Why don't friends and relatives of underage drinkers comply with secondary supply laws in NSW?

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1. Executive summary

The *Australian Guidelines to Reduce Health Risks from Drinking Alcohol* recommend that "for children and young people under 18 years of age, not drinking alcohol is the safest option". However, in Australia the majority of children have tried alcohol by the age of 12 and there is a perception among many adolescents and adults that underage drinking is a normative behaviour.

Research shows that, in addition to the strong influence of perceived peer norms, adult approval and acceptance of alcohol use is highly correlated with underage drinking behavior.

In Australia, almost 60 per cent of alcohol consumed by 12-17 year olds is supplied by friends, relatives or strangers (with much of the remainder provided by parents). The provision of alcohol to people under the age of 18 by someone other than their parent or guardian, or another adult with the express consent of their parent or guardian, is illegal in most (but not all) Australian jurisdictions.

There is a substantial body of research into the reasons why people do (and do not) comply with the law, particularly in the context of driving offences and crimes against property (such as vandalism, theft and littering). The main obedience variables identified as predictors of compliance are Personal Morality, Deterrence, Perceived Legitimacy, Social Norms and Procedural Fairness.

The study presented in this report sought to explore why Australian adults continue to provide alcohol to adolescents despite being aware that this behavior is illegal. Given the substantial body of literature exploring reasons for compliance with traffic laws, we also sought to explore similarities and differences in perceptions of secondary supply, speeding, and drink driving offences.

Method

A total of 413 participants residing in New South Wales (where secondary supply is illegal) were recruited through an online panel provider; 212 were parents of a child or children aged between 12 and 17 years, and 201 were not the parent of a child aged between 12 and 17 years (but had friends or relatives aged 12 to 17 years).

Participants completed a survey which included: the use of projective techniques to explore participants' motivations for (non)compliance with secondary supply, speeding and drink driving laws; attitudinal questions relating to the five motivational factors identified as predictive of (non)compliance with the law; behavioural questions; and demographic details.

Key findings

Secondary supply appears to be a behaviour that is generally unacceptable, and that is strongly associated with Personal Morality and Social Norms. In response to the hypothetical scenario of a parent providing alcohol to someone else's adolescent children, as with the scenario relating to speeding, few respondents focused on the behaviour itself when considering what the hypothetical individuals would be thinking about, instead generally focusing on other aspects of the scenario, such as relief that the evening went well or enjoyment of the social activity. Conversely, the illegal behaviour (and the risk of being caught) was the focus of the majority of the responses to the drink driving scenario.

The attitudinal data was consistent with the scenario responses, showing some consistencies between secondary supply and speeding, and some clear differences between secondary supply and the two driving behaviours. Secondary supply and speeding laws were more likely than drink driving laws to be perceived to be associated with Personal Morality, Social Norms, and Perceived Legitimacy. The

difference that separated secondary supply from the two types of driving offences was Deterrence, with respondents clearly perceiving that they are substantially less likely to be caught or punished for secondary supply than for speeding or drink driving.

Implications for alcohol policy

- Communication and social marketing campaigns should focus on reinforcing people's underlying attitudes that secondary supply is inappropriate, and denormalising the provision of alcohol to underage drinkers.
- Communication and social marketing campaigns may benefit from emphasising the social disapproval that ensues from engaging in secondary supply.
- Communication, education and social marketing campaigns need to provide clear information for parents and other responsible adults about the risks associated with secondary supply and the evidence on early alcohol initiation.
- Strategies need to be developed to educate and empower parents, increase their self-efficacy, and delay the onset of drinking.
- Communication and social marketing campaigns should raise awareness among adults of the penalties for secondary supply, given the important role of Deterrence in reducing this behavior.
- Consideration should also be given to education campaigns targeting adolescents that raise their awareness of the penalties for secondary supply that apply to adults (including friends/peers aged 18 and over) who provide them with alcohol.
- Given the demonstrated role of Deterrence in reducing speeding and drink driving, policy initiatives that facilitate enforcement of secondary supply laws are likely to have a substantial impact on reducing secondary supply.

Recommendations for future research

- There is a need for further research to better understand how to maximise the confluence and minimise the between these two compliance predictors (Personal Morality and Social Norms) to reduce secondary supply.
- There is a need for further research to explore the reasons for age-related differences in willingness to engage in secondary supply behaviours.
- There is a need for further research to develop and test messages with the relevant target audiences to inform the development of education and social marketing campaigns that are perceived by the target audience as relevant, credible and acceptable, and that result in the desired knowledge, attitude and behaviour changes.
- There is a need for further research across jurisdictions in order to identify any aspects of the laws, or their enforcement, that influence secondary supply attitudes and behaviours.
- There is a need for qualitative and quantitative research to develop a comprehensive understanding of what the community perceives to be appropriate in terms of laws, penalties and enforcement strategies to reduce secondary supply.

2. Introduction

In Australia 54 per cent of children have tried alcohol by the age of 12 (White & Bariola, 2012) and there is a perception among many adolescents and adults that underage drinking is a normative behaviour. While the prevalence of drinking in adolescence is decreasing, the proportion of risky drinking among those who do consume alcohol is increasing (Livingston, 2014). In 2013, 15.4 per cent of males and 11.3 per cent of females aged 12-17 years reported exceeding recommended consumption levels for adults (AIHW, 2014).

The *Australian Guidelines to Reduce Health Risks from Drinking Alcohol* recommend that "for children and young people under 18 years of age, not drinking alcohol is the safest option". They further state that (a) parents and carers should be advised that children under 15 years of age are at the greatest risk of harm from drinking and that for this age group, not drinking alcohol is especially important; and (b) for young people aged 15-17 years, the safest option is to delay the initiation of drinking for as long as possible (National Health and Medical Research Council, 2009).

Alcohol consumption by adolescents presents health and social problems unique to their age group. Apart from the behavioural risks involved when alcohol is consumed by adolescents, there are negative impacts on the developing brain (Lubman, Yucel, & Hall, 2007). There is also evidence that early drinking initiation is associated with more harmful patterns of drinking in adulthood (DeWit, Adlaf, Offord, & Ogborne, 2000).

Nearly 60 per cent of alcohol consumed by 12-17 year olds is supplied by friends, relatives or strangers (ASSAD, 2011). This project seeks to explore why Australian adults continue to provide alcohol to adolescents, despite being aware that this behavior is illegal. To investigate the research question, we conducted an online survey of 413 adults from New South Wales to explore motivations to comply with secondary supply laws. Using projective techniques, to avoid social desirability bias, we explored motivational factors in (non) compliance with secondary supply laws and two other illegal behaviours (speeding and drink driving). By understanding the motivations of friends and relatives in supplying alcohol to underage drinkers, this research can be used to inform educational and communication interventions to change the drinking environment for young people.

2.1 Secondary supply: The behaviour

It is a widely accepted social norm among teenagers that most people underage binge drink, that this is part of the natural transition to adulthood (Coleman & Cater, 2005) and that their behaviours are driven by what they perceive as normal behaviour among close friends (Beck & Treiman, 1996). Similarly, adult approval and acceptance of alcohol use is highly correlated with underage drinking behaviour (Foley, Altman, Durant, & Wolfson, 2004) and when underage drinkers obtain alcohol from sources other than their parents, they are twice as likely to engage in risky single occasion drinking (Dietze & Livingston, 2010).

Despite the general shift in community attitudes towards improving alcohol policy and reducing the availability of alcohol (Foundation for Alcohol Research and Education, 2013), friends and relatives continue to provide alcohol to those under 18 years old (White & Bariola, 2012).

Our previous research with young people, parents and community members regarding their knowledge of, and attitudes to, the secondary supply of alcohol to minors found that a significant number of adults were prepared to provide alcohol to underage relatives in a number of circumstances both at their home and to attend parties (Jones & Barrie, 2013). Younger respondents (those aged 18-24 years old) were more likely to provide alcohol to minors than those over 24 years.

2.2 Secondary supply: The law

Secondary supply refers to the provision of alcohol in a private home to people aged less than 18 years (Australian Drug Foundation, 2013). In most locations, secondary supply by parents or guardians on private premises is not illegal. However, the supply of alcohol to minors on private premises by persons other than their parent or guardian, or without the consent of their parent or guardian, is prohibited in most jurisdictions. This includes the Northern Territory since 2011, New South Wales since 2007, Queensland and Tasmania since 2009, Victoria since 2011 (Howard et al., 2014). Laws were introduced into the Western Australian Parliament and the Australian Capital Territory Legislative Assembly in August 2015. Currently, secondary supply is not illegal in South Australia. While there is some evidence that there is fairly high public awareness of these laws (Jones & Barrie, 2013), they are very difficult to police where the supply takes places in private homes (Howard et al., 2014).

At the time and in the jurisdiction of data collection for this study, undertaken October 2014 in New South Wales, it was illegal to supply alcohol to minors in a private home unless you were the child's parent or guardian, or an adult who had the approval of the child's parent or guardian. On 15 December 2014 irresponsible supply laws were added, meaning that the supply of alcohol to a minor must be consistent with 'responsible supervision' of that child.

2.3 Why do (and don't) people comply with the law

As a society evolves, it inevitably seeks to establish a form of social order or control over the interactions within that society. Donald J Black defines law as officially enforced governmental social control, in contrast to unofficial rules that are not implemented or enforced by the government, and customs that are only enforced by social groups (Black, 1973). Australian criminal law is based on regulating individual's behavior around a set of accepted societal values.

A major factor in obedience to a law is an individual's concern for social consequences arising from criminal actions. The Western legal tradition regarding the moral authority of law argues adherence to the law is based in community belief in its validity. While very few individuals would argue that serious offences such as murder or drug importation are not against the existing ethics of our society, this distinction is unclear for other offences, leading individuals to be less likely to view certain offences as being morally as well as legally criminal. Secondary supply laws are a prime example of this debate.

However, social mores are not the sole predictor of compliance with the law. Weber argues that law is order externally guaranteed by the probability that coercion (physically or psychological) will be formally applied to ensure compliance (Friedman, 1975). The legal system relies on a level of cooperation from the general public; laws can only be effective when the populace obeys them. A significant proportion of criminological literature is devoted to determining why people obey the law and how this is affected by the offender's view of the seriousness of the breach.

The main obedience variables identified as predictors of compliance are Personal Morality, Deterrence, Perceived Legitimacy, Social Norms and Procedural Fairness (Tyler, 2006b).

Deterrence

The most commonly cited obedience variable is Deterrence (specific and general), however, research has questioned its effectiveness. The basic premise of Deterrence is that human decision-making is driven by rational cost benefit analysis and the fear of perceived consequences (Mehlkop & Graeff, 2010). A British study found that the crime with the greatest perceived risk of capture (such as theft from cars, where 52 per cent rated it as 'a very great risk') had the lowest previous offence rate (in

this instance, three per cent) (Mehlkop & Graeff, 2010). A study conducted in Brisbane found Deterrence had a limited effect on unlicensed driving and 33.6 per cent of participants reported that they had evaded detection (Watson, 2010). The effect of Deterrence is lessened in an individual who has previously escaped prosecution for that non-compliant behaviour in the past (Horney & Marshall, 1992). Furthermore, Deterrence theory's reliance on conscious decision-making limits its applicability to assaults and drink driving offences, where the individual's decision-making faculties may have been suppressed (Tyler, 2003). Finally, there is evidence suggesting that Deterrence that is perceived as procedurally unfair actually increases the likelihood of offending (Sherman, 1993).

