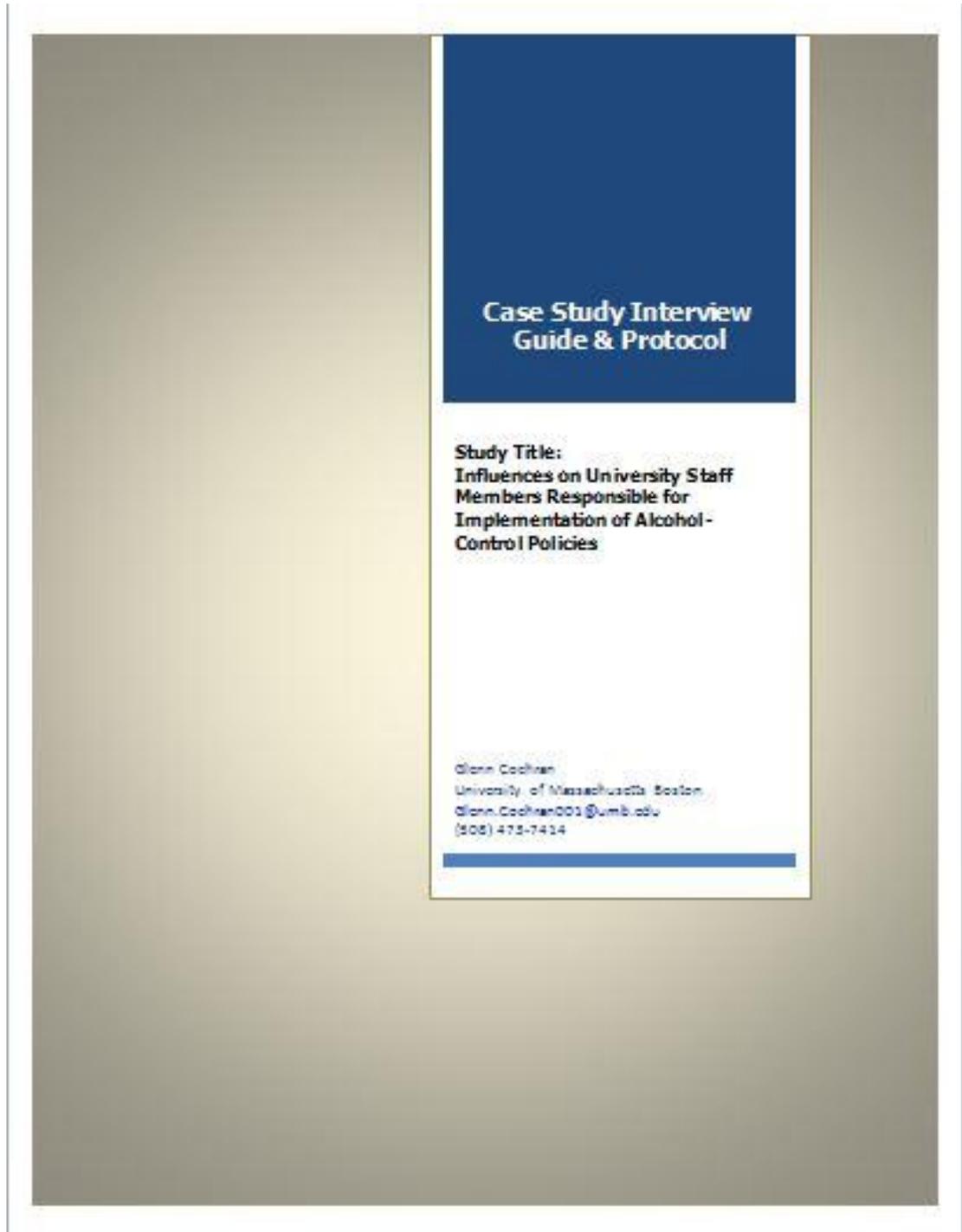
Case Study Interview Guide & Protocol Research Questions

General Information

Interview Type:	Individual Interview (Audio Recorded)

