

NARRATIVE OF THE NIGHT-OUT: STUDENT ENGAGEMENT IN THE NIGHT TIME ECONOMY OF KINGSTON UPON THAMES

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Funding Acknowledgement

This research programme was part-funded by Kingston Town Centre Management Ltd (Kingstonfirst) and its stakeholders.

Declaration of conflicting Interests

The authors declare no potential conflicts of interest with regard to research authorship and/or publication of the article.

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Abstract

In the past twenty years the number of people drinking alcohol in the UK has fallen; the average level of consumption has also declined. Meanwhile, a shift in expenditure and preferred drinking venues has been noted among young people in particular: from ‘pub-club’ to ‘home-pub-club’, with connotations of ‘pre-loading’, binge-drinking and intoxication. In response, The Department of Health has reviewed its guidelines on safe drinking. This study focuses on the self-reported drinking behaviour of 604 Kingston University students during a recent night-out. The narrative is set within the policy context and management of the local night time economy. Evidence from the online survey revealed differences by gender and ethnicity in ‘pre-loading practices’, travel behaviour, the pattern and timing of visits to licensed town centre venues, expenditure on alcohol (pre-loaded and venue-based) and preferred brands. Units of alcohol consumed and travel patterns are related to perceptions of personal safety, experiences of victimisation and use of support services in the night-time economy.

Key words

Night-time economy; student drinking; pre-loading alcohol; fear of crime; town centre management

INTRODUCTION

The culture of alcohol consumption in the United Kingdom has changed markedly over the past twenty years (Local Authority Public Health Observatory, 2011; HM Government, 2012; Office for National Statistics, 2014). In the period 2004 to 2013, for instance, the proportion of males drinking alcohol has fallen from 72% to 64%; and for females from 57% to 52% (Health and Social Care Information Centre, 2015). In parallel, the mean annual consumption of those aged over 16 years has reduced from 11.6 litres to 9.4 litres (Alcohol Concern, 2016a). Meanwhile, alcoholic drinks have become more affordable and accessible, and many have a higher alcohol content (Alcohol Concern, 2016b). The balance struck in alcohol consumption between home and licensed venue has also changed: sales for home consumption have increased from one-half in 2000 to two-thirds in 2016 (Department of Health, 2016, para 136). In real terms, too, between 2009 and 2012 household spending on alcoholic drinks increased by 1.3%, whilst spending on alcohol consumed outside the home fell by 9.8% (Health and Social Care Information Centre, 2015). These trends probably underpin the growing practice of “pre-loading” with alcohol: consuming alcohol at a residence before visiting licenced premises. For many young people there has been a shift in expenditure and preferred drinking venue from ‘pub-club’ to ‘home-pub-club’ with connotations of binge-drinking, intoxication and adverse alcohol-related consequences (Barton and Husk, 2012). In response to these trends, in January 2016 The Department of Health revised its guidelines on safe drinking to recommend a weekly limit of 14 units of alcohol, ideally spread over more than three days (Department of Health, 2016, para 25). Even at that level, however, 14% of men and 12% of women still exceed, threefold, the advised daily rate set at four units for men and three for women (Alcohol Concern, 2016a).

Excessive alcohol consumption significantly impacts on health care services, crime rates and lost workdays, which in 2015 cost the nation an estimated £21bn (Office for National Statistics, 2015, 2016; Alcohol Concern, 2016a). This study connects with these issues. It focuses on the characteristics of the most recent night out taken by students at Kingston University, London, and examines their drinking behaviour, spending priorities and movements between licensed venues, examining two main consumption settings: pre-loading alcohol at home (or elsewhere); and venue-based consumption. The narrative is set within the policy context of the night time economy and local strategies for its management: the Kingston Alcohol Strategy and Safer Kingston Strategic Plan. This leads to an interpretation of student experiences in the town centre environment and examines the implications for personal security (Hughes, 2011).