Procedural Fairness

The more that an individual feels that a particular law is being administrated in a procedurally fair manner, the more likely they are to obey. Proponents of the Procedural Fairness variable argue that long-term obedience of the law only occurs as a result of frequent contact with the police and authorities, the most frequent form of contact being calling the police for assistance (76 per cent) (Tyler & Huo, 2002). A 2001 Californian study of 346 Oakland residents found that Procedural Fairness (specifically the quality of police treatment of citizens) was the main factor in determining their cooperation (Tyler, 2003). Empirical evidence supports the conclusion that Procedural Fairness is a moderate predictor of obedience (Jackson et al., 2012).

Personal Morality

At its most basic level, obedience of criminal law arguably condenses to the individual's choice, thus their Personal Morality must be examined. A person's compliance with the law can become so "ingrained in everyday life" that it becomes internalised (Robinson & McNeill, 2008). The importance of Personal Morality relative to the other variables shifts between states and cultural groups. Chinese citizens, for example, place a far higher emphasis on Personal Morality than in the United States (Guo, 2009). The extent to which engaging in an illegal behaviour is inconsistent with an individual's Personal Morality varies across behaviours, as reflected in research that showed 62 per cent of English and Welsh responders felt that committing a traffic offence was 'very wrong' compared with the 86-96 per cent who selected 'very wrong' for comparable offences (such as buying stolen property, disposing of rubbish, vandalising public property and shoplifting) (Jackson et al., 2012).

Perceived Legitimacy

The link between the Perceived Legitimacy of a law and obedience is well established in literature (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Legitimacy leads individuals to follow rules because they believe these rules are morally right (Jackson et al., 2012). Tyler's (2006a) research into legitimacy generates a link between authorisation and consent. The key difference between morality and legitimacy as a motivating factor is that Personal Legitimacy relies on the public recognition that the social order must override their Personal Morality (Jackson et al., 2012). A key measure of this variable is surveying the level of obligation respondents feel to obey a law that could contradict their personal morals (perceived obligation to obey) (Tyler, 2003). Perceived Legitimacy also influences people's willingness to engage in proactive behaviours to assist police (such as calling to report crime) and to support the use of police discretion. An example of the role of Perceived Legitimacy can be seen in people's willingness to accept being stopped and questioned when going about their daily lives in order to detect and prevent crime in the community (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). For example, people's acceptance of being pulled over for Random Breath Testing (RBT) when they have not been drinking relates to perceptions of the legitimacy of drink driving laws and RBT checks in preventing alcohol-related motor vehicle accidents.

Social Norms

The majority of research into Social Norms as a compliance variable focuses on taxation law, although there have also been a number of Australian studies on its impact as a variable in speeding and drink driving offences. A Victorian study found that the community was strongly against high range speeding offences yet were considerably less critical of low to medium range offences, particularly among urban respondents (Nieuwesteeg, 2012).

2.4 Purpose of the study

To explore reasons for (non)compliance with secondary supply laws, we utilised this framework of five variables identified as predictors of compliance with laws: Personal Morality, Deterrence, Perceived Legitimacy, Social Norms and Procedural Fairness.

The objectives of this project were:

- to understand why people do (not) comply with secondary supply laws
- to understand what motivational factors are associated with (non)compliance
- to understand how these factors are similar to, or different from, motivations to (not) comply with speeding and drink driving laws
- to inform the development of educational and communication campaigns to increase compliance with secondary supply laws.

3. Method

3.1 Participants and recruitment

Participants were recruited through an online panel provider to ensure a sufficient sample of parents of children aged 12-17 years old (n=200) and adult friends and relatives of children aged 12-17 years old (n=200) across New South Wales.

The survey was open to respondents for two weeks from mid October 2014. Respondents received points from the online panel provider for completing the survey that could be redeemed for prizes such as movie tickets and gift cards.

3.2 Questionnaire

The online questionnaire consisted of four sections:

Section 1 used projective techniques to explore participants' motivations for (non)compliance with secondary supply laws. Participants were presented with a short vignette discussing a situation regarding secondary supply. After participants read the vignette, they answered two open-ended questions about what they believed the individual was thinking at the end of the night and what they think motivated the individual in the vignette to provide alcohol to the adolescent. They then answered a series of five questions (statements of agreement) regarding the five motivational factors that have been found in previous research to impact on people's compliance with laws (Tyler, 2006b): Deterrence, Social Norms, Personal Morality, Perceived Legitimacy of authorities and Procedural Fairness.

Section 2 used the same format and questions to explore participants' motivations for (non)compliance with either speeding or drink driving laws (with a target of n=200 per behavior, randomly allocated).

Section 3 asked a series of attitudinal questions relating to the five motivational factors (four questions for each factor) for the three target behaviours. The items for drink driving and speeding were taken directly, or modified, from previous studies (Baum, 2000; Iversen & Rundmo, 2004; Ulleberg & Rundmo, 2003); and the items for secondary supply were developed by the first author using the same question logic. A complete list of the items can be provided on request to the first author.

Section 4 asked respondents about their own previous provision of, and willingness to provide, alcohol to adolescent friends and family members (five items). It was clearly articulated that we were not asking about the provision of alcohol to their own children. Where participants had more than one child relative or friend between 12 and 17 years old, they were asked to respond to the questions with reference to the oldest child that met the study criteria. This section also included five behavioural questions relating to speeding and drink driving.

Section 5 collected basic demographic information (such as age, gender, cultural background, postcode, education level) utilising questions from the Australian Census to enable comparison to the broader population. It also included questions about participants' own drinking, using the Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test (AUDIT) scale; a validated and widely-used tool for screening for harmful drinking (Babor et al., 2001).

4. Results

4.1 Sample demographics and alcohol consumption

Sample characteristics

The final sample of 413 respondents was composed of 212 parents of a child or children aged between 12 and 17 years, and 201 who were not the parent of a child aged between 12 and 17 years but had friends or relatives aged 12 to 17 years (hereafter referred to as 'community members').

The mean age of those who were the parent of a child aged between 12 and 17 years (hereafter referred to as 'parents') was 45.8 (SD 8.8) years, and the mean age of community members was older at 59.3 (SD 15.5) years ($t(411)=10.97$, $p<.001$). Across the sample, there was a greater proportion of females (52.5 per cent) than males (47.5 per cent), and the majority of respondents were Australian-born (71.2 per cent); the parent and community member groups did not differ statistically on these factors.

As shown in Table 1, more than one third of respondents held a Bachelor's degree or higher level of educational attainment (38.5 per cent), and slightly fewer held a Certificate or Diploma (31.7 per cent). The majority of respondents were partnered (74.0 per cent), and had a household income greater than $80,000 (43.8 per cent). For those with a child between 12 and 17 years, the mean age of the youngest child in the family was 12.36 years, and the mean age of the oldest child was 15.65 years.

As shown in Table 1, our sample was generally representative of the New South Wales population, in relation to gender, country of birth, language spoken, and being employed full- or part-time. However, our sample had a higher proportion of people without a current partner, with a university degree, and in the middle income bracket (with fewer earning less than $37,000 or more than $80,000 than the underlying population).

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of sample compared with NSW population

	Parents (n=212)		Community members (n=201)		Total participants (n=413)		NSW
Variable	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**%**
Sex							
Male	95	44.8	101	50.2	196	47.5	50.2
Female	117	55.2	100	49.8	217	52.5	49.8
Country of birth							
Australia	151	71.2	143	71.1	294	71.2	68.8
Other	61	28.8	58	28.9	119	28.8	25.7[a]
Language other than English							
Yes	51	24.1	20	10.0	71	17.2	17.0
No	161	75.9	181	90.0	342	82.8	83.0
Marital status							
Single	42	19.8	66	33.0	107	26.0	36.0[b]
Partnered	170	80.2	134	67.0	305	74.0	64.0[b]
Education							
High School	60	28.3	63	31.3	123	29.8	42.3
Certificate or diploma	67	31.6	64	31.8	131	31.7	26.0
Bachelor degree or higher	85	40.1	74	36.8	159	38.5	19.9
Employment status							
Full time	103	48.6	39	19.4	142	34.4	39.6
Part time/casual	44	20.8	34	16.9	78	18.8	18.5
Not working	48	22.6	52	25.9	100	24.2	38.1
Other[c]	17	8.0	76	37.8	93	22.5	3.8
Income							
$0-$37 000	34	16.0	68	33.9	102	24.7	30.0
$37,001-$80,000	57	26.9	73	36.3	130	31.5	21.9
$80,001 and over	121	57.1	60	29.9	181	43.8	48.1

[a] 5.7 per cent of individuals did not state their country of birth

[b] National figures – ABS, Australian Social Trends 2014 (4102.0)

[c] 'Other' categories include retiree and homemaker

Alcohol consumption

The majority of 'community members' and 'parents' (92.3 per cent and 89.4 per cent, respectively) had tried alcohol. Twelve people (2.9 per cent) did not respond to the question of ever having tried alcohol, resulting in a sample of n=401.

Participants were also asked whether they had ever had a full drink of alcohol, and n=348 (84.3 per cent) reported they had. This sample were asked about who supplied their first glass of alcohol, and if they had consumed alcohol in the previous 12 months.

Age of first full serve of alcohol ranged from 11 to 45 years, with a mean age of 18.4 (SD=4.0) years. Most commonly, the first drink of alcohol was supplied by a parent (25.6 per cent for community members and 22.7 per cent for parents) or a friend or acquaintance (23.9 per cent for community members and 35.5 per cent for parents) (see Table 2).

A total of 308 participants (88.5 per cent of those who had ever had a full drink of alcohol, and 74.6 per cent of the full sample) had consumed alcohol in the last 12 months and were asked on the frequency and number of standard drinks consumed. Twenty-eight of the respondents who had consumed alcohol in the previous 12 months indicated they drank daily, and another 12.0 per cent drank on 5 to 6 days per week. On days when alcohol was consumed, 36.1 per cent of community members and 31.3 per cent of parents had 2 standard drinks, 29.7 per cent and 30.0 per cent respectively had 1 drink, and 21.5 per cent and 19.3 per cent respectively had 3 to 4 drinks (see Table 2).

The age of first full serve of alcohol was similar for both study groups (parents m=18.5, SD=4.0; community members m=18.3, SD=4.1). A significantly lower proportion of parents than community members reported never having consumed a full serve of alcohol (χ^2 = 6.20 p=0.013) (see Table 3).

