



**Formative Evaluation:
Community action to reduce
the social supply of alcohol
to minors in Mangere**

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Executive Summary

Introduction

This report outlines the findings from focus groups undertaken as part of the formative evaluation of the social supply component of the community action project run by Alcohol Healthwatch (AHW) and partners in Mangere. The purpose of the focus group research was to: gain a better understanding of social supply in Mangere; ensure that any community action initiatives are appropriate and acceptable for the local community; and generate new strategies drawn from the ideas and experiences of local residents.

The formative evaluation also included a literature review on social supply (Greenaway et al., 2009) and the development of a programme logic model (Appendix One). This report includes recommendations for the planning of community action initiatives aimed at reducing the social supply of alcohol to underage drinkers and possible evaluation measures.

Methods

The focus group participants were recruited through local community organisations and the networks of the AHW project co-ordinator. In total eight focus groups were completed: three with parents (who had young people living in their households aged 14-17 years), two with 18 to 20 year olds and three with 16 to 17 year olds. The discussions focused on participants' views and experiences regarding social supply and potential community action approaches. A thematic analysis was used to identify themes and patterns in the data.

Findings

Inevitability of supply

The belief that alcohol is readily available to young people influences some parents' decision to supply alcohol to young people as an alternative to their children accessing alcohol in uncontrolled situations. For some participants, underage access to alcohol is an accepted part of everyday life and some older young people felt obliged to supply alcohol to younger drinkers.

Impact of wider environment

Focus group participants identified features of the local environment that increased

the availability of alcohol to young people. These included the number of alcohol outlets; the willingness of licensed premise staff and strangers to either sell or purchase alcohol for young people; the promotion of alcohol to young people along with low prices and products that are appealing to young drinkers; and the lowering of the purchase age to 18. These features were seen as reducing the ability of parents to control young people's access to alcohol.

Reasons for providing alcohol

A variety of reasons were given for providing alcohol to underage drinkers and these were related to the issue of supervision. In some cases parents believed it was acceptable to give young people alcohol when they were supervised but at the same time the difficulties of ensuring adequate supervision were acknowledged. Younger participants also thought young people should be supervised when drinking in order to reduce the harms that can occur. A few parents thought that teaching young people to drink at home could help them when they reach the legal purchase age.

In theory participants agreed that parents should be asked for permission before other people provided their children with alcohol. However, participants reported reasons why they would not do so including concern about what parents might do to them and a desire to remain popular with young people.

Reasons for not providing alcohol

There were parents and 18 to 20 year olds who would not give alcohol to minors. Reasons for not providing alcohol to young people included concerns about short and long term alcohol-related harms, a desire not to breach the trust of parents and impacts on the Mangere community.

Interventions

Participants were asked for their views on different approaches that could be used to reduce alcohol related harm including: a petition to gain support for a law change so that only parents or guardians could supply alcohol to under 18s; asking customers at licensed premises to sign a declaration form which stated that the alcohol they were purchasing would not be supplied to a minor; encouraging families and whanau to develop family rules about supplying alcohol to young people; encouraging organisations with high youth membership to develop rules around supplying alcohol; and promoting alcohol-free messages to foster community norms against supply to young people.

There was mixed support for the use of a petition and participants were divided about whether a law change restricting supply to parents or legal guardians was a good idea. In general, the use of a declaration form at licensed premises was not seen as appropriate for the Mangere community. The development of family and organisational rules was supported by most participants although there was some scepticism about whether such rules would be enforced. The use of a t-shirt to promote non-supply was supported by some, as long as it was free and stylish.

Strategies to alter the wider community environment in order to reduce the availability of alcohol to young people were suggested by focus group participants. Increasing positive opportunities for young people in Mangere and persuasion and awareness-raising strategies were also supported.

Discussion

The research findings suggest that project initiatives need to be framed in positive terms rather than telling parents what they should and shouldn't do. Many positive values and connections within Mangere were identified and project initiatives can build on these. For example the concept of guardianship could be used to develop common agreements around the (un)acceptability of the supply of alcohol to young people. Reports of young people's ability to access alcohol from licensed premises is of concern. The focus group findings and the research evidence indicate that social supply is complex and closely connected with the general availability of alcohol to young people. A comprehensive approach is needed to address young people's access to alcohol from all sources such as family and community settings, licensed premises, older friends and strangers.

Recommendations

1. It is likely that community action initiatives will be more effective if multiple sources of supply are targeted and there was support for this approach from the focus group participants.
2. Supporting families, groups and organisations to set rules that restrict the supply of alcohol to minors could lead to changes in community norms and practices around social supply and alcohol availability. This strategy is unlikely to be effective on its own and needs to part of a broader approach to reducing the availability of alcohol in the Mangere community.
3. Reports of self-purchase by young people indicate that licensed premises may not be implementing effective age verification practices. Working with

local regulatory agencies to advise licensees of the study findings and advocacy and support for increased monitoring and enforcement activities, for example, purchase surveys and Controlled Purchase Operations (CPOs) would be useful.

4. Reports of minors requesting strangers to purchase alcohol for them suggest that increased monitoring of local bottle shops may be required. For example a shoulder tap survey could be a useful strategy.