Kingston upon Thames (population 170,000 in 2014) supports the third largest night-time economy in London (Glasson, 2003). The town centre has 23 licensed premises (including 5 nightclubs) with permitted drinking spaces for around 14,000 persons, numerous Thames-side restaurants, a 14 screen cinema, 16 lane mega-bowl and theatre. Until the small hours, scheduled train services and a dense network of bus routes (8 of which operate on a 24-hour timetable) connect this 'urban playscape' with neighbouring boroughs and central London (Chatterton, 1999; Chatterton and Hollands, 2002; 2003). In this setting, Kingston University's contribution to the vitality of the night-time economy demands recognition (Glasson, 2003; Smith, 2003). In 2014/2015 the institution injected an estimated £114m into the local economy and created 2284 jobs (Biggar Economics, 2016). In parallel, the 23,000 students (81% full-time; 50% BME; 39% borough residents) added £71m and 1471 jobs. In that context, Kingston University's *One Kingston Strategy* has grown the proportion of BME students from 46% in 2003/2004 and steadily enriched cultural diversity in the night-time scene (Kingston University, 2012; 2016). Meanwhile, the concentration of students living in halls of residence and privately-rented housing in the town centre wards has sustained business provision and impacted on styles of policing and the delivery of night-time services (Gill, 2002; Munro and Livingston, 2012; Smith, Sage and Balsdon, 2014). In 2010, *Kingstonfirst* (Kingston Town Centre Management Ltd; founded in 2004 to run Kingston's Business Improvement District), was awarded 'Purple Flag Status' in recognition of its excellence in night-time management.

PROJECT AIMS AND RESPONDENT PROFILE

The retrospective (pilot-tested) survey of student drinking behaviour was administered online between June 2014 and April 2015. It aimed to profile students by: gender, ethnicity and home location; travel behaviour; the pattern and timing of visits to licensed town centre venues; expenditure on alcohol (pre-loaded and venue-based); identify preferred brand(s) of alcohol; assess the relative cost, strength and quantity of 'pre-loaded' alcohol; and interpret students' pre-loading behaviour with regard to supply-chain characteristics, venues for consumption and related social experiences. In total, 604 University students (212 males and 392 females) returned online questionnaires. The sample included a subset of 201 students who completed the questionnaire in supervised workshop sessions. This cohort provided invaluable explanations of drinking behaviour and insights into personal security issues in the town centre environment.

Data were captured by *Qualtrics* and converted into a SPSS file for analysis. The database was comprised of 83% undergraduate (male 35%; female 65%) and 17% postgraduate (male 38%; female 62%) students. It covered a range of ethnicities: 64% (70% males; 61% females) self-reported as White or White British; 14% (9% males; 17% females) had Asian or Asian British

backgrounds; and equal proportions of each sex were Black or Black British (8%), and of mixed ethnicity (7%). Ethnic diversity reflects on participation rates in the night time economy. Whilst in the previous month, 91% of males and females had visited a town centre bar or pub, participation by White British students (97%) was greater than by BME students (81%). Patronage of nightclubs was marginally lower (84% male; 79% female); correspondingly, the engagement of BME males (81%) and females (75%) in the club scene was reduced. Local residence, too, encouraged participation in the night time scene: 35% of male and 34% of female students came from the KT1/KT2 postcodes covering the Royal Borough; a further 40% of male and 57% of female students lived in adjacent boroughs. Importantly, one third (35% males; 37% females) resided in a University Hall of Residence within 3km of the town centre, a situation that impacted favourably on group identity, participation rates in the night time economy and choice of travel mode.

STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT OF ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION IN KINGSTON

By convention, the strength of an alcoholic drink is measured in units equivalent to 10 ml or 8 g of pure ethanol. Published guidelines cover the type and strength of representative drinks (Drinkaware, 2016). In Kingston borough, it is estimated that alcohol consumption already exceeds the national average: published data show that 85% of the adult population consumed alcohol, 33% at levels that could result in harm (North West Public Health Observatory, 2012). Moreover, binge drinking (normally defined as the consumption of at least 8 units of alcohol by men and 6 by women in one session) is practised by 16% of adults, in contrast to 14% in London and 20% in England (Royal Borough of Kingston upon Thames, 2014a, Table 3.3). The Kingston Alcohol Strategy, aligned to the Government Alcohol Strategy (2012), aims to manage these local and harmful impacts of excessive drinking. It provides clear public health information and advice about responsible drinking; protecting individuals and communities from alcohol-related crime and anti-social behaviour; improving treatment and support to those directly and indirectly affected by the problems of alcohol misuse; and ensuring that the potential for alcohol-related harm is considered as part of future planning and development processes in Kingston (Gant, 2004; Royal Borough of Kingston upon Thames 2014b). Management policies for the night time economy in Kingston Town Centre (Grove Ward) have fused these aims which envelop the objectives set for the Safer Kingston Strategy.