Table 2. Alcohol consumption by parents and community members [#]

	Parents		Community members	
	N	%	N	%
Have you ever tried alcohol? (n= 401)				
Yes	185	89.4	179	92.3
No	22	10.6	15	7.7
Have you ever had a full serve (n=364)				
Yes	172	93.0	176	98.3
No	13	7.0	3	1.7
Who supplied you with the first glass of alcohol you consumed? (n=348)				
Friend or acquaintance	61	35.5	42	23.9
Brother or sister	6	3.5	4	2.3
Parent	39	22.7	45	25.6
Spouse or partner	7	4.1	5	2.8
Other relative	3	1.7	6	3.4
Stole it	3	1.7	1	0.6
Purchased it myself from retailer	24	14.0	30	17.0
Other	4	2.3	15	8.5
Can't recall	25	14.5	28	15.9
Have you had an alcoholic drink of any kind in the last 12 months? (n=348)				
Yes	150	87.2	158	89.8
No	22	12.8	18	10.2
In the last 12 months, how often did you have an alcoholic drink of any kind? (n=308)				
Everyday	66	4	22	13.9
5 to 6 days a week	13	8.7	24	15.2
3 to 4 days a week	26	17.9	23	14.6
1 to 2 days a week	39	26	27	17.1
2 to 3 days a month	19	12.7	20	12.7
About 1 day a month	19	12.7	15	9.5
Less often	26	17.3	25	15.8
No longer drink	2	1.3	2	1.3

On a day that you have an alcoholic drink, how many standard drinks do you usually have? (n=308)				
16 – 19 drinks	2	1.3	0	0
13 – 15 drinks	1	0.7	0	0
11 - 12 drinks	1	0.7	1	0.6
9 - 10 drinks	4	2.7	1	0.6
7 - 8 drinks	4	2.7	1	0.6
5 - 6 drinks	10	6.7	9	5.7
3 - 4 drinks	29	19.3	34	21.5
2 drinks	47	31.3	57	36.1
1 drink	45	30	47	29.7
Half a drink	7	4.7	8	5.1

*Significant at *p<.05*

[#] Numbers reported in the above table do not add to 413 (212 parents and 201 community members), as some respondents did not answer all questions.

Table 3. Alcohol consumption in parents and community members

	Parents		Community members		
Variable	N	%	N	%	X^2
Have you ever had a full serve of alcohol?					
Yes	172	93.0	176	98.3	6.20*
No	13	7.0	3	1.7	

*Significant at *p<.05*

[#] Numbers reported in the above table do not add to 413 (212 parents and 201 community members), as some respondents did not answer all questions.

4.2 Scenarios

All respondents (n=413) read a scenario about secondary supply, and answered the associated questions, which included two open-ended questions and five closed questions (on a five point scale). Approximately half of the respondents (n=202) then completed a similar process in relation to a drink driving scenario and half (n=202) in relation to speeding scenario. The remaining nine did not complete a second scenario.

4.2.1 Scenario 1: Secondary supply

All participants read the following secondary supply scenario:

> *James is a 38 year old man with a wife, Sally, and two teenage sons, Peter (18) and Henry (16). James and his family live in a quiet suburb about 30 minutes' drive from the CBD. Last Saturday night they had a party at home for Peter's 18th birthday. There were about 40 of Peter's friends coming and James and Sally put on a barbecue and provided beer, wine, soft drinks and a few cartons of bourbon and cola. Henry had two of his best friends over as well and they were staying the night. Henry asked if he and his mates could have two beers each so they didn't feel left out and James said that was ok as long as they stuck to two. James and Sally stayed upstairs so they could let the kids have some space but be there if there were any problems. The party ended about 2.00am and James and Sally sent the kids off to bed and decided they'd clean up the mess in the morning.*

Open-ended responses

Participants were first asked what James and Sally were thinking at the end of the night (Q18).

The majority identified that James and Sally would be experiencing positive emotions related to the success of the party (n=158) or feeling tired and/or worried about the mess (n=89). A further 32 mentioned general worry or regret over hosting a party, and 63 provided non-specific responses such as "not much", "no idea" and "normal thoughts".

While many respondents noted that James and Sally would be tired and thinking both of going to bed and about the mess to be cleaned up in the morning, we identified three dominant perspectives on how James and Sally were feeling about their son's birthday party: pleased, relieved, and concerned.

Pleased

Many respondents felt that James and Sally would be pleased with how the night had gone. This involved comments about how "they provided a safe, fun night for their son's birthday" and "all [were] safe and sound" along with feeling that "it all went okay without gatecrashers, fights or problems".

Relieved

Some respondents stated that Sally and James would feel relieved that things went well, with comments including "thank goodness it's over", "thank god everyone behaved themself", and that they would be "glad the party went off well".

Concerned

In some cases, respondents noted that James and Sally may feel concerned about having allowed underage drinking to occur; possibly "frustrated and maybe a bit regretful". They commented that Sally and James may be hopeful that "the parents don't cause a stink", while "worrying if the kids had too much to drink" and whether "they [had] made the wrong decision".

However, it is important to note that only 71 (17.2 per cent) made any reference to the decision to provide alcohol as something that James and Sally would be thinking about (54 that they would be questioning their decision, and 17 that they would be regretting their decision), suggesting that this was not seen by the majority as a key or concerning aspect of the scenario.

Respondents were then asked why they thought James let Henry and his friends have two beers (Q19)

Comments made in response to this question were analysed using the five factors identified in the compliance framework: Personal Morality, Deterrence, Perceived Legitimacy, Social Norms and

Procedural Fairness. Approximately 17 per cent (n=71) provided a response that could not be coded (such as “they would be regretted”, “no idea” and “good”).

The analysis identified that two of the factors dominated the responses: issues related to Personal Morality, and those connected with Social Norms. Within these factors, a number of themes were identified. Tables 4 and 5 outline the themes and include a sample of respondent quotes for illustration. None of the respondents referred directly to the law relating to secondary supply, including Deterrence, Perceived Legitimacy or Procedural Fairness.

Table 4. Secondary supply: Personal Morality

Themes	Sample quotes
Using harm minimisation practices: • drinking in moderation • in a safe environment • with supervision • for experience.	“it also teaches them that it’s ok to have a couple of drinks but there is no need to go overboard” “two was not too many and yet it was better than prohibition” “as long as it was controlled, no problem” “they are at home and not travelling” “because he was supervising” “to let him taste it”
Providing alcohol is ok: • normal behaviour • for enjoyment, fun • inevitable.	“because it is no big deal” “to relax and because they were thirsty” “to make them feel happy” “it is part of the culture in Australia” “it is a very Australian thing to do but they should not encourage underage drinking”
Providing alcohol is not ok: • it is not appropriate for minors.	“no way, too young” “Henry should have been refused the beer as they were underage” “do not agree with it, should not be encouraging drinking for 16 years old” “parents need to be strong and stick to the rules and set examples for their children”
Trust is critical to decisions about providing alcohol: • demonstrates trust that Henry will drink in moderation • the boys can be trusted, so providing alcohol means they will drink in moderation.	“he trusted the honesty of his son Henry” “they showed trust towards the boys, and in return they held faith that the boys would show responsibility to drink beer within the safety of their own home” “cause they would probably have drunk more sneakily on the side” “better to control it and be aware of it than the likely alternative that they would sneak it and drink more” “if he did not agree they would probably consume the alcohol anyway and this way he had some control”
Avoiding conflict: • giving in to demands • wanting to be a friend.	“so he wouldn't have his young son nag him. He copped the easy way out. So wrong” “Would the argy bargy, if he didn't, [be] worth it?” “not have to argue with his son why he couldn't have a drink” “trying too hard to be just one of the kids” “keep his son happy” “to try to be a friend not a parent”

Table 5. Secondary supply: Social Norms

Themes	Sample quotes
Social acceptance (Henry): • not left out • fitting in • feeling good.	"so they wouldn't feel left out" "misguided sense that they would feel left out" "so that they could be part of the celebration and feel as though they fitted in" "to be on a par with others" "so they could be part of the party" "by making them feel involved and enjoy in the party" "James didn't want Henry and his friends [to] feel bad without beers"
Social acceptance (James): • the 'cool dad' • seeking approval from his son's friends.	"I think James didn't want to embarrass Henry in-front of his friends, he wanted to be the 'cool' dad" "he may have been trying to be a 'cool dad'" "he felt he would be perceived as being a fuddy-duddy if he enforced the legal drinking limit and 2 [drinks] seemed fairly harmless" "don't think they were thinking of Henry's two mates feeling left out, I think they were thinking of themselves and wanting to please their son Henry. The parents were morally weak and allowed good values to be compromised by wanting to be 'popular'" "so their kids and kids' friends would they think they were cool!"
Normal to drink before reaching 18: • socially accepted to drink • in a safe environment.	"cause everybody else was drinking" "because they would feel left out if they didn't drink and that they would be safe in the home environment"

Quantitative responses

The majority of participants (68.1 per cent) disagreed that it was "ok for James to give alcohol to his son and his friends because everybody does it" [Social Norms]; and approximately half (49.2 per cent) disagreed that it was ok "because they were in a safe environment" [Personal Morality].

Interestingly, a large proportion (41.9 per cent) agreed that "people like James give alcohol to teenagers because the courts aren't tough enough on secondary supply" [Procedural Fairness] but only 24.2 per cent agreed that "James should be fined or go to jail for giving Henry's friends alcohol" [perceived legitimacy]; and approximately a third (35.4 per cent) agreed that "if James gives alcohol to his son's friends it is only a matter of time before he gets caught" [Deterrence].

Table 6 provides further detail on the extent to which participants agreed or disagreed with certain statements.

It is also noteworthy that a substantial proportion of participants selected the neutral option (neither agree nor disagree), ranging from 20.1 per cent for "it was ok for James to give Henry and his friends alcohol because they were in a safe environment" [Personal Morality] to 36.6 per cent for "if James gives alcohol to his son's friends it is only a matter of time before he gets caught" [Deterrence].

Analysis of the responses by gender and group identified only two significant differences: males were more likely than females to strongly disagree that "James should be fined or go to jail for giving Henry's friends alcohol" [Perceived Legitimacy] (18.9 per cent compared to 9.2 per cent, z=2.84, p=0.005); and community members were more likely than parents to strongly disagree that "people like James give alcohol to teenagers because the courts aren't tough enough on secondary supply" [Procedural Fairness] (15.4 compared to 6.1 per cent, z=3.06, p=0.002).