Research Question:	What are the influences on the decisions and actions of p[...] implementation agents responsible for enacting campus alcohol-control policies and reducing excessive student drinking in the unique context and culture of the individu[...] campus?
Sub-Question 1:	What level of student support is there for campus alcohol[...] policy compliance and implementation and enforcement actions at individual institutions sharing a system-wide al[...] policy?
Sub-Question 2:	How are alcohol policy implementation decisions and acti[...] influenced by student support for alcohol-control policy implementation and enforcement actions at institutions sharing a system-wide alcohol policy?
Sub-Question 3:	How do implementation decisions and actions contribute [...] detract from, efforts to lead transformative change in excessive student drinking at individual institutions sharin[...] common system-wide alcohol policy?
Sub-Question 4:	How has commitment to attainment of desired policy outcomes, on-going implementation decisions and actions[...] policy development changed since a system-wide alcohol policy was enacted?
Physical Setting of Interview:	Private room with table, chairs and good lighting.
Interviewer:	Glenn Cochran

Individual Interview Record

A. Interview Date:

Month:	Day:	Year:

B. Interview Time:

_____:_____ a.m. or p.m. (circle)

C. Format:

In Person   Video Conference
(circle)

D. Location:
(In Person)

Building:
Room:

E. Contact Information:

TITLE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME
PHONE	EMAIL	JOB TITLE
( )		

II. Interview Protocol
  A. Preparation
  ____ Confirm that the informed consent and audio recording/transcription forms have been signed by the participant**

B. Introduction and Greeting Script:

 "Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. I anticipate that this interview will take approximately 45 minutes.

I will be taking some notes in addition to audio recording this interview. This will allow me to make sure I have your complete responses and will also assist me in synthesizing information and writing my report. I do want you to feel assured, however, that your answers will be maintained anonymously. Neither your name, nor the name of your institution will be disclosed in any research report or publication.

My research uses a mixed methods approach so some of the questions I ask you were informed by the results of surveys of students and other University staff members. I will ask you about your perceptions of student support and attitudes toward alcohol policy compliance, enforcement, and implementation. I am also interested in learning about your perceptions of alcohol policy implementation at your university.

Your experiences and insight are important and I ask that you share your honest perceptions, positive or negative.

Do you have any questions before we begin?"

C. Questions

a. Demographic Questions:

I would like to start by learning a little more about you.

_____How long have you worked at <UNIVERSITY NAME>?

_____What is your job title?

_____How long have you worked in this position?

_____Can you briefly describe   other positions or work related experiences you've held at this or another college or university?

_____What is your age in years?

b. Assessing Policy Implementation Environment

Leaders at Universities must balance multiple priorities and demands. Given health, safety, and legal risks, along with impact on academic performance and the learning community, excessive college student drinking has been an issue competing for the attention of campus leaders for many years.

____How would you describe student drinking attitudes and behavior at <UNIVERSITY NAME>?

____Are you aware of any key events or incidents in recent or even distant history related to student drinking that has influenced either campus culture or alcohol policy at <UNIVERSITY NAME>?

____How would you characterize the level of attention is given to the reduction of excessive student at <UNIVERSITY NAME>? PROBE: How much importance and priority is placed on this issue?

____Is there evidence that there is any sense of urgency toward reducing excessive student drinking at <UNIVERSITY NAME>?

____How would you assess the strength of preferences on alcohol control policies by the trustees, president, and vice presidents at <UNIVERSITY NAME>?

____Are there any coalitions or collaborations working closely on implementation of alcohol control policies?

____Is there a vision or articulated strategies for reducing excessive student drinking at <UNIVERSITY NAME>?

 ____In terms of reducing excessive student drinking, what are some policies or programs aimed at reducing excessive at that you think are either working or that are promising? Are any policies or programs formally assessed? PROBE: Do you know how, or if student drinking at your University has changed since the system-wide alcohol policy was implemented [date(s) provided]?

c. Influences on Policy Implementation Practices

I'd like to shift focus for a moment to get your thoughts on those things that might influence <UNIVERSITY NAME> staff members responsible for operationalizing campus alcohol policies, whether it is through front line policy enforcement, education and awareness, administering the student conduct process, prevention and public health, providing health or counseling services, sponsoring campus events, developing policy, undertaking assessment or other activities.