Kingston remains one of the safest boroughs in London. The Safer Kingston Strategic Partnership is committed to supporting *“a strong and vibrant night time economy to underpin Kingston’s reputation as a town where people can feel safe and enjoy themselves”* (Royal Borough of Kingston upon Thames, 2014c, para 78). Framed by the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014, the Strategic Partnership has prepared a bespoke action plan to meet its priorities of reducing crime, disorder and substance misuse (Royal Borough of Kingston upon Thames, 2014c, Section D, 9). The town centre dimension of the strategy includes: proactive policing; marshalled taxi ranks and minicab kiosks; Best BAR None Schemes; the Behave or Be Banned “Red Card Scheme”; Scan-net ID Scheme in the principal nightclubs and pubs; deployment of drugs dogs; and Street Pastors. Introduction of a Designated Public Places Order (DPPO) that covers part of the town centre is designed to strengthen police powers whenever the anti-social consumption of alcohol becomes significant. Liaison with Kingston University and Kingston College forms part of the crime and anti-social behaviour management process.

The growing tendency for people to consume more alcohol at home and before visiting town centre venues challenges policies of law enforcement and healthcare (Penny and Armstrong-Hallam, 2010; Foster and Ferguson, 2014). Evidence confirms that pre-loading (pre-drinking, pre-

lash, pre-partying, front-loading, pre-gaming, prinking) alcohol is associated with higher levels of consumption, intoxication and health risk (Holloway *et al.* 2008; Foster *et al.* 2010; Barrie, 2012). Indeed, some groups of young(er) people binge-drink, mix different types of drinks, engage in *speed drinking* and play alcohol-fuelled party games (Seaman and Ikegwuonu, 2010; Boggan, 2011; Quig, *et al.*, 2011; McClatchley *et al.* 2014). Stakeholders at the Kingston Alcohol Summit in March 2012 acknowledged this situation and called for research into the pre-loading practices of young people in the borough (NHS South West London, 2012). This study responds to that challenge. It investigates the drinking culture(s) of University students in a place-based narrative of night-time consumption (Engineer, *et al.* 2003; Hammersley and Ditton, 2005; Ritchie *et al.* 2009). Analysis connects the practice(s) of pre-loading alcohol with later drinking episodes mediated by gender and ethnicity, and personal concerns over safety in the night-time economy.

NARRATIVE OF A STUDENT NIGHT OUT

The pre-loading phase

Fifty-nine percent of students (males 57%; females 61%) had pre-loaded alcohol before visiting town centre venues. This was mainly at home or at the home of a friend. A few students admitted to pre-loading alcohol in public open spaces and on public transport, although this practice is more common in the Summer months. Students who pre-loaded alcohol consumed on average 7.1 units (s.d. 4.4 units). Males (mean 8.1 units; s.d. 4.4 units) drank more than females (mean 6.6 units; s.d. 4.1 units) at this stage in the night-out (see Figure 1a). At the point of leaving home to continue drinking in a town centre venue, 47% of males and 56% of females had exceeded the threshold set for binge drinking - at least 8 units of alcohol for men and 6 units for women (Alcohol Concern, 2016a). Respondents favoured: spirit-based drinks (51% had taken at least one 'shot'); wine (26%); beer (24%); and cider (18%) sourced mainly from a nearby supermarket. Although rates of pre-loading were comparable across University Faculties and ethnic backgrounds, they decreased with level of study: first-year students (71%); third-year students (54%) and postgraduates (39%).

[Figure 1 approximately here]

Three-quarters who had pre-loaded alcohol justified the practice. The primary reason given was the cost of alcohol in town centre venues. A significant minority alluded to the importance of socialising and 'chilling' with friends and sports team members. Some aimed to prepare, psychologically, for the upcoming 'hurly burly' of the nightclub scene (Hughes, Anderson, Morleo and Bellis, 2008; Addaction, 2012). Table 1 illustrates these themes against student profile and units consumed.