Table 6. Participants responses to the secondary supply scenario questions (n=413)

	Strongly agree		Agree		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
It was ok for James to give Henry and his friends alcohol because they were in a safe environment **[Personal Morality]**										
TOTAL SAMPLE	16	3.9	111	26.9	83	20.1	111	26.9	92	22.3
Parents	10	4.7	53	25.0	45	21.2	58	27.4	46	21.7
Community	6	3.0	58	28.9	38	18.9	53	26.4	46	22.9
Males	8	4.1	59	30.1	44	22.4	42	21.4	43	21.9
Females	8	3.7	52	24.0	39	18.0	69	31.8	49	22.6
James should be fined or go to jail for giving Henry's friends alcohol **[Perceived Legitimacy]**										
TOTAL SAMPLE	28	6.8	72	17.4	110	26.6	146	35.4	57	13.8
Parents	18	8.5	37	17.5	65	30.7	70	33.0	22	10.4
Community	10	5.0	35	17.4	45	22.4	76	37.8	35	17.4
Males	10	5.1	39	19.9	52	26.5	58	29.6	37	18.9
Females	18	8.3	33	15.2	58	26.7	88	40.6	20	9.2
People like James give alcohol to teenagers because the courts aren't tough enough on secondary supply **[Procedural Fairness]**										
TOTAL SAMPLE	49	11.9	124	30	124	30	100	24.2	44	10.7
Parents	30	14.2	48	22.6	70	33.0	51	24.1	13	6.1
Community	19	9.5	48	23.9	54	26.9	49	24.4	31	15.4
Males	25	12.8	44	22.4	59	30.1	44	22.4	24	12.2
Females	24	11.1	52	24.0	65	30.0	56	25.8	20	9.2
It was ok for James to give alcohol to his son and his friends because everybody does it **[Social Norms]**										
TOTAL SAMPLE	8	1.9	30	7.3	94	22.8	161	39	120	29.1
Parents	7	3.3	19	9.0	39	18.4	87	41.0	60	28.3
Community	1	0.5	11	5.5	55	27.4	74	36.8	60	29.9
Males	6	3.1	14	7.1	51	26.0	74	37.8	51	26.0
Females	2	0.9	16	7.4	43	19.8	87	40.1	69	31.8
If James gives alcohol to his son's friends it is only a matter of time before he gets caught **[Deterrence]**										
TOTAL SAMPLE	35	8.5	111	26.9	151	36.6	95	23	21	5.1
Parents	21	9.9	57	26.9	79	37.3	45	21.2	10	4.7
Community	14	7.0	54	26.9	72	35.8	50	24.9	11	5.5
Males	16	8.2	58	29.6	71	36.2	41	20.9	10	5.1
Females	19	8.8	53	24.4	80	36.9	54	24.9	11	5.1

4.2.2 Scenario 2: Speeding

Approximately half of the participants (n=202) read the following speeding scenario:

> *James is a 38 year old man with a wife, Sally, and two teenage sons, Peter (18) and Henry (16). James and his family live in a quiet suburb about 30 minutes' drive from the CBD. Last Saturday night they had plans for dinner with good friends they hadn't seen for several months. The dinner reservation was for 7.30pm, but by the time James got home and showered and dressed, it was well after 7.00pm when they left the house. James decided to take a back street with less traffic and no traffic lights. The speed limit was 60km/h but James knew the road well so he felt comfortable driving at just over 70. They made good time, found a parking spot and got to the restaurant only ten minutes late. The dinner was great and they both really enjoyed the opportunity to catch up with good friends and talk about all the things that had been happening in both families.*

Open-ended responses

Participants were first asked what James and Sally were thinking when they arrived at the restaurant (Q26).

There were three types of responses to this question: feeling happy about the evening and pleased not to arrive at the restaurant too late, comments about not getting caught while speeding, and feeling relieved that there had been no accidents or mishaps on the journey.

"We did great"

The most common theme in respondents' comments was how James and Sally would feel success at arriving at the restaurant only ten minutes late (123 of the 167 analysable responses). For example, respondents noted that James and Sally may be thinking "we managed that pretty well", "YEA!! We're not 'that' late for dinner!!!", and "they had done well not to arrive too late". Being on time appeared to be important, with some respondents stating that James and Sally might be thinking "sorry we are late", "not very late, had a good run", and "we made it just in time".

Not caught speeding

Some respondents felt that James and Sally would feel lucky not to have been caught speeding during their journey to the restaurant. For example, they said James and Sally may be thinking "[we are] so glad we didn't get caught speeding", "lucky there were no police", and "was I detected speeding?".

No mishaps

Some respondents stated that James and Sally would feel glad there had not been any "accidents", "mishaps", "incidents", and that they "hadn't hit anyone or thing". Others felt that James and Sally may be thinking, "it's ok to speed with safety" and "it's ok to speed to save time". A few of the respondents' comments reflected that James and Sally may have been feeling regret about speeding to the restaurant. For example, James and Sally may have, "wished we haven't exceeded the speed limit", and thought "no speedy anytime".

However, it was clear that only a minority of respondents focused on the act of speeding in the scenario, with responses split between those who appeared to be supporting the decision to speed (n=10 specifically referred to thoughts that it had been a good idea), focusing on the Deterrence factor (n=30 referring to the couple hoping they didn't get caught), and only four directly criticising or questioning the decision to speed, such as "they shouldn't have gone over the speed limit and should of rang" and "driving at the correct speed would not have made them much later".

Respondents were then asked why they think James decided to drive above the speed limit (Q27). The two most common responses to this question were about James not wanting to be too late, and feeling social pressure and wanting to avoid embarrassment. Fewer respondents commented on James' calculated risk-taking and being irresponsible.

Not to be too late

The most common type of comment was about James deciding to speed so he could get to the restaurant on time. Examples include James wanting to "get to dinner on time", "to get to the destination", and "to get to the restaurant quicker". Some respondents felt that the decision to speed was made as James, "knew he would be running late" and he wanted to avoid being "too late".

Avoiding embarrassment

Some respondents focused on James' desire "not to be rude and let his friends down", and that he "would have been embarrassed" by arriving too late. The risk of embarrassment extended to comments about James feeling, "some responsibility if the night went badly", not wanting "to make his friends wait", and risking a loss of "social points". Some respondents commented in a more general sense about James feeling "time pressure" from peers and from being "in 'hurry mode'", with one respondent noting that James may have been operating in a rush "out of habit".

Risk-taking

Calculated risk-taking was also put forward as a reason for James' decision to drive above the speed limit. This risk was sometimes about whether James was likely to get caught for speeding, with one respondent commenting that, "the odds of being caught for speeding were minimal, and the risk therefore justified". For other respondents, the risk was about James being "familiar with the street" and using a route where "he thought he knew the traffic well".

Irresponsible

A small group of respondents felt that James was "stupid", "an idiot", or "an arrogant jerk with no respect for his own or other people's safety". For example, "his concern for making the reservation time was more important than disobeying the speed limit".

Quantitative responses

The majority of participants (76.2 per cent) disagreed that it was It was ok for James to drive at 70km/h in a 60km/h zone "because everybody does it" [Social Norms]; and the majority (77.2 per cent) disagreed that it was ok "because he was on a quiet road that he knew well" [Personal Morality] (Table 7).

Interestingly, a slightly larger proportion agreed than disagreed (37.6 per cent compared to 32.7 per cent) that "people like James speed because the courts aren't tough enough on speeding" [Procedural Fairness] but only 25.2 per cent agreed that "James should lose his driver's licence for speeding to the restaurant" [Perceived Legitimacy]. However, the majority (75.7 per cent) agreed that "if James speeds whenever he is late it is only a matter of time before he gets caught" [Deterrence].

It is also noteworthy that, as with the secondary supply scenario, a substantial proportion of participants selected the neutral option (neither agree nor disagree), ranging from 14.4 per cent for "It was ok for James to speed because he was on a quiet road that he knew well" [Personal Morality] and "It was ok for James to drive at 70km/h in a 60 zone because everybody does it" [Social Norms] to 34.2 per cent for "James should lose his driver's licence for speeding to the restaurant" [Perceived Legitimacy].

Table 7. Participants' responses to the speeding scenario questions (n=202)

	Strongly agree		Agree		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
It was ok for James to speed because he was on a quiet road that he knew well **[Personal Morality]**										
TOTAL SAMPLE	5	2.5	12	5.9	29	14.4	80	39.6	76	37.6
Parents	3	2.8	9	8.3	21	19.3	40	36.7	36	33.0
Community	2	2.2	3	3.2	8	8.6	40	19.9	40	19.9
Males	2	2.3	9	10.5	15	17.4	35	40.7	25	29.1
Females	3	2.6	3	2.6	14	12.1	45	38.8	51	44.0
James should lose his driver's licence for speeding to the restaurant **[Perceived Legitimacy]**										
TOTAL SAMPLE	19	9.4	32	15.8	69	34.2	71	35.1	11	5.4
Parents	12	11.0	17	15.6	32	29.4	42	38.5	6	5.5
Community	7	7.5	15	16.1	37	39.8	29	31.2	5	5.4
Males	4	4.7	15	17.4	32	37.2	29	33.7	6	7.0
Females	15	12.9	17	14.7	37	31.9	42	36.2	5	4.3
People like James speed because the courts aren't tough enough on speeding **[Procedural Fairness]**										
TOTAL SAMPLE	24	11.9	52	25.7	60	29.7	50	24.8	16	7.9
Parents	13	11.9	28	25.7	31	28.4	26	23.9	11	10.1
Community	11	11.8	24	25.8	29	31.2	24	25.8	5	5.4
Males	7	8.1	23	26.7	29	33.7	20	23.3	7	8.1
Females	17	14.7	29	25.0	31	26.7	30	25.9	9	7.8
It was ok for James to drive at 70km/h in a 60 zone because everybody does it **[Social Norms]**										
TOTAL SAMPLE	5	2.5	14	6.9	29	14.4	83	41.1	71	35.1
Parents	2	1.8	9	8.3	22	20.2	42	38.5	34	31.2
Community	3	3.2	5	5.4	7	7.5	41	44.1	37	39.8
Males	2	2.3	9	10.5	14	16.3	37	43.0	24	27.9
Females	3	2.6	5	4.3	15	12.9	46	39.7	47	40.5
If James speeds whenever he is late it is only a matter of time before he gets caught **[Deterrence]**										
TOTAL SAMPLE	58	28.7	95	47	33	16.3	14	6.9	2	1
Parents	27	24.8	48	44.0	22	20.2	11	10.1	1	0.9
Community	31	33.3	47	50.5	11	11.8	3	3.2	1	1.1
Males	20	23.3	43	50.0	16	18.6	6	7.0	1	1.2
Females	38	32.8	52	44.8	17	14.7	8	6.9	1	0.9

4.2.3 Scenario 3: Drink driving

Approximately half of the participants (n=202) read the following drink driving scenario:

> *James is a 38 year old man with a wife, Sally, and two teenage sons, Peter (18) and Henry (16). James and his family live in a quiet suburb about 30 minutes' drive from the CBD. Last Saturday night they went into the CBD for a dinner with friends to celebrate their wedding anniversary. Sally was the designated driver, so James felt comfortable about having a couple of beers at the bar when they arrived and sharing a bottle of red wine with his friend Steve. The food was*

great and they had a lovely time reminiscing with Steve and Zoe who they'd known since their kids were in preschool together. When it was time to go home, Sally said that she didn't feel up to driving. James knew that he was probably over the limit but he had a coffee after dessert and was sure that he would be alright to drive.

Open-ended responses

Participants were first asked what James and Sally were thinking on the drive home (Q22).

Respondents' replies were remarkably consistent and focused on: James and Sally being concerned about being caught drink driving, and whether James and Sally would feel it was ok for James to drive home (Personal Morality).

Concerns about getting caught for drink driving

The most common issue raised by respondents was that James and Sally would be concerned about being caught drink driving (54.7 per cent of the 181 analysable responses[2]). For example, they said James and Sally would be thinking "hope we don't get caught", "please don't let there be any police", and "I hope we don't get pulled over by the police and breathalysed".

Views about whether it was wrong for James to drive home

A minority (n=18, 9.9 per cent) commented that James and Sally would feel there was no problem with James driving home. For example, they said James would think that he "seems fine and he's a good driver", "everything would be ok, nothing will happen to them", and "they just wanted to get home and thought they would be ok to drive". Some respondents appeared to suggest that James and Sally would not be aware of any issues around James driving, as their thoughts would be on the party rather than James' capacity to drive after drinking alcohol. These respondents felt that James and Sally would be thinking that "they had a good party, it was fun", and "the party went well".