_____Who are the groups or individuals who influence alcohol control policies, including prevention efforts at <UNIVERSITY NAME>? PROBE: Is influence in a positive or negative direction? Is intensity for that direction high or low?

_____"Student pushback" against alcohol control parties sometimes influences the specific actions campus leaders are willing to take to implement alcohol policies. For example, a leader may be concerned about negative media coverage if students label a policy as unreasonable; or may be concerned that enrollments and revenue could be compromised if the campus gets a reputation as not being a fun. Does "student pushback" have any influence on how alcohol policies or their implementation and enforcement at <UNIVERSITY NAME>? PROBE: Do you think <UNIVERSITY NAME> would do more if "student pushback" was not a concern?

_____How do resources influence what leaders at <UNIVERSITY NAME> do – or don't do – with regard to alcohol control policies? PROBE: Explore human resources, financial resources, time constraints, other institutional priorities and objectives.

_____Do you believe the state and federal regulatory environment (for example, the BHE "zero tolerance" alcohol policy, Clery reporting, the campus SAVE act, OCR guidance on Title IX) have influenced campus efforts to implement alcohol control policies? PROBES: Why or Why not? How?

_____Can you describe any situations where you know - or suspect - that certain alcohol control policies aren't enforced consistently, aren't seen as legitimate by students, or which lack accountability systems?

d. Student Support for Alcohol Control Policies

As part of this research study I completed a survey of students to learn about their level of support for a various alcohol control policies which may or may not be in place at <UNIVERSITY NAME>. I also surveyed staff members for feedback on student support for policies. I wanted to ask you for your reaction and insight related to some of my findings from the surveys

_____How do you estimate student support for alcohol control policies at <UNIVERSITY NAME>? PROBE: What other ways do you think other administrative leaders might estimate student support for alcohol control policies?

_____<INSERT SURVEY QUESTION DATA> Are there any insights or observations on this finding you would be willing to share?

_____<INSERT SURVEY QUESTION DATA> Do you have any thoughts on this finding?

_____<INSERT SURVEY QUESTION DATA> Do you think there would be any change in support for implementation and enforcement if this finding was well known by administrative leaders?

_____<INSERT SURVEY QUESTION DATA> How would students react to this finding? PROBE: Would you project this finding, if widely known, might influence student behavior in any way?

D. Close

We are at the end of the interview and have run out of time. As a reminder, I will absolutely keep your responses strictly anonymous outside of the research team. It was nice to meet you and I greatly appreciate your participation.

Thank you and enjoy the rest of your day/evening!

APPENDIX J

CASE STUDY THEME CODEBOOK

Table J1

Three Level Theme Codebook

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework Themes			
Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Theme
1.00			Implementation Clearances and Delays
	1.10		Simultaneous Commitment to Other Issues or Programs
	1.20		Incompatibility with Other Commitments
	1.30		Agreement with Lack of Power/Resources
	1.40		No Incompatibility But Preference for Other Programs
	1.50		Perspectives on Resources
	1.55		Dependence on Others with Lack of Urgency
	1.60		Pre-Conditioning
	1.70		Increase in Urgency Due to Critical Incident
	1.80		Blocking Behavior
2.00			Evidence of Transformative Change Initiatives
	2.10		Current Change Initiatives
		2.11	Urgency
		2.12	Guiding Coalition
		2.13	Develop Change Vision and Strategy
		2.14	Communicate Change Vision
		2.15	Empower People to Make Change
		2.16	Create Short Term Wins

		2.17	Consolidate Gains and Create More Change
		2.18	Anchor Change in Culture
	2.20		Past Change Initiatives
		2.21	Urgency
		2.22	Guiding Coalition
		2.23	Develop Change Vision and Strategy
		2.24	Communicate Change Vision
		2.25	Empower People to Make Change
		2.26	Create Short Term Wins
		2.27	Consolidate Gains and Create More Change
		2.28	Anchor Change in Culture/Perceptions of Change in Culture
	2.30		Critical Incidents
		2.31	Past Critical Incidents Shared
		2.32	Ongoing Critical Incidents
		2.34	Influence of Critical Incidents
	2.70		Critical Incidents
		7.10	Past Critical Incidents Shared
		7.20	Ongoing Critical Incidents
		7.30	Influence of Critical Incidents
Emergent Themes			
Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Theme
3.00			Unique Campus Context and Drinking Culture and Expectancies
	3.10		Events that Perpetuate Drinking Culture