[Table 1 approximately here]

Drinking in town centre venues

Accessibility to town centre venues influences student participation in the night time economy: 59% (56% males; 63% females) visited one licensed venue whilst 15% (17% males; 14% females) had patronised at least three. The majority had walked (56% males; 49% females) or used local bus services (37% males; 36% females) and arrived in a steady stream between 1800hrs and 2300hrs, mainly in (mixed-sex) groups averaging seven members. These travel preferences were replicated for the homeward journey which reached its peak after 0200hrs. For reasons of convenience and

safety, however, the proportion of males using (shared) taxis increased from 9% to 12%, and females from 17% to 24%.

Knowledge of the pattern and volume of movements between licensed venues is important for managing the night-time economy and the deployment of police resources. At weekends (and Wednesday evening 'student nights') 25% of students had targeted two main nightclubs: some travelled directly from home or hall of residence (with a measure of pre-loading); others, *en route*, had visited a riverside or local bar/pub. The Student Union Bar featured prominently as a primary drinking venue. For many students, it was the starting point for onward movement to boisterous town centre bars and pubs. During the week, students typically aimed for a 'quiet night' and frequented 'locals' closer to halls of residence or the Thames riverfront.

By far the most popular alcoholic drinks taken in town centre venues were spirit-based: 55% of students reported 'downing' at least one 'shot'; 27% strong beer/lager; 15% weaker beer/lager; and 13% wine. Students consumed, on average, 6.3 units of alcohol on licensed premises. Males (mean 7.6 units; s.d. 5.1 units) drank more than females (mean 5.6 units; s.d. 4.3 units) (See Figure 1b). 'Partying to excess' at celebratory occasions explains why a few students claimed to have consumed in excess of 30 units. Significantly and because of the higher prices charged for alcoholic drinks in nightclub, 19% of students who had pre-loaded alcohol (predominantly females) then changed to a diet of soft drinks or water to reduce expenditure.

At departure for home, the combined intake of pre-loaded and venue-based alcohol averaged 10 units (s.d. 6.6 units) (see Figure 1c). The total consumption by males (mean 11.3 units; s.d. 6.8 units) exceeded that for females (mean 9.3 units; s.d. 6.3 units). Overall, 70% of males and 67% of females had exceeded the threshold for binge drinking set at 8 units for men and 6 for women. It is known, however, that on returning home some students 'post-loaded' even more alcohol. This practice normally involved emptying bottles and cans remaining from the preloading stage whilst listening to music and reviewing the night's events.

Expenditure: pattern and choice

During the last night-out in Kingston town centre, students had spent a total of £15,547: an average per capita spend of £25.74 (males £26.57; females £25.31) (see Table 2). The main components in expenditure were: alcohol 59% (pre-loaded 17%; venue-based 42%); food (15%); entrance fees (8%); and transport (7%). Residual expenditure comprised: other items (4%); non-alcoholic drinks (4%); and sundries (3%) including cigarettes, illicit drugs and playing gaming machines. There is variation, however, in the numbers spending in each category: these reduced from 85% purchasing alcohol in venues and 42% buying alcohol for a preloading session to less than 10% purchasing illicit drugs, cigarettes and gambling. It is significant, however, that 19% of students had bought non-alcoholic drinks at some point during the night-out.

[Table 2 approximately here]

Key differences in spending are evident by gender and ethnicity. Males, on average, spent more than females on alcohol (males £14.47; females £11.94) and food (males £15.06; females £7.97). In contrast, females who preloaded alcohol spent appreciably more than males (females £11.20; males £9.46). Gender differences in spending are reinforced by ethnicity. BME males, on average, spent more than white males on pre-loaded alcohol (BME £14.65; white £8.27) and non-alcoholic drinks (BME £6.25; white £3.29), whilst spending by white males exceeded BME males on 'other

items' (white £12.00; BME £1.02). Average spends for White and BME females contrasted in two domains: firstly, food spending (BME £11.53; white £5.19) including inexpensive restaurant meals, purchases of 'takeaways' from fixed premises and snacks bought from mobile vendors at the end of the night-out; and, secondly, 'other items' (BME £6.03; white £2.22).