Many respondents felt that it was wrong for James to be driving home (n=50, 27.6 per cent). Some comments focused on what James and Sally would think, whereas others reflected the respondents' own views about the issue. Their concerns were around the risks involved, that an alternative option should have been pursued, and that James and Sally would be worried or even scared in this situation. For example, respondents commented that "it is a dangerous decision", "they were doing the wrong thing", "they should have caught a taxi", and they would be "very concerned about making the wrong decision and the serious consequences". Only eight respondents (4.4 per cent of those who provided an analysable response) did not specifically refer to the decision to drive under the influence of alcohol, rather referring to them having had an enjoyable night.

Respondents were then asked why they think James decided to drive (Q23).

Responses to this question focused on: convenience, whether James felt he was ok to drive, his role in the family and as a man, and Sally's role in James' decision to drive. Deterrence and Personal Morality were mentioned as specific motivators but also evident in a number of the other responses.

Convenience

Some respondents (n=30) commented on the need for James to drive home for practical reasons, particularly as they felt there was no viable alternative. For example, respondents said that "there was no other easy option", "he didn't want to leave his car behind", and he would have decided to drive "[to] save money in taxi fare". Further, "they just wanted to get home" and "it was too inconvenient

[2] 21 responses were non-specific and could not be coded

to catch the train home or too expensive to catch a taxi and then have to come in again the next day and get the car".

Ok to drive

Some respondents held the view that James may have felt he was ok to drive (n=50). This included those who commented that James may have felt he was physically ok to drive because he had a coffee after dessert and those who thought that this perception was at least partly due to the influence of the alcohol he had drunk. Respondents said that James would have felt "he was under the effect of alcohol and felt relaxed and able", he "thinks he is still in control", and he was "too contented to be worried".

James' role in the family, masculinity

Respondents who commented on James' role in the family and as a male covered a number of areas. Some respondents felt that James was living up to his responsibilities and "thought he was doing the right thing, even though he knew he was probably over the limit", and, because "[he is the] man of the family and his wife didn't feel up to driving so he felt obligated". Some respondents made negative comments about James' decision to drive, feeling that "being a pigheaded man he thought he would show his manhood and take the wheel" and that, "they think they can do anything".

Sally's role

There was also a group of respondents who focused on Sally's role in the situation. Some respondents commented on James relationship with Sally and his responsiveness to her needs. For example, they said that James would have agreed to drive "to get home with his sick wife", "to make his wife feel good", and that "he was being chivalrous and caring toward his wife". Other respondents commented that James had to drive because "his wife fell back on her promise of designated driver" and that "he didn't want to argue".

Deterrence and Personal Morality

Some respondents commented about the risks of being caught drink driving, including those who thought that James was irresponsible or did not think the decision through (n=38), and those who thought that this was a conscious decision (n=7) in that James would have decided "he wouldn't get stopped" and "the risk was justified".

Quantitative responses

It was clear from the quantitative responses that respondents thought that James' decision to drive was inappropriate (Table 8). The majority of participants (86.6 per cent) disagreed that "it was ok for James to drive after drinking because everybody does it" [Social Norms], suggesting the participants perceive a strong Social Norm against drink driving. A similar number (88.1 per cent) disagreed that it was ok "because he knew he wasn't too drunk to drive" [Personal Morality].

More than half (55.0 per cent) agreed that "people like James drink and drive because the courts aren't tough enough on drink driving" [Procedural Fairness], 62.8 per cent agreed that "James should lose his driver's licence for driving after drinking" [perceived legitimacy]; and 75.8 per cent agreed that "if James drives whenever he has a few drinks with dinner it is only a matter of time before he gets caught" [Deterrence].

Compared to the secondary supply scenario, far fewer participants selected the neutral option (neither agree nor disagree), ranging from 3.5 per cent for "it was ok for James to drive when he was over the limit because he knew he wasn't too drunk to drive" [Personal Morality] to 21.3 per cent for "James should lose his driver's licence for driving after drinking" [Deterrence].

Table 8. Participants' responses to the drink driving scenario questions (n=202)

	Strongly agree		Agree		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
It was ok for James to drive when he was over the limit because he knew he wasn't too drunk to drive **[Personal Morality]**										
TOTAL SAMPLE	3	1.5	14	6.9	7	3.5	52	25.7	126	62.4
Parents	2	2.0	10	10.0	5	5.0	24	24.0	59	59.0
Community	1	1.0	4	3.9	2	2.0	28	27.5	67	65.7
Males	3	2.9	9	8.7	4	3.9	29	28.2	58	56.3
Females	0	0	5	5.0	3	30.0	23	23.2	68	68.7
James should lose his driver's licence for driving after drinking **[Perceived Legitimacy]**										
TOTAL SAMPLE	53	26.2	74	36.6	43	21.3	15	7.4	17	8.4
Parents	28	28	40	40.0	19	19.0	7	7.0	6	6.0
Community	25	24.5	34	33.3	24	23.5	8	7.8	11	10.8
Males	22	21.4	34	33.0	26	25.2	10	9.7	11	10.7
Females	31	31.3	40	40.4	17	17.2	5	5.1	6	6.1
People like James drink and drive because the courts aren't tough enough on drink driving **[Procedural Fairness]**										
TOTAL SAMPLE	43	21.3	68	33.7	36	17.8	45	22.3	10	5.0
Parents	24	24.0	37	37.0	17	17.0	19	19.0	3	3.0
Community	19	18.6	31	30.4	19	18.6	26	25.5	7	6.9
Males	20	19.4	32	31.1	18	17.5	26	25.2	7	6.8
Females	23	23.2	36	36.4	18	18.2	19	19.2	3	3.0
It was ok for James to drive after drinking because everybody does it **[Social Norms]**										
TOTAL SAMPLE	5	2.5	9	4.5	13	6.4	54	26.7	121	59.9
Parents	2	2.0	7	7.0	8	8.0	26	26.0	57	57.0
Community	3	2.9	2	2.0	5	4.9	28	27.5	64	62.7
Males	4	3.9	5	4.9	9	8.7	30	29.1	55	53.4
Females	1	1.0	4	4.0	4	4.0	24	24.2	66	66.7
If James drives whenever he has a few drinks with dinner it is only a matter of time before he gets caught **[Deterrence]**										
TOTAL SAMPLE	65	32.2	88	43.6	26	12.9	9	4.5	14	6.9
Parents	34	34.0	38	38.0	14	14.0	7	7.0	7	7.0
Community	31	30.4	50	49.0	12	11.8	2	2.0	7	6.9
Males	34	33.0	41	39.8	13	12.6	5	4.9	10	9.7
Females	31	31.3	17	47.5	13	13.1	4	4.0	4	4.0

4.3 Motivational factors for compliance

Responses to the attitudinal questions relating to the five motivational factors (four questions for each factor) for the three target behaviours are outlined, and compared, below. Table 9 summarises the rate of agreement with the five motivational factors for the three target behaviours.

4.3.1 Secondary supply

Personal Morality

A minority of respondents agreed that it is ok to give alcohol to teenagers as long as they are in a safe environment (17.2 per cent), that it is ok to give teenagers alcohol if you know they are good kids (13.4 per cent), and that it is ok to give teenagers alcohol as long as you don't get caught (6.0 per cent). Only slightly more than half (54.7 per cent) stated that they would never give alcohol to teenagers.

Perceived Legitimacy

More than half of the respondents agreed that their community needs stricter rules against giving alcohol to teenagers (56.2 per cent) and that people who give alcohol to teenagers should be fined (55.5 per cent). Just under one in five (19.2 per cent) agreed that people who give alcohol to teenagers should go to jail, and only 14.4 per cent agreed that the dangers of giving alcohol to teenagers are overrated.

Procedural Fairness

More than four in ten respondents agreed that the police (40.4 per cent) and the courts (46.9 per cent) aren't tough enough on people who give alcohol to teenagers. While less than one in ten agreed that the police (9.5 per cent) and the courts (9.0 per cent) are too tough.

Social Norms

Approximately a quarter of respondents agreed that most of their friends think it is ok to give alcohol to teenagers before they turn 18 (26.7 per cent), and that everybody gives alcohol to teenagers before they turn 18 if they are in a safe environment (22.6 per cent); although only 8.7 per cent agreed that giving alcohol to teenagers before they turn 18 is ok because everyone does it. Just over one third (39.9 per cent) agreed that their friends would think they were really stupid if they gave alcohol to teenagers before they turn 18.

Deterrence

Two thirds of respondents (66.1 per cent) agreed that they will get in trouble with the police if they supply alcohol to teenagers. Just under half agreed that if you give alcohol to teenagers it is only a matter of time before you get caught (46.4 per cent) and that the penalties for giving alcohol to teenagers mean it is not worth the risk (45.9 per cent). However, less than one in five (18.5 per cent) agreed that there are lots of police checking on the supply of alcohol to teenagers in their area.

4.3.2 Speeding

Personal Morality

A minority of respondents agreed that it is ok to speed if the traffic conditions allow you to do so (15.4 per cent), that speeding is ok if you have good driving skills (9.4 per cent), and that it is ok to speed as long as you don't get caught (6.9 per cent); although less than half (40.1 per cent) stated that they would never drive over the speed limit.

Perceived Legitimacy

More than half of the respondents agreed that their community needs stricter rules against speeding (54.2 per cent). However, only a third agreed that people who speed should lose their driver's licence (34.8 per cent); and over one in eight (14.9 per cent) agreed that they should go to jail. Only 14.9 per cent agreed that the dangers of speeding are overrated.

Procedural Fairness

Almost half of the respondents agreed that the police aren't tough enough (43.3 per cent) and the courts aren't tough enough (44.8 per cent) on people who speed. While more than one in ten agreed that the police (15.4 per cent) and the courts are too tough (13.4 per cent) on people who speed.

Social Norms

More than one third of respondents agreed that most of their friends think it is ok to drive at five or ten kilometres above the speed limit (38.3 per cent) and that everybody who drives speeds if the traffic conditions allow them to do so (34.3 per cent); although only 12.4 per cent agreed that driving five or ten kilometres above the speed limit is ok because everyone does it. Less than two in ten (18.9 per cent) agreed that their friends would think they were really stupid if they drove five or ten kilometres above the speed limit.

Deterrence

Almost two thirds of respondents (63.2 per cent) agreed that they will get picked up if they drive above the speed limit, and even more respondents agreed that if you speed it is only a matter of time before you get caught (83.1 per cent). Three quarters agreed that the penalties for speeding mean it is not worth the risk (74.6 per cent) and more than half agreed that there are lots of speed cameras on the road in their area (53.2 per cent).

4.3.3 Drink driving

Personal Morality

A minority of respondents agreed that it is ok to drive after drinking as long as you're not too drunk (8.4 per cent), that it is ok to drive after drinking if you have good driving skills (6.4 per cent), and that it is ok to drink and drive as long as you don't get caught (4.5 per cent). Two thirds (67.3 per cent) stated that they would never drive after drinking alcohol.

Perceived Legitimacy

More than two thirds of the respondents agreed that their community needs stricter rules against drink driving (69.3 per cent) and that people who drink and drive should lose their driver's licence (73.3 per cent). More than a third (42.1 per cent) agreed that those caught drink driving should go to jail. Only 13.4 per cent agreed that the dangers of drink driving are overrated.

Procedural Fairness

Almost one third of respondents agreed that the police aren't tough enough (32.7 per cent) and more than half agreed that the courts aren't tough enough (57.9 per cent) on drink drivers. While approximately one in ten agreed that the police are too tough (12.4 per cent) and that the courts are too tough (9.4 per cent) on drink drivers.

