# The 'Reign of Error' in Adolescents' Perceptions of Peer Drinking Norms in US Secondary Schools 

Jessica M. Perkins, PhD<br>Vanderbilt University

H. Wesley Perkins, PhD Hobart and William Smith Colleges

David W. Craig, PhD (presenter) Hobart and William Smith Colleges

## Conceptual Framework

Peer Norms are the behaviors and attitudes engaged in or held by the majority of persons within a defined group of peers


# 'What is perceived as real is real in its consequences' 

Thomas \& Thomas, 1928



## Research Questions

1. To what extent are peer norms about alcohol consumption misperceived, and does misperception vary across student and school characteristics?

## Research Questions

2. To what extent is what a student perceives to be normative alcohol consumption among peers associated with personal alcohol consumption?

## Web-based Survey Instrument



## Participants

- 28,070 students in grades 6 through 12 across 64 schools in 11 states (AZ, CO, ID, IN, IA, MA, ME, MT, NY, NJ, WA)
- Response rate $=79 \%(\min =50 \%)$
- 23 Middle schools
- 1 Intermediate high school
- 38 High Schools
- 2 K-12 schools


## Diversity in Schools

| School-Level Demographics | N of Schools |
| :--- | :---: |
| White: <50\% (min. of 28\%) | 8 |
| White: 50\% - 89\% | 29 |
| White: $90 \%+$ | 23 |
| Hispanic <10\% | 36 |
| Hispanic: 10\% - 40\% | 20 |
| Hispanic: >40\% | 4 |
| Black: < 5\% |  |
| Black: 5\% - 25\% | 50 |
| Black: > 25\% | 6 |
|  | 4 |
| Free school lunch: < 10\% | 13 |
| Free school lunch: 10\%-25\% | 11 |
| Free school lunch: $26 \%-50 \%$ | 26 |
| Free school lunch: >50\% | 5 |
| Public |  |
| Private / parochial | 58 |
| Urban/Suburban | 6 |
| Rural | 22 |


| \% surveyed in 1999-2004 | $49 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| \% surveyed in 2005-2010 | $38 \%$ |
| \% surveyed in 2011-2017 | $14 \%$ |


|  | N of |
| :--- | :---: |
| Grade Distribution | Students |


| 6 | 2264 |
| :--- | :---: |
| 7 | 2535 |
| 8 | 2293 |
| 9 | 6538 |
| 10 | 5707 |
| 11 | 4867 |
| 12 | 3863 |
| Total | 28070 |

## Alcohol Consumption Measures

14. Not counting just a few sips in a family or religious gathering, how often do you think students in each of the following categories typically consume alcohol? Include beer, wine, wine coolers, liquor and mixed drinks in your answer.
Just give your best estimate of what is most typical for each category (a through g).

15. How many alcoholic drinks, if any, do you think each of the following students on average typically consume at parties or social occasions?
Just give your best estimate of what is most typical for each category (a through g).

|  | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7+ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. Yourself | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ |
| b. Your friends | O | , | O | O | 0 | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ | 0 |
| c. Students in your grade | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ |

## Actual Norms

## Prevalence of Alcohol Use Frequency ( $\mathrm{N}=27,359$ )

$\square$ Never or rarely $\square$ Monthly ■ More than once per month


## Number of Alcoholic Drinks <br> Typically Consumed at Parties and Social Occasions by Grade

| Grade | Median <br> Drinks | Mean <br> Drinks | SD | $\mathbf{N}$ of <br> students |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 6 | 0 | .26 | 1.0 | 2186 |
| 7 | 0 | .46 | 1.3 | 2426 |
| 8 | 0 | 1.0 | 1.9 | 2228 |
| 9 | 0 | 1.3 | 2.1 | 6384 |
| 10 | 1 | 1.9 | 2.4 | 5557 |
| 11 | 1 | 2.5 | 2.7 | 4745 |
| 12 | 3 | 2.9 | 2.7 | 3727 |

Misperceived Norms

## Prevalence of Accurate and Inaccurate Estimation of Frequency Norm where Grade Cohort Norm is Never or Rare Alcohol Use by Grade


$\square$ Accurate estimation of norm ■ Inaccurate estimation of norm

## Prevalence of Accurate and Inaccurate Estimation of Frequency Norm where Grade Cohort Norm is Monthly Alcohol Use by Grade



- Inaccurate underestimation of norm
- Accurate estimation of norm

■ Inaccurate overestimation of norm

## Misperception of Grade Cohort Quantity Norm for Drinks at Parties/Social Occasions by Actual Norm

| Actual grade cohort norm for number of drinks consumed | \% underestimating norm (mean \# of drinks in error ) | \% accurately estimating norm | \% overestimating norm (mean \# of drinks in error ) | N of students |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 0 | - | 20 | 80 (3.0) | 14,906 |
| 1.0 | 3.9 (1.0) | 8.4 | 88 (3.4) | 4,946 |
| 1.5 | 2.7 (1.5) | 19* | 78 (3.5) | 111 |
| 2.0 | 6.7 (1.4) | 10 | 83 (3.0) | 3,752 |
| 3.0 | 9.8 (1.5) | 14 | 76 (2.6) | 2,137 |
| 3.5 | 7.7 (1.8) | 30* | 62 (2.9) | 156 |
| 4.0 | 17 (1.7) | 14 | 69 (2.3) | 527 |
| 4.5 | 27 (2.1) | 30* | 43 (2.4) | 63 |
| 5.0 | 28 (1.9) | 17 | 55 (1.7) | 286 |
| All cohorts | 3.2 (1.4) | 16 | 81 (3.0) | 26,844 |

*Perceptions of the norm are reported as whole numbers. For cohort medians occurring exactly between two whole drink numbers, a perceived estimate of the whole number above or below the value was classified as accurate.