CONCERNS OVER PERSONAL SAFETY

In the UK more people under the age of 25 years self-report as getting drunk than any other age group (Matthews and Richardson, 2005). Such behaviour increases the risk of becoming a victim of crime (Institute of Alcohol Studies, 2010; Chaplin, Flatly and Smith, 2011). Concerns over personal safety in Kingston, however, are not justified by the reported levels of crime and anti-social behaviour (Jackson, 2006; Lee, 2009). However, some Kingston University students still worry about the prospect of drink-fuelled intimidation by strangers and anti-social behaviour during the night out (Gant and Towers, 2011; 2012; 2013). These perceptions restrict freedom of local movement and choice of activities during the hours of darkness, especially at weekends. Consequently, the online survey investigated student experiences of on-street and venue-based crime and anti-social behaviour and reviewed personal engagement with night-time support services.

Street- and venue-based experiences

From the perspective of town centre management, and customer allegiance, it is important to register that in the preceding six months 47% of University students (49% males; 46% females) had neither witnessed nor been affected by one of the eight safety concerns itemised in Table 3. Reporting rates were consistent across the ethnicities represented (see Table 3). Whilst one-third (males 35%, females 31%) had witnessed a live fight in Kingston town centre, only 10% of men and 8% of women had been directly involved. In addition, 7% (6% males; 8% females) claimed to have been the victim of theft, including a higher proportion of BME females (11%). Far more disturbing, for both sexes, was the incidence of unwanted sexual attention. This impacted on a quarter of students (33% females; 9% males) and is unrelated to self-reported levels of inebriation. Females from Black/Black British and Asian backgrounds were especially vulnerable. They were often the targets of verbal abuse. Significantly, too, 15% of students (14% male; 16% female) claimed to have suffered a night-time injury during the past six months. Few students explained how this had occurred. Debriefing in workshop sessions, however, confirmed that some had fallen or tripped and that personal injury was rarely the direct result of stranger-violence.

[Table 3 approximately here]

Students generally felt safe in town centre streets and open spaces at night: only 5% of males and 7% of females claimed to feel either 'fairly' or 'very' unsafe. Feelings of insecurity, however, were greatest in nightclubs where 10% of males and 20% females claimed to have felt at least 'unsafe'. These proportions reduced to 6% of males and 7% of females in bars and pubs. Feelings of insecurity were not directly associated with the excessive consumption of alcohol: only one fifth of male and female students consuming at least 14 units of alcohol claimed to be 'fairly' or 'very' unsafe in these environments. Women from Asian and Chinese backgrounds, however, disclosed higher levels of insecurity when visiting town centre venues.

Partnership working between *Kingstonfirst*, the police, ambulance and paramedic services and street pastors provides a safety net for night-time visitors. In the previous six months 24% of males

and 19% of females had engaged with at least one support service. This normally involved a casual conversation; contact, for a minority, focused on a personal injury, involved a police reprimand for anti-social behaviour or advice from a marshall coordinating late night taxi queues.

Alcohol intake and personal vulnerability

Heavy drinking during a night-out can impact on short-term human memory and impair motor functions leading to a loss of personal control and increased vulnerability. As a consequence of inebriation, at the end of a night-out in Kingston 18% of male and 17% of female students self-reported great difficulty in walking. Fortunately, the majority had compensated for personal deficiencies by socialising in groups. Self-reported difficulty in recalling events from the previous night provides a further measure of inadequate self-control. Here, the pattern of response on a five point scale was consistent across genders and ethnicities: 55% of males and 53% of females claimed to have been unaffected; in contrast, 16% of males and 18% of females reported levels of confusion and memory loss scored at the two highest points on the scale.

[Table 4 approximately here]

Pre-loading alcohol correlates with higher levels of night time drinking. It also translates into heightened perceptions of personal insecurity and the reality of victimisation. Table 4 shows that proportionately more males who had pre-loaded alcohol (42%) had witnessed a fight; more seriously, 10% had suffered an injury. Females who had pre-loaded alcohol, in contrast, were more heavily victimised: 38% had attracted unwanted sexual attention; 35% had witnessed a fight; 22% claimed to have been too drunk to walk; 22% had suffered an injury; and 15% had been approached to buy drugs. These rates of reported victimisation exceeded those of women who had not pre-loaded alcohol.