Social Norms

A minority of respondents agreed that most of their friends think it is ok to drink and drive (11.4 per cent) and 77.2 per cent said that their friends would think they were really stupid if they drove after drinking. However, a third agreed that everybody who drinks drives under the influence once in a while (34.7 per cent), despite only one in 20 (5.4 per cent) agreeing that driving after drinking is ok because everyone does it.

Deterrence

More than two thirds of respondents (68.8 per cent) agreed that they will get picked up if they drive after drinking, that if you drink and drive it is only a matter of time before you get caught (83.2 per cent) and that the penalties for drink driving mean it is not worth the risk (75.2 per cent); however less than half agreed that there are lots of RBT units on the road in their area (45.4 per cent).

4.3.4 Comparison of the Motivational Factors across behaviours

Personal Morality

As shown in Table 9, 17.2 per cent of respondents agreed that "it is ok to give alcohol to teenagers as long as they are in a safe environment", and they were more likely to agree that contextual factors increased acceptability for secondary supply than for drink driving ($Z=2.90$ $p=0.004$, respectively). Over one in eight (13.4 per cent) agreed that "it is ok to give alcohol to teenagers if you know they are good kids", and they were more likely to agree that these individual characteristics increased the acceptability for secondary supply than they were for speeding or drink driving ($Z=2.58$ $p=0.010$).

There was a low level of agreement that "it is ok to give alcohol to teenagers as long as you don't get caught" (6.0 per cent), and this was consistent with the findings for speeding and drink driving. More than half of the respondents (54.7 per cent) stated that they would never give alcohol to teenagers, and this was substantially higher than those who said they would never speed ($z=3.39$ $p<0.001$) but lower than those who said they would never drink drive ($z=2.97$ $p=0.003$).

Perceived Legitimacy

Just under one in five (19.2 per cent) agreed that "people who give alcohol to teenagers should go to jail" and 56.2 per cent agreed that the "community needs stricter rules against giving alcohol to teenagers", which did not differ significantly from speeding but was substantially lower than the proportion who believed this to be the case for jailing perpetrators or needing stricter rules for drink driving ($z=6.000$ $p<0.001$ and $z= 3.12$ $p=0.002$, respectively).

Respondents were more likely to agree that people should be penalised for secondary supply than for speeding ($z= 4.78$ $p<0.001$) but this was lower than the proportion who agreed that people should be penalised for drink driving ($z=4.24$ $p<.001$). Respondents did not differ between behaviours in their perception that the dangers are overrated, with less than one in eight agreeing in relation to each of the behaviours.

Procedural Fairness

There were no statistically significant differences between the secondary supply scenario and the other two scenarios for the Procedural Fairness motivator. It appeared that Procedural Fairness perceptions were similar for secondary supply and speeding, but differed for drink driving (with respondents more likely to perceive that the courts aren't tough enough on drink driving but less likely to perceive that the police aren't tough enough on drink driving). However, these differences between secondary supply and drink driving were not statistically significant. Few participants agreed that the

police, or the courts, are too tough on people who provide alcohol to teenagers. However, less than half agreed that the police aren't tough enough or the courts aren't tough enough on people who provide alcohol to teenagers.

Social Norms

Approximately a quarter (26.7 per cent) agreed that most of their friends think it is ok to provide alcohol to people under 18 years, which was significantly lower than those who believed their friends thought it was ok to speed (38.3 per cent, $z=2.92$ $p=0.003$); but higher than those who believed their friends thought it was ok to drink drive (11.4 per cent, $z=4.31$, $p<0.001$).

One in five agreed that "everybody" provides alcohol to teenagers if it is perceived to be safe, which was significantly lower than for speeding (34.3 per cent, $z=3.05$ $p= 0.002$) or drink driving (34.7 per cent, $z=3.13$ $p= 0.002$). Very few respondents (8.7 per cent) agreed that giving alcohol to teenagers was ok because everyone does it, and this did not differ significantly from speeding or drink driving (although it was higher for speeding than drink driving).

While 39.9 per cent agreed that their friends would think they were stupid if they provided alcohol to teenagers, this was significantly lower than for drink driving (77.2 per cent, $z=8.66$ $p<0.001$) but higher than for speeding (18.9 per cent, $z=5.17$ $p<0.001$).

Deterrence

While there was no difference between respondents in their agreement that they would get into trouble with the police if they gave alcohol to teenagers (66.1 per cent), drove above the speed limit (63.2 per cent) or drove under the influence of alcohol (68.8 per cent), there were significant differences on the other three Deterrence items.

Respondents were significantly less likely to believe for secondary supply than for speeding or drink driving that there are "lots of police checking/speed cameras/RBT units in my area" ($z=8.77$ $p<0.001$; $z=7.03$ $p<0.001$, respectively); it is "only a matter of time before you get caught" ($z=8.62$ $p<0.001$; $z=8.66$ $p<0.001$); or that the "penalties mean it is not worth the risk" ($z=6.69$ $p<0.001$; $z=6.85$ $p<0.001$).

Table 9. Agreement with the motivational factors across the behaviours

	Agree or strongly agree (%)		
	Secondary supply (SS)	Speeding (SP)	Drink driving (DD)
Personal Morality			
It's ok if the environment is safe/conditions allow	17.2	15.4	8.4 [SP,SS]
It's ok if they are good kids/you are good driver	13.4	9.4	6.4 [SS]
It's ok to as long as you don't get caught	6.0	6.9	4.5
I would never (engage in this behaviour)	54.7 [SP,DD]	40.1 [SS,DD]	67.3 [SP,SS]
Perceived Legitimacy			
Perpetrators should go to jail	19.2	14.9	42.1 [SP,SS]
Community needs stricter rules	56.2	54.2	69.3 [SP,SS]
Dangers are overrated	14.4	14.9	13.4
Perpetrators should be fined/lose licence (speeding)	55.5 [SP,DD]	34.8 [SS,DD]	73.3 [SP,SS]
Procedural Fairness			
Police aren't tough enough	40.4	43.3	32.7 [SP]
Courts aren't tough enough	46.9	44.8[DD]	57.9
Police are too tough	9.5	15.4	12.4
Courts are too tough	9.0	13.4	9.4
Social Norms			
Most of my friends think it is ok	26.7 [SP,DD]	38.3 [SS,DD]	11.4 [SP,SS]
Everybody does it (if it is 'safe')	22.6 [SP,DD]	34.3	34.7
Friends would think I was really stupid	39.9 [SP,DD]	18.9 [SS,DD]	77.2 [SP,SS]
Ok because everyone does it	8.7	12.4 [DD]	5.4
Deterrence			
Will get in trouble with the police	66.1	63.2	68.8
Lots of police checking/speed cameras/RBT units in my area	18.5 [SP,DD]	53.2	45.5
Only a matter of time before you get caught	46.4 [SP,DD]	83.1	83.2
Penalties mean it is not worth the risk	45.9 [SP,DD]	74.6	75.2

Group differences at $p<.05$, (superscript letters identify the comparisons which are significantly different).

4.4 Behaviour

For each of the behaviours of interest, participants were asked a series of questions about how often they engage in each of five specific behaviours. All participants were asked about secondary supply behaviours, but only those who read the relevant scenario were asked the questions about drink driving or speeding. For each item they were asked how often in the last 12 months they had engaged in the behaviour (on a five point scale, from 1 = never to 5 = very often).

4.4.1 Secondary supply

On average, participants reported that they 'never' to 'rarely' give alcohol to a teenager aged 16-17 to drink at home, or to take to a party; to a teenager aged less than 16 to drink at home, or to take to

a party; or buy alcohol for a teenager (under 18 years) who approaches them near a bottle shop or liquor store (see Table 10).

4.4.2 Speeding

On average, participants reported that they "never" to "rarely" ignore traffic rules in order to get ahead in traffic, bend the traffic rules in order to get ahead in traffic, exceed the speed limit in built-up areas (by more than ten kilometres), or overtake the car in front when it is driving at the speed limit. The only behavior for which the average reported frequency was more than "rarely" was "exceed the speed limit on country roads (by more than ten kilometres)".

4.4.3 Drink driving

On average, participants reported that they "never" to "rarely" drive when they think they might be a lot over the legal blood alcohol limit of 0.05, drive when they think they might be a little bit over 0.05, lie to police if they are pulled over and asked if they have been drinking, and drive a different way home to avoid RBT/police because they have been drinking.

Table 10. Self-reported engagement in the target behaviours

Target behaviours	Mean
Secondary supply	
Give alcohol to a teenager aged 16-17 to drink at your home or their home	1.40
Give alcohol to a teenager aged 16-17 to take to a party	1.21
Give alcohol to a teenager aged less than 16 to drink at your home or their home	1.22
Give alcohol to a teenager aged less than 16 to take to a party	1.19
Buy alcohol for a teenager (under 18 years) who approaches you near a bottle shop or liquor store	1.19
Speeding	
Exceed the speed limit in built-up areas (by more than 10km/h)	1.80
Exceed the speed limit on country roads (by more than 10km/h)	2.17
Overtake the car in front when it is driving at the speed limit	1.89
Bend the traffic rules in order to get ahead in traffic	1.72
Ignore traffic rules in order to get ahead in traffic	1.53
Drink driving	
Drive your car when you think you might be a little bit over .05	1.33
Drive your car when you think you might be a lot over .05	1.18
Drive a different way home to avoid RBT/police because you have been drinking	1.32
Lie to police if you are pulled over and they ask if you have been drinking	1.20

[1=never, 2=rarely, 3-sometimes, 4=often, 5=very often]

4.4.4 Predicting secondary supply

A logistic regression was performed for each of the secondary supply behaviour variables (dichotomised into those who said they would "never" do the behavior compared to those who indicated "rarely", "sometimes", "often", or "very often"). The predictor variables entered were the five compliance factors:

- Personal Morality: where low scores indicate agreeing not to give young people alcohol.
- Perceived Legitimacy: where low scores indicate agreement with strict(er) rules.
- Procedural Fairness: where low scores indicate agreement that laws/ police are not tough enough.

- Social Norms: where low scores indicate believing that the social norm is to not give alcohol to young people.
- Deterrence: where low scores indicate agreement that there is risk of getting caught and punished.

Demographic factors were also entered as predictors: group (parent or community member), gender (male or female) and age (in years).

In the regression for "give alcohol to a teenager aged 16-17 to drink at your home or their home", the model explained 30.0 per cent (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance and correctly classified 77.4 per cent of cases. The significant predictors were: Personal Morality ($p<0.001$), with a one unit increase in the score on this variable associated with respondents being 2.2 (CI 1.4–3.5) times more likely to report engaging in the behavior; and Social Norms ($p=0.015$), with a one unit increase in the score associated with respondents being 1.8 (CI 1.1–2.9) times more likely to report engaging in the behaviour. Perceived Legitimacy, Procedural Fairness, Deterrence and the demographic variables were not predictive.

In the regression for "give alcohol to a teenager aged 16-17 to take to a party", the model explained 36.9 per cent (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance and correctly classified 89.0 per cent of cases. Personal Morality (odds ratio = 2.4, CI 1.3–4.4; $p<0.007$) and Social Norms (odds ratio = 2.5, CI 1.3–5.0; $p<0.007$) were again significant predictors of engaging in the behaviour. Additionally, respondent age was a predictor, with a one year increase in age associated with being 0.9 (CI 0.9–1.0; $p<0.001$) times *less* likely to report giving alcohol to a teenager aged 16-17 to take to a party.