## Misperception of Grade Cohort Quantity Norm for Drinks at Parties/Social Occasions by Time Period

|  | \% under- <br> estimating <br> norm (mean \# <br> of drinks <br> in error ) | \% accurately <br> estimating <br> norm | \% over- <br> estimating <br> norm (mean <br> \# of drinks in <br> error ) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Time Period | $3.9(1.5)$ | 18 | $79(2.8)$ |
| $1999-2004$ | $2.7(1.3)$ | 14 | $83(3.2)$ |
| $2005-2010$ | $2.0(1.4)$ | 17 | $81 \quad(3.3)$ |

## Overestimates of Grade Cohort Quantity Norm for Drinks at Parties/Social Occasions by Race/Ethnicity

| Race/ | \% over-estimating <br> quantity consumption <br> norm among same- <br> grade same-school <br> peers | Mean number <br> of drinks <br> overestimated |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| White | $83 \%$ | 3.3 |
| Black | $82 \%$ | 3.6 |
| Hispanic / Latino | $78 \%$ | 3.2 |
| Asian | $74 \%$ | 2.9 |
| American Indian | $79 \%$ | 3.4 |
| /Alaskan Native | $71 \%$ | 3.1 |
| Other |  |  |

## Overestimates of Grade Cohort Quantity Norm for Drinks at Parties/Social Occasions by Free School Lunch \%

|  | \% over-estimating <br> quantity consumption <br> norm among same- <br> grade same-school <br> peers | Mean number <br> of drinks <br> overestimated |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 0 to 9.9 | $82 \%$ | 3.2 |
| 10 to 24.9 | $80 \%$ | 3.0 |
| 25 and over | $78 \%$ | 3.0 |

Predicting Personal Behavior

## Number of Alcoholic Drinks Consumed at Parties or Social Occasions is Associated with Perceived Alcohol Consumption and Actual Median Alcohol Consumption Among Same-Grade Same-School Students

|  | Males |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
|  | b | s.e. |
| Perceived number of alcoholic drinks typically <br> consumed at parties or social occasions among | $0.62 * * *$ | 0.10 |
| same-grade peers |  |  |
| Median number of alcoholic drinks actually |  |  |
| consumed at parties or social occasions among | $0.23^{* * *}$ | 0.03 |
| same-grade peers |  |  |
| Age | $0.05 * *$ | 0.02 |
| Black (vs. White) | -0.16 | 0.13 |
| Hispanic/Latino (vs. White) | 0.17 | 0.11 |
| Asian (vs. White) | -0.21 | 0.13 |
| Other (vs. White) | -0.10 | 0.12 |
| Not in a Club (vs. In Club) | $-0.33^{* * *}$ | 0.05 |
| Has a Job (vs. No Job) | 0.34 | *** |

## Number of Alcoholic Drinks Consumed at Parties or Social Occasions is Associated with Perceived Alcohol Consumption and Actual Median Alcohol Consumption Among Same-Grade Same-School Students

|  | Females |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
|  | b | se |
| Perceived number of alcoholic drinks typically <br> consumed at parties or social occasions among <br> same-grade peers | $0.53^{* * *}$ | 0.01 |
| Median number of alcoholic drinks actually |  |  |
| consumed at parties or social occasions among | $0.17 * * *$ | 0.02 |
| same-grade peers |  |  |
| Age | 0.03 | 0.02 |
| Black (vs. White) | 0.03 | 0.15 |
| Hispanic/Latino (vs. White) | 0.12 | 0.09 |
| Asian (vs. White) | $-0.23^{*}$ | 0.11 |
| Other (vs. White) | -0.01 | 0.11 |
| Not in a Club (vs. In Club) | $-0.30 * * *$ | 0.04 |
| Has a Job (vs. No Job) | $0.31^{* * *}$ | 0.13 |

## Key Findings - 'Reign of Error'

1. Pervasive misperception of peer norms
2. Perceived peer norms strongly predicted personal behavior

## Implications

- Opportunity to correct misperceptions
- Social norms intervention to share information about actual norms via peer leaders, text messages, various social media platforms, etc.
- May lead to behavioral change
- May lead those who are already part the norm to be more vocal about their positive behavior as models for peer behavior


## Abstract

Past work on social norms and alcohol use among college students has found pervasive overestimations of peer drinking norms and that the frequency and quantity a student believes peers to drink predicts personal consumption. Few studies have examined whether similar phenomena are found among middle school and high school students. Yet, students' perceptions of peer norms within the school context may be an important determinant of alcohol use as youth look to peers for social cues on how to behave during an important developmental period. This study distinguishes between perceived and actual peer norms for alcohol use among 28,070 students in grades 6-12 across 64 diverse schools in 11 states from 1999 to 2017. Data were collected via anonymous online surveys (with an average response rate of $79 \%$ ) on students' perceptions of the most common drinking behaviors among same-grade same-school peers as well as on personal drinking behaviors. Within $83 \%$ of grade-school cohorts (182 out of 220), the majority of students rarely consumed alcohol (never or only 1-2x per year). This peer norm of abstinence/rare use was misperceived, however, by two-thirds of students in these grade cohorts who thought that peers typically consumed alcohol more frequently. Further, one-third of students in these cohorts erroneously believed most peers drank weekly or more often. In the other 38 cohorts where monthly alcohol use was the actual norm, peer norm overestimations were still equally pervasive. Disparities between actual and perceived norms for other consumption measures were found across all cohorts and were pervasive across individual and school characteristics. Misperceiving frequent drinking and drinking large quantities as peer norms strongly predicted personal drinking. Researchers should test interventions to reduce misperceptions among youth, and presumably reduce actual alcohol use. Practitioners could begin to explore comprehensive ways to promote awareness of positive actual norms among students.