AND TO THE FUTURE

Kingston town centre provides a relatively safe and carefully-regulated environment for night-time recreation. Town centre management and policing provide a visible presence of control and security. This study adds to the burgeoning literature on geographies of the urban night (Talbot, 2004, 2007; Roberts, 2007; van Liempt, van Aaist and Schwanen, 2014). It affirms that Kingston University students contribute greatly to the economic viability and cultural diversity of the town centre and its businesses (Smith, Sage, and Balsdon 2014). Its focus on a narrative of the student night-out develops the understanding of journey-to-drink movements, drinking preferences, spending patterns and perceptions of personal security. By deconstructing levels of alcohol consumption at stages in the night-out by gender and ethnicity, it builds on qualitative evidence to interpret student actions and intentions. In a wider sense, too, the narrative can inform the policies set for partners in town centre management and the operations of the police, ambulance service and local authority. Baseline evidence, moreover, can help local stakeholders work towards the government expectation that universities play a key role in guiding students to understand and act upon the excessive consumption of alcohol in the recreational spaces provided by transformations in the night-time economy. (HM Government, 2012, 5.11).

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FIGURE AND TABLES

Figure 1

Amount of alcohol consumed (UK units) by men and women at different stages of the evening (N=604). Fig. 1a: Alcohol consumed during preloading; Fig. 1b: Alcohol consumed during time spent in the town centre; Fig. 1c: Total amount of alcohol consumed over the course of the evening (pre-loaded plus town centre consumption).

Table 1

Examples of verbatim comments from student respondents explaining why they “pre-loaded” with alcohol before going out

Table 2

Spending patterns during the night out, split by gender and category.

Table 3

Personal safety issues over the preceding 6 month period, split by gender and ethnicity

Table 4

Experiences of personal safety issues: relationship with pre-loading practices, split by gender