In the regression for "give alcohol to a teenager aged less than 16 to drink at your home or their home" the model explained 41.8 per cent (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance and correctly classified 87.8 per cent of cases. As with the previous behaviour, Personal Morality (odds ratio = 3.3, CI 1.7–6.3; $p<0.001$) and Social Norms (odds ratio = 3.0, CI 1.5–6.1; $p=0.002$) were predictive. Additionally, Deterrence was predictive in this instance (odds ratio = 2.4, CI 1.3–4.5; $p=0.005$). Again, respondents' increasing age was associated with a lower likelihood of reporting giving alcohol to a teenager aged less than 16 "to drink at your home or their home" (odds ratio = 0.9, CI 0.9–1.0; $p=0.001$).

In the regression for "give alcohol to a teenager aged less than 16 to take to a party", the model explained 46.3 per cent (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance and correctly classified 92.5 per cent of cases. As with giving alcohol to a young teenager to drink at home, the motivational factors predicting engaging in this behaviour were Personal Morality (odds ratio = 3.5, CI 1.7–7.6; $p=0.001$), Social Norms (odds ratio = 2.7, CI 1.2–6.1; $p=0.017$), and Deterrence (odds ratio = 2.0, CI 1.0–4.1; $p=0.049$). Being older was again associated with being less likely to engage in the behaviour (odds ratio = 0.9, CI 0.9–1.0; $p<0.001$); and, in this instance, being a parent was associated with being substantially *less* likely (odds ratio = 0.2, CI 0.1–0.5; $p=0.002$) to report giving alcohol to a teenager aged less than 16 to take to a party.

In the regression for "buy alcohol for a teenager (under 18 years) who approaches you near a bottle shop or liquor store", the model explained 47.5 per cent (Nagelkerke R2) of the variance and correctly classified 92.5 per cent of cases. The motivational factors predicting self-report of this behaviour were Personal Morality (odds ratio = 3.9, CI 1.8–8.6; $p=0.001$), and Deterrence (odds ratio = 2.2, CI 1.1-4.6; $p=0.029$). Once again, predictors of being *less* likely to report engaging in the behaviour were age (odds ratio = 0.9, CI 0.9–1.0; $p<0.001$), and being a parent (odds ratio = 0.2, CI 0.1–0.6, $p=0.003$).

5. Discussion

5.1 Summary of findings

Attitudes

It appears that secondary supply is considered to be a behaviour that is generally unacceptable, at least among our respondents. Only 10.5 per cent of parents and community members reported that they (very often, often or sometimes) give alcohol to a teenager aged 16-17 to drink at (the respondent's or the young person's) home; 6.7 per cent reported that they give alcohol to a teenager aged 16-17 to take to a party; 6.7 per cent reported that they give alcohol to a teenager aged less than 16 to drink at (the respondent's or the young person's) home; 7.5 per cent reported that they give alcohol to a teenager aged less than 16 to take to a party; and 7.0 per cent reported that they buy alcohol for a teenager (under 18 years) who approaches them near a bottle shop or liquor store.

In relation to the five motivational factors that are posited to influence people's willingness to comply with, or breach, laws, we found high levels of Personal Morality; with a minority agreeing that it is ok to give alcohol to teenagers as long as they are in a safe environment, if you know they are good kids, or as long as you don't get caught.

We also found high levels of Social Norms; with only a quarter of respondents agreeing that most of their friends think it is ok to give alcohol to teenagers before they turn 18, or that everybody gives alcohol to teenagers before they turn 18 if they are in a safe environment, and only 8.7 per cent agreeing that giving alcohol to teenagers before they turn 18 is ok because everyone does it.

However, we found only moderate levels of Perceived Legitimacy; with just over half of the respondents agreeing that their community needs stricter rules against giving alcohol to teenagers and that people who give alcohol to teenagers should be fined, and only 14.4 per cent agreeing that the dangers of giving alcohol to teenagers are overrated, although only a minority agreed that people who give alcohol to teenagers should go to jail.

The findings were somewhat weaker for Procedural Fairness; with approximately four in ten agreeing that the police aren't tough enough, and slightly more agreeing that the courts aren't tough enough on people who give alcohol to teenagers, whereas less than one in ten agreed that the police or the courts are too tough.

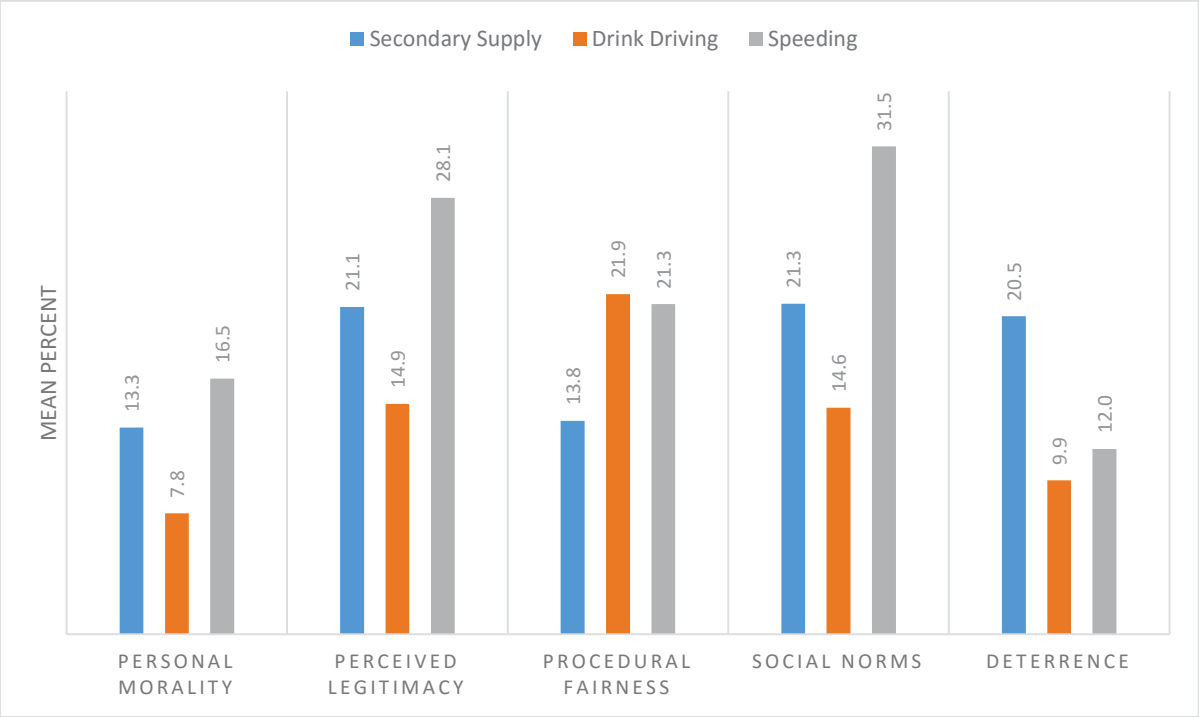
The findings for Deterrence were similar. While two thirds of respondents agreed that they will get in trouble with the police if they supply alcohol to teenagers, less than half agreed that if you give alcohol to teenagers it is only a matter of time before you get caught, or that the penalties for giving alcohol to teenagers mean it is not worth the risk. Further, less than one in five agreed that there are lots of police checking on the supply of alcohol to teenagers in their area.

A comparison to the other two behaviours included in the study suggests that there are some consistencies between secondary supply and speeding, and some clear differences between secondary supply and the two driving behaviours. Figure 1 shows the percentage of people agreeing with statements that are associated with not complying with laws (for instance, agreeing that it is ok to engage in a behaviour if the environment is safe/conditions allow, or not agreeing that they will get in trouble with the police if they engage in the behaviour).

Secondary supply and speeding laws were perceived to be more associated with Personal Morality, Social Norms, and Perceived Legitimacy than drink driving laws. For example, respondents perceived stronger Social Norms opposing drink driving, and were more supportive of stricter rules and higher penalties for drink driving.

However, secondary supply differed from the two driving behaviours on perceptions of Procedural Fairness (although this is primarily the result of the high proportion of respondents who gave a neutral response, which suggests lack of knowledge of the penalties). The difference that separated secondary supply from the two types of driving offences was Deterrence, with respondents clearly perceiving that they are substantially less likely to be caught or to be punished for secondary supply than for speeding or drink driving.

Figure 1. Role of the motivational factors across the five behaviours1



[1] Per cent agreeing or strongly agreeing with statements that the theoretical framework suggests are associated with not complying with laws, or disagreeing or strongly disagreeing with statements that the theoretical framework suggests are associated with complying with laws.

Explaining "other people's" secondary supply behaviours

The open-ended responses to the scenarios supported this finding from the attitudinal data that secondary supply shares some similarities with speeding and that both differ from drink driving. Very few respondents focused on the behaviour itself when considering what the hypothetical individuals would be thinking about in the secondary supply and speeding scenarios, generally focusing on other aspects of the scenario, such as enjoyment of the social activity.

Whereas the illegal behaviour (and the risk of being caught) was the focus of the majority of the responses to the drink driving scenario. When asked about the motivations for the target behaviour, the responses in relation to secondary supply and speeding focused on Social Norms. The difference identified in the attitudinal questions in Deterrence as a motivator for not engaging in the three behaviours was also evident in the open-ended responses to the scenarios, with none of the respondents referring directly to the law relating to secondary supply.

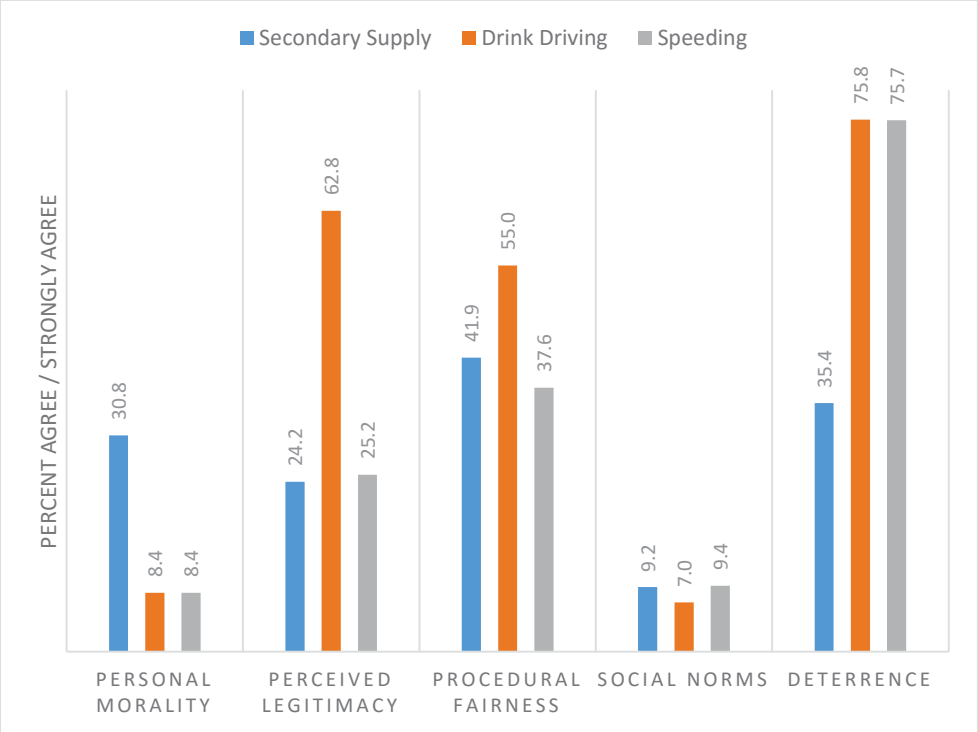
Analysis of the quantitative responses to the secondary supply scenario again showed that Social Norms encourage compliance (two thirds disagreed that it was ok "because everyone does it"), as does Personal Morality (half disagreed that it was ok "because they were in a safe environment") and,

to a lesser extent, Procedural Fairness (two in ten agreed that "people like James give alcohol to teenagers because the courts aren't tough enough on secondary supply"). However, consistent with the open-ended responses and the attitudinal items, Deterrence was only a weak barrier to secondary supply (only one third agreed that "if James gives alcohol to his son's friends it is only a matter of time before he gets caught", and another third were unsure).