		3.11	Homecoming/Tailgating
		3.12	Spring Fest
		3.12	Campus Pub/Ratskellar
		3.13	Other Events that Perpetuate Drinking Culture
	3.20		Influences on Campus Drinking Culture
	3.30		Campus Drinking Culture Beliefs/Attitudes
	3.40		Alcohol Industry/Marketing
	3.50		Campus Drinking Culture Behaviors
	3.60		External Environment
		3.61	Places
		3.62	Off-Campus Student Apartments/Houses
		3.63	Bars/Clubs
		3.64	Events
		3.65	Nearby Campuses
		3.66	Fraternity Houses
		3.67	Town-Gown Factors
	3.70		Enrollment Related Influences
		3.71	Student Demographics
		3.72	Financial/Budgetary Impacts
		3.73	Admissions Related
4.00			Executive Leadership
	4.10		Conflicting Organizational Interests or Values
	4.20		Perceived Lack of Executive Support
	4.30		Perceived Executive Support

	4.40		State Governance Leadership
		4.41	Alcohol Policy Saliency
		4.42	System-Wide Alcohol Policy Compliance
		4.43	Perceptions of System-Wide Policy Impact
5.00			Sensemaking and Professional Values
	5.10		Sensemaking and Moral/Ethical Challenges
		5.11	Student Safety
		5.12	Professional Standards/Values
		5.13	Reflections on Meaningful Work Experiences
	5.20		Programming to Support Student Success
	5.30		Role Expectancies
	5.40		Influencers of Alcohol-Control Policies
	5.50		Complacency
	5.60		Self-Limiting Roles
	5.70		Pushback and Challenges to Support
		5.71	Communicated Student Pushback
		5.72	Other Sources of Pushback
		5.73	Covert Forms of Student Pushback

Table J2

Demographic and Interview Question Codes

Code	Question Type
D	Demographic Questions
D1	How long have you worked at university?
D2	What is your title?
D3	What other positions and/or related work experience?
D4	Age in years?
Q	Interview Question Category
Q1	Drinking attitudes and behavior
Q2	Awareness of any key events that has influenced either campus drinking culture or alcohol policy
Q3	System-Wide alcohol policy
Q4	Level of attention is given to the reduction of excessive student drinking
Q5	Sense of urgency toward reducing excessive student drinking
Q6	Interest and strength of attention on alcohol control policies by the trustees, president, and vice presidents
Q7	Are there any coalitions or collaborations working closely on implementation of alcohol control policies? Probe: Are there on-campus/off-campus coalitions?
Q8	Articulated vision or strategies for reducing excessive student drinking
Q9	Policies/programs aimed at reducing excessive that are working/promising
Q10	Who are the groups or individuals who influence alcohol control policies and prevention efforts
Q11	"Student pushback" against alcohol control parties?
Q12	How do resources influence what leaders do – or don't do – with regard to alcohol control policies?
Q13	State and federal regulatory environment influence on alcohol control policies
Q14	Situations where you know - or suspect - that certain alcohol control policies aren't enforced consistently, aren't seen as legitimate by students, or which lack accountability systems
Q15	How do you estimate student support for alcohol control policies?
Q16	Questions related to student level of support for various alcohol control policies

APPENDIX K

STUDENT SUPPORT FOR ALCOHOL-CONTROL POLICIES

Table K1

Atlantic University Alcohol-Control Measure Support by Students and Staff Estimates of Student Support