Figure 1a: Preloading

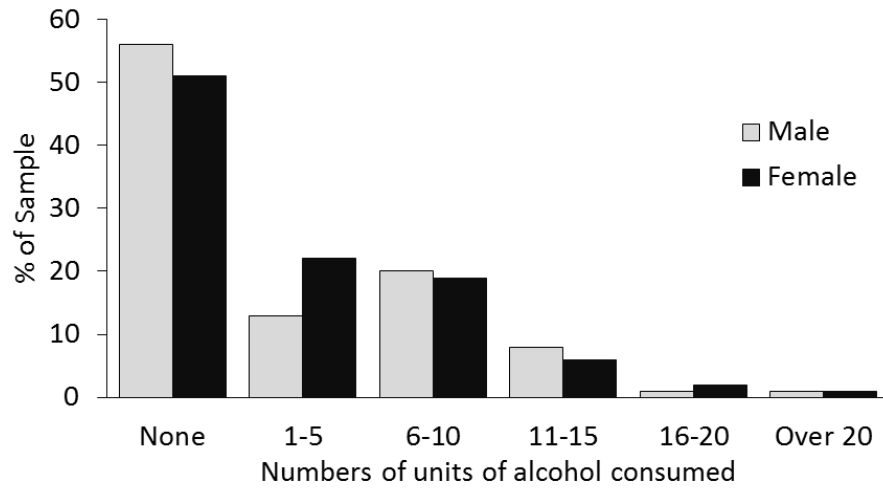


Figure 1b: Town Centre

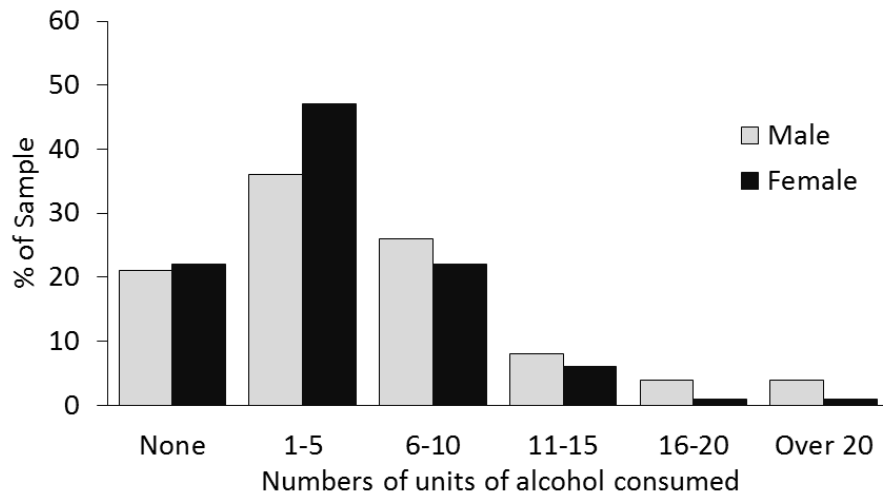


Figure 1c: Total consumed over the course of the night

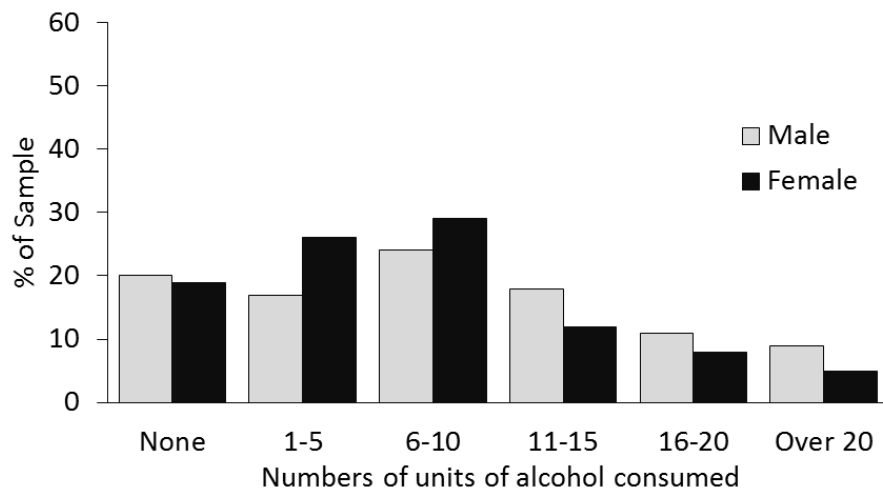


Table 1: Verbatim comments from students on the reasons for pre-loading alcohol

Male

“It’s a gathering of friends, and it is cheaper drinks than the clubs” (Male, aged 20, Bromley resident, Black British: pre-loaded 3 units, added 5 units)

“Pre-drinking is cheaper than drinking at a bar/pub/nightclub” (Male, aged 21, Kingston resident, White British: pre-loaded 4 units, added 5 units),

“Cheaper. Can go there drunk. Kingston isn’t great. It’s shitty actually” (Male, aged 21, New Malden resident, mixed ethnicity: pre-loaded 5 units, added 2 units)

“To get buzzed before going out. It’s a lot cheaper to get drunk at home than spending a lot in clubs who dilute the alcohol” (Male, aged 20, Kingston resident, White/British: pre-loaded 10 units, added 10 units)

“Too expensive to buy all drinks out. At home a large bottle of vodka - £15 + coke £2 - equate to 5/6 doubles (if you’re lucky!)” (Male, aged 22, Hampton resident, White/British: pre-loaded 13 units, added 12 units)

“To get pissed. It’s more fun than being sober” (Male aged 19, Kingston resident, Mixed ethnicity: pre-loaded 16 units, added 10 units)

Female

“To pre-party at a friend’s house before going out to a club” (Female, aged 24, Wimbledon resident, Asian or Asian British; pre-loaded 4 units, added 2 units)

“So when I get to the club I’m already in the party mood and it will take fewer drinks in the club to get me drunk” (Female, aged 20, Croydon resident, Black British: pre-loaded 3 units, added 5 units)

“It is social (sic) to have a drink with friends before going out. It’s my favourite part of a night out because you can chat before going into a noisy club.” (Female, aged 21, Kingston resident, White British: pre-loaded 3 units, added 6 units)

“It is cheaper to drink at home and go out later. It’s nice to drink at home because you can have a chat which is harder to do in pubs/clubs” (Female aged 20, Kingston resident, White British: pre-loaded 5 units, added 4 units)