A comparison to the other two scenarios included in the study (see Figure 2) shows that respondents' interpretations of the behaviour of the hypothetical individual suggests there are strong Social Norms opposing secondary supply that are consistent with speeding and drink driving, but that secondary supply is more strongly associated with Personal Morality than either of the two driving behaviours.

It also appears that secondary supply is perceived as similar to speeding, but different to drink driving, in relation to Perceived Legitimacy and Procedural Fairness; suggesting that respondents are more supportive of harsher laws and stricter enforcement for drink driving than for speeding or secondary supply. However, as with the attitudinal questions, the difference that separated secondary supply from the two types of driving offences was Deterrence, with respondents clearly perceiving that the hypothetical 'James' was substantially less likely to be caught or punished for secondary supply than for speeding or drink driving.

Figure 2. Respondents' perceptions of the role of the motivational factors in the behaviour of the hypothetical 'James' across the five behaviours[1]



[1] Per cent agreeing or strongly agreeing with the single statement for each factor included in the scenario quantitative questions.

Predicting secondary supply behaviour

While only a small number of respondents admitted to engaging in any of the five secondary supply behaviours, the analysis showed that three of the five posited motivational factors that were significant predictors of these behaviours. Personal Morality was found to be a strong predictor of not

engaging in all of the five secondary supply behaviours. Social Norms a strong predictor of not engaging in all, but with buying alcohol for a teenager (under 18 years) who approaches you near a bottle shop or liquor store. Deterrence was a predictor of not buying alcohol for a teenager near a bottle shop or liquor store, and also of not providing alcohol to a teenager aged less than 16 years to consume at home or at a party (but Deterrence did not impact on the providing alcohol for a teenager aged 16-17 years in either scenario).

5.2 Conclusions

The main obedience variables predictive of compliance regarding secondary supply of alcohol in our study were Personal Morality and Social Norms. In other words, people's decisions (and interpretations of others' decisions) are influenced by their personal sense of what is right and wrong and their perceptions regarding what their friends and peers consider an accepted behaviour in a given situation. Deterrence was sometimes an influence; notably when the teenager was aged 16 years or less or where the supply behaviour took place in a public place where detection was more likely to occur (such as near an alcohol outlet).

It is important to note that the apparent interaction, or perhaps primacy, of these compliance predictors varies across behaviours. Respondents' commentary about James letting his son and his friends have two beers included both Personal Morality (using harm minimisation practices, thinking that providing alcohol is ok/not ok, emphasising trust for moderate drinking, avoiding conflict) and Social Norms (emphasising the importance of the son being socially accepted or of James being the 'cool dad'). However, in the case of speeding, when concerned about being late to the restaurant the Social Norm of arriving on time appeared to dominate, rather than Personal Morality involving views on the rights and wrongs of speeding. As one respondent eloquently stated, "his (James') concern for making the reservation time was more important than disobeying the speed limit".

5.3 Implications for alcohol policy

Our finding that secondary supply shares similarities with speeding, and has marked differences from drink driving, echoes findings from our earlier qualitative research, which sought to explore responses to the New South Wales Police 'Supply Means Supply' campaign (Jones, Gilchrist, Gregory, & Barrie, 2011). In the words of one of our participants "it's an acceptable break of the law".

That is, as predicted by the framework, Social Norms are a powerful influence on people's decisions as to whether to obey the law. Our findings further suggest that the interaction between Personal Morality and Social Norms may involve a confluence of perspectives. Respondents were more likely to agree that they would never engage in speeding or secondary supply behaviours, than to agree that their friends would think they were stupid if they did so, whereas the reverse was true for drink driving.

The possible conflict and congruence of Personal Morality and Social Norms needs consideration in communication and social marketing campaigns regarding secondary supply. Efforts to address secondary supply behaviours need to not only reinforce the social norm of not providing alcohol to people under the age of 18 years, but may also benefit from clearly communicating the level of social disapproval that ensues if people engage in this behaviour (a message that has been effectively communicated in the context of drink driving campaigns).

Our previous research – in the context of developing and delivering an intervention to address Social Norms surrounding underage drinking – has demonstrated that people substantially overestimate the

social acceptability of underage drinking and provision of alcohol, and perceive their own values to be more conservative than those of their community.

- **Communication and social marketing campaigns should focus on reinforcing people's underlying attitudes that secondary supply is inappropriate, and denormalising the provision of alcohol to underage drinkers.**
- **Communication and social marketing campaigns may benefit from emphasising the social disapproval that ensues from engaging in secondary supply.**

Our previous research has also identified that parents, and other adults, are concerned and confused by the conflicting messages they receive about early alcohol initiation and supervised provision of alcohol to adolescents. Many parents believe that providing alcohol to their adolescent children is an effective harm minimisation strategy – that it models responsible drinking and reduces the likelihood of adolescents obtaining alcohol elsewhere (Jones et al., 2011; Jones, Magee, & Andrews, 2015). There is also a degree of confusion as to the harms associated with underage drinking. There is a need to provide parents, and other adults in the community, with information that enables a clearer understanding of the harms associated with adolescent alcohol consumption, the risks of secondary supply, and the parenting strategies that work in delaying the onset of drinking.

- **Communication, education and social marketing campaigns need to provide clear information for parents and other responsible adults about the risks associated with secondary supply and the evidence on early alcohol initiation.**
- **Strategies need to be developed to educate and empower parents, increase their self-efficacy, and delay the onset of drinking.**

However, what differentiated secondary supply from the two driving behaviours – in the context of overall attitudes, perceptions of the motivations of the hypothetical individual, and predictors of behaviour – was the role of Deterrence. Our analysis of the attitudinal statements showed that, compared to speeding or drink driving, respondents were substantially less likely to believe that if they engaged in secondary supply behaviours it was only a matter of time before they would get caught, that the penalties mean that it is not worth the risk, or that there were lots of police checking in their area.

Our previous research has demonstrated that the majority of people are aware that secondary supply is illegal (Jones & Barrie, 2013). In fact, many people erroneously believe that it is also illegal to provide alcohol to their own children. They are, however, less aware of the penalties (Jones et al., 2011); currently a maximum penalty of $11,000, 12 months imprisonment (or both), or an on-the-spot fine of $1,100 in New South Wales (the jurisdiction in which the study respondents reside). The perception that they are unlikely to get caught and punished for engaging in secondary supply is largely accurate – with the one possible exception being the situation of purchasing alcohol for an underage drinker who approaches them outside a liquor store. Thus it is not surprising that Deterrence was a significant predictor of engaging in this behaviour.

- **Communication and social marketing campaigns should raise awareness among adults of the penalties for secondary supply, given the important role of Deterrence in reducing this behaviour.**
- **Consideration should also be given to education campaigns targeting adolescents that raise their awareness of the penalties for secondary supply that apply to adults (including friends/peers aged 18 and over) who provide them with alcohol.**

- **Given the demonstrated role of Deterrence in reducing speeding and drink driving, policy initiatives that facilitate enforcement of secondary supply laws are likely to have a substantial impact on reducing secondary supply.**

5.4 Recommendations for future research

This study identified areas of similarity, and areas of difference, in community perceptions between secondary supply and driving offences. All three of the behaviours explored in this study are clearly influenced by Personal Morality and Social Norms. However, consistent with our previous research, it was clear that there are gaps between individuals' own values and their perceptions of the values of their community.

- **There is a need for further research to better understand how to maximise the confluence and minimise the conflict between Personal Morality and Social Norms to reduce secondary supply.**

We found that older respondents were less likely to report giving alcohol to teenagers to take to a party or to drink at home and less likely to report that they would buy alcohol for a stranger. It is not clear whether this is simply a feature of respondent age (for instance, translating to more conservative views) or a shift in societal attitudes toward underage drinking – where attitudes toward teenage drinking are becoming more liberal.

- **There is a need for further research to explore the reasons for age-related differences in willingness to engage in secondary supply behaviours.**

The majority of our recommendations for policy and practice relate to information, education, and social marketing campaigns. These include messages and strategies to denormalise secondary supply, to communicate the risks associated with secondary supply, and to provide parents and others with the confidence and tools to delay alcohol initiation among the young people in their community. These are complex and nuanced messages that need to be carefully crafted to ensure their acceptability and effectiveness in informing and persuading the target audiences. Messages must be extensively tested to ensure that they have the desired effects (and do not result in unintended outcomes), otherwise there is a risk of messages being dismissed or misunderstood by the target audiences.

- **There is a need for further research to develop and test messages with the relevant target audiences to inform the development of education and social marketing campaigns that are perceived by the target audience as relevant, credible and acceptable, and that result in the desired knowledge, attitude and behaviour changes.**

This was a small-scale study in a single Australian State, New South Wales. Given the variation between states and territories in the nature, recency and enforcement of secondary supply laws, it would be valuable to compare knowledge, attitudes and motivations for behaviour across jurisdictions.

- **There is a need for further research across jurisdictions in order to identify any aspects of the laws or their enforcement that influence secondary supply attitudes and behaviours.**

Given the clear evidence of the central role of Deterrence (belief that engagement in the behaviour will result in detection and punishment) in differentiating secondary supply from speeding and drink driving, there is a clear need for research into community perceptions of the acceptability (and enforcement) of secondary supply laws.

Our study, combined with our previous research, suggests that in addition to (accurately) perceiving a low risk of apprehension, many people are unsure what behaviours are against the law and what the penalties are (Jones et al., 2011). However, initial evidence from the National Drug Strategy Household Survey shows that 84 per cent of Australians support stricter enforcement of laws against

alcohol supply to minors and 67 per cent support the regulation of alcohol supply to minors on private premises.[3]

Developing a better understanding of what the community believes to be appropriate penalties (Perceived Legitimacy), their perception of the role of the police and the courts (Procedural Fairness), and their acceptance of different approaches to detection and prosecution (Deterrence) would result in increased capacity to lobby for appropriate policy change that is supported by the community.

- **There is a need for qualitative and quantitative research to develop a comprehensive understanding of what the community perceives to be appropriate in terms of laws, penalties and enforcement strategies to reduce secondary supply.**

[3] These questions were asked for the first time in 2013 (AIHW, 2013).

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