Alcohol-Control Measures	Student support %	Staff estimate	Diff.
Restrict the number of drinks an individual can purchase at an establishment to one per hour	96.51	76.25	20.26
Consistent enforcement of alcohol policies by RAs in campus residence halls	95.46	70.00	25.46
Use of portable breathalyzer to objectively assess intoxication by campus police on campus grounds and at campus events	94.20	71.25	22.95
Impose serious sanctions for the use or possession of false IDs	93.44	75.00	18.44
Holding hosts accountable for serving or allowing underage drinking at their place of residence	93.33	67.50	25.83
Require residence halls to have a single point of entry monitored by security staff 24 hours a day	90.22	72.50	17.72
Increase enforcement of laws related to operating vehicles under the influence (DUI laws)	86.47	58.75	27.72
Motor vehicle sobriety check points in the area of the campus by local or state police	85.99	59.38	26.61
Consistent enforcement of alcohol policies by campus police on campus grounds and at campus events	81.88	58.75	23.13
Restrict advertising on campus which promotes drinking and/or alcoholic beverage sales	72.81	45.00	27.81
Consistent enforcement of alcohol laws by local police off campus	69.77	47.50	22.27
Prohibiting local bars and liquor stores from targeting college students with low price promotions	68.94	37.50	31.44
Use of undercover agents to hold liquor stores and bars accountable for selling alcohol to minors	68.84	53.75	15.09
Require that security staff at residence hall entry check all bags or refuse bag entry	68.43	56.25	12.18
Requiring bartenders and servers both on and off campus to be trained in responsible beverage service, including "shutting off" service to intoxicated individuals	65.87	27.63	38.24
Impose sanctions through the student conduct system for off campus houses/apartments who host parties requiring police response	64.76	57.50	17.26
Increase alcohol and drug prevention specialist staffing to educate the community, increase awareness, and work to effect change in campus culture and reduce excessive drinking.	62.04	57.50	4.54
Impose more serious sanctions through the student conduct system for students found responsible for alcohol policy violations on campus	60.46	39.38	21.08
Increase treatment services to better support students with diagnosed alcohol abuse or dependence	58.25	55.00	3.25

Table K1 Continued

Alcohol-Control Measures	Student support %	Staff estimate	Diff.
Require that security staff check bag checks at entry to athletic venues, concerts, dances or similar campus events	52.00	42.50	9.50
University notification to parent/guardian of students <u>under 21</u> who violate alcohol laws or university alcohol policies	49.82	51.88	-2.06
Stronger enforcement of laws and ordinances by local police at off campus businesses and residences	49.82	27.50	22.32
Require that intoxicated individuals responded to by police or emergency personnel later receive alcohol abuse/dependence evaluation and educational intervention	47.29	44.75	2.54
Require that incoming first year students complete an on-line course on alcohol prior to starting classes.	46.88	46.88	0.00
Actively promote alternative transportation including taxis and public transportation	46.00	37.25	8.75
Increase the number of university police officers on patrol during peak evenings	44.94	45.00	-0.06
Providing bystander training so students can better help others experiencing drinking related difficulties	44.82	30.63	14.19
Increased consequences/sanctions for students who repeatedly violate campus alcohol policies	44.80	31.25	13.55
Enact medical amnesty policies so intoxicated individuals and their friends who initiate calls for assistance may be more inclined to request medical attention	43.72	34.38	9.34
Impose sanctions through the student conduct system for off campus houses/apartments who host parties requiring police response	64.76	57.50	17.26
Stronger enforcement of alcohol policies by university security personnel	42.14	24.50	17.64
Prohibit a student suspended for alcohol policy violations at another ▮▮▮▮▮ state university from transferring into my University until after the suspension period is served.	41.25	43.75	-2.50
Colleges and universities should aggressively promote designated driver programs	40.24	31.25	8.99
Increase student awareness of the legal consequences and liability associated with excessive drinking behavior	34.77	55.63	-20.86

Note. a Percentage of student respondents who support or strongly support alcohol-control measure. b Percentage of student support for measure as estimated by staff survey respondents. Diff. represents the differential between student reported support and staff estimate of student support.