“Alcohol can get expensive in clubs so it’s easier to buy a big bottle drink some before going out. It lasts a few weeks. Means I only spend £10 max on drinks out”. (Female, aged 20, Twickenham resident, Asian British: pre-loaded 6 units, added 10 units)

“I am in the women’s rugby team and every Wednesday we pre-drink as a tradition”. (Female, aged 20, Kingston resident, White British: pre-loaded 10 units, added 6 units)

Table 2**Spending patterns during the n**

Category of spending	All male students (N=212)				All female s	
	Total spend (£)	%	Spend/capita (£)	% making purchase	Total spend (£)	%
Alcohol (clubs/pubs)	2692	48	14.47	88	3928	40
Pre-loaded alcohol	861	15	9.46	43	1803	18
Food	934	17	15.06	29	1363	14
Entrance fees	336	6	5.25	30	933	9
Transport	293	5	5.75	24	815	8
Other items	115	2	1.95	28	289	3
Non-alcoholic drinks	121	2	4.65	12	443	4
Illicit drugs	150	3	30.00	2	160	2
Cigarettes	110	2	4.78	11	177	2
Gambling	13	0	3.25	2	11	0
Total	5625	100			9922	100

ight-out

tudents (N=392)		All students (N=604)			
Spend/capita (£)	% making purchase	Total spend (£)	%	Spend/capita (£)	% making purchase
11.94	84	6620	42	12.86	85
11.20	41	2664	17	10.57	42
7.97	44	2297	15	9.86	39
5.72	42	1269	8	5.59	38
5.86	35	1108	7	5.83	31
4.45	17	404	4	8.56	12
5.34	21	564	4	4.86	19
22.86	2	310	2	25.83	2
7.38	6	287	2	6.11	8
1.38	2	24	0	1.58	2
		15547	100	25.74	

Table 3**Personal safety issues gender and ethnicity**

Safety issue experienced in past six months	British/White British (N=149)		Males BME (N=63)		Total males (N=212)		British/White British (N=237)		Females BME (N=155)		Total females (N=392)		All students (N=604)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Involved in fight	13	9	9	14	22	10	10	4	20	13	30	8	52	9
Witnessed a fight	55	37	20	32	75	35	83	35	37	24	120	31	195	32
Victim of theft	9	6	4	6	13	6	15	6	17	11	32	8	45	7
Too drunk to walk	31	21	7	11	38	18	40	17	26	17	66	17	104	17
Suffered injury	25	17	4	6	29	14	36	15	27	17	63	16	92	15
Unwanted sexual attention	15	10	4	6	19	9	90	38	38	25	128	33	147	24
Excluded from lic. premises	18	12	7	11	25	12	21	9	14	9	35	9	60	10
Approached to buy drugs	27	18	6	10	33	16	28	12	16	10	44	11	77	13
None of the above	69	46	34	54	103	49	86	36	95	61	181	46	284	47

Table 4**Personal safety and pre-loading practice**

Safety issue experienced by students in the preceeding six months	<i>Males</i>						<i>Females</i>						<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Pre-loaded (N=121)</i>		<i>Not pre-loaded (N=91)</i>		<i>Total males (N=212)</i>		<i>Pre-loaded (N=237)</i>		<i>Not pre-loaded (N=155)</i>		<i>Total females (N=392)</i>		<i>All students (N=604)</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Involved in fight	14	12	8	10	22	10	23	10	7	5	30	8	52	9
Witnessed a fight	51	42	24	30	75	35	83	35	27	17	120	31	195	32
Victim of theft	7	6	6	7	13	6	26	11	6	4	32	8	45	7
Too drunk to walk	21	17	17	21	38	18	51	22	15	10	66	17	104	17
Suffered injury	19	16	10	12	29	14	52	22	11	7	63	16	92	15
Unwanted sexual attention	12	10	7	9	19	9	90	38	38	25	128	33	147	24
Excluded from lic. premises	14	12	11	14	25	12	27	11	8	5	35	9	60	10
Approached to buy drugs	21	17	12	15	33	16	36	15	8	5	44	11	77	13
None of the above	49	40	54	67	103	49	78	33	103	66	181	46	284	47