Table K2

Western University Alcohol-Control Measure Support by Students and Staff Estimates of Student Support

Alcohol-Control Measures	Student support %[a]	Staff estimate[b]	Diff.
Requiring bartenders and servers both on and off campus to be trained in responsible beverage service, including "shutting off" service to intoxicated individuals	97.07	36.20	60.87
Increase enforcement of laws related to operating vehicles under the influence (DUI laws)	93.70	54.00	39.70
Actively promote alternative transportation including taxis and public transportation	92.44	64.00	28.44
Colleges and universities should aggressively promote designated driver programs	91.71	58.00	33.71
Increase treatment services to better support students with diagnosed alcohol abuse or dependence	91.40	51.00	40.40
Enact medical amnesty policies so intoxicated individuals and their friends who initiate calls for assistance may be more inclined to request medical attention	86.98	67.80	19.18
Increase student awareness of the legal consequences and liability associated with excessive drinking behavior	85.57	42.50	43.07
Providing bystander training so students can better help others experiencing drinking related difficulties	82.44	53.00	29.44
Require that incoming first year students complete an on-line course on alcohol prior to starting classes.	81.42	49.50	31.92
Increase alcohol and drug prevention specialist staffing to educate the community, increase awareness, and work to effect change in campus culture and reduce excessive drinking.	80.93	36.50	44.43
Motor vehicle sobriety check points in the area of the campus by local or state police	74.45	42.50	31.95
Consistent enforcement of alcohol laws by local police off campus	67.15	36.50	30.65
Require that intoxicated individuals responded to by police or emergency personnel later receive alcohol abuse/dependence evaluation and educational intervention	66.18	41.50	24.68
Increased consequences/sanctions for students who repeatedly violate campus alcohol policies	65.20	36.20	29.00
Restrict advertising on campus which promotes drinking and/or alcoholic beverage sales	61.02	22.50	38.52
Consistent enforcement of alcohol policies by campus police on campus grounds and at campus events	60.83	47.50	13.33
Increase the number of university police officers on patrol during peak evenings	58.62	44.50	14.12
Holding hosts accountable for serving or allowing underage drinking at their place of residence	57.07	27.50	29.57
Consistent enforcement of alcohol policies by RAs in campus residence halls	55.83	48.00	7.83

Table K2 Continued

Alcohol-Control Measures	Student support %[a]	Staff estimate[b]	Diff.
Impose serious sanctions for the use or possession of false IDs	50.97	28.50	22.47
Stronger enforcement of laws and ordinances by local police at off campus businesses and residences	50.49	33.50	16.99
Use of undercover agents to hold liquor stores and bars accountable for selling alcohol to minors	45.48	24.00	21.48
Prohibit a student suspended for alcohol policy violations at another ▓▓▓▓▓▓ state university from transferring into my University until after the suspension period is served.	45.23	20.50	24.73
Prohibiting local bars and liquor stores from targeting college students with low price promotions	44.79	20.50	24.29
Require that security staff check bag checks at entry to athletic venues, concerts, dances or similar campus events	44.36	25.00	19.36
Stronger enforcement of alcohol policies by university security personnel	39.66	29.50	10.16
Impose more serious sanctions through the student conduct system for students found responsible for alcohol policy violations on campus	38.78	23.00	15.78
Require that security staff at residence hall entry check all bags or refuse bag entry	38.48	31.00	7.48
Restrict the number of drinks an individual can purchase at an establishment to one per hour	38.01	25.30	12.71
University notification to parent/guardian of students under 21 who violate alcohol laws or university alcohol policies	37.16	26.50	10.66
Use of portable breathalyzer to objectively assess intoxication by campus police on campus grounds and at campus events	35.04	31.30	3.74
Impose sanctions through the student conduct system for off campus houses/apartments who host parties requiring police response	33.66	25.00	8.66
Require residence halls to have a single point of entry monitored by security staff 24 hours a day	27.43	47.50	-20.07
Requiring bartenders and servers both on and off campus to be trained in responsible beverage service, including "shutting off" service to intoxicated individuals	97.07	36.20	60.87
Increase enforcement of laws related to operating vehicles under the influence (DUI laws)	93.70	54.00	39.70
Actively promote alternative transportation including taxis and public transportation	92.44	64.00	28.44

Note. [a] Percentage of student respondents who support or strongly support alcohol-control measure.
[b] Percentage of student support for measure as estimated by staff survey respondents. Diff. represents the differential between student reported support and staff estimate of student support.

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