1.0 Introduction

This report covers the formative evaluation for the social supply¹ component of the community action project undertaken by SHORE and Whariki for Alcohol Healthwatch (AHW). Formative evaluation involves activities directed at improving a programme's design, planning, development and implementation. Formative evaluation is a disciplined approach to ensuring that a programme is well developed (Waa et al, 1998).

The key components of the formative evaluation included:

- A literature review of the existing evidence and knowledge about social supply to inform project planning.
- Assisting Alcohol Healthwatch (AHW) to develop a programme logic approach to the project.
- Conducting focus groups in the Mangere community to identify issues and perceptions of social supply and ascertain support for a range of evidence-based (informed) interventions.
- Preparing a report on the findings from the focus group research with recommendations for the implementation of interventions.
- Providing advice on planning for the implementation of community action initiatives to address social supply including the identification of evaluation measures.

This report outlines the findings from the focus group research in Mangere and includes recommendations for the implementation of a range of interventions.

1.1 Project Background

As part of a previous Regional Alcohol Project, AHW had been funded to co-ordinate a community action project to reduce alcohol-related harm in Waiuku. In 2008 the Ministry of Health requested that AHW identify another community to work with. As a result AHW began a consultation process to identify the most appropriate site for a new community action initiative.

¹ Supply of alcohol from non-commercial sources such as parents, friends, siblings and strangers.

To identify potential communities and recommend a preferred community site the following methods were used (AHW, 2008). Four levels of analysis were used to identify the potential sites based on the following criteria.

- Higher than average levels/risk of alcohol-related harms
- Evidence of community readiness to respond
- Existing stakeholder capacity and support to engage in CAP
- Effective use/best use of resource (i.e. adds value to existing activity in the region, avoids duplication) (AHW, 2008).

AHW analysed socio-economic factors, statistics on alcohol-related harm, undertook a stock-take of other initiatives, funding and networks and consulted with district-level stakeholders and community workers and voluntary organisations. As a result of this Mangere was identified as the site for the new community action project because:

- Statistics show that alcohol-related offences, including family violence and public disorder are notably high per head of population;
- Concern was expressed regarding the excessive number of licensed premises;
- The number of road crash injuries for Mangere Central;
- District-level stakeholders, who are knowledgeable about existing alcohol-related harm, are willing and ready to work collaboratively
- Consultation with such stakeholders highlighted alcohol as a pervasive and widely-impacting problem in Mangere (AHW, 2008).

As part of the preparation for the current study two stakeholder meetings were held with project team members from AHW, researchers from SHORE and Whariki, coordinators from Auckland-based Community Action on Youth and Drugs (CAYAD) projects and representatives from three community action on alcohol projects (Waitakere, Hawera and Ngaruawahia). At these meetings the researchers presented data about social supply from national population surveys on alcohol use and from an Auckland study (Huckle et al., 2008) which examined the relationship between physical, socio-economic and social environments and alcohol consumption and drunkenness for drinkers aged 12-17 years. Findings from a literature review of studies on social supply were also presented. The meeting participants discussed strategies that had been used to address social supply or similar issues in the New Zealand context. Other approaches that had been used overseas were also discussed. These discussions, along with the research evidence, were used to

develop a set of possible interventions. Focus group participants were asked for their feedback on the feasibility and appropriateness of such interventions in the Mangere community.

2.0 Methods

The purpose of the focus group research was to gain a better understanding of social supply in Mangere, ensure that any community action initiatives are appropriate and acceptable for the Mangere community and to generate new strategies drawn from the ideas and experiences of local residents.

The focus groups were conducted with Mangere residents between July and November in 2009. The AHW project co-ordinator recruited participants through the use of local contacts and networks. The majority of participants were from different Pacific Island backgrounds (including the Cook Islands, Niue, Samoa and Tonga) and Maori.

In total eight focus groups were completed: three with parents (who had young people living in their households aged 14-17 years), two with 18 to 20 year olds and three with 16 to 17 year olds. Sixty-one people were involved in the focus group discussions. The project co-ordinator attended most of the focus groups and took written notes. The majority of the focus groups were facilitated by Pacific or Maori researchers. Ethics approval was obtained from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee.

The focus group interview guide focused on participants' experiences with and/or views on social supply and potential approaches to reducing social supply. These approaches included a petition to support changes to the law on social supply; use of a declaration form at licensed premises where people would be asked to sign a statement declaring that the alcohol they were purchasing would not be supplied to a minor; supporting families and organisations to set rules around social supply; and a t-shirt to promote and support community norms about not giving alcohol to minors. Participants were also asked for their own ideas on effective ways to reduce the social supply of alcohol to young people in their community.

The focus group discussions were recorded and transcribed. The transcripts were entered into nVivo (a software package for analysing qualitative data). A thematic

analysis was used to identify, analyse and report patterns and themes within the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). After reading through the transcripts the lead researcher developed an initial coding framework and additional themes were identified during the coding and writing up phases. Summaries of each theme are reported below and excerpts from the focus group data are used to illustrate the findings. Specific feedback on the proposed strategies for reducing social supply in Mangere and knowledge of supply laws were coded under each strategy.

3.0 Findings

An inductive analysis of the entire dataset identified the following themes: situations in which social supply occurred; the inevitability of young people's access to alcohol; the impacts of the wider community environment including the number of liquor outlets, general availability, price of alcohol, socio-economic conditions and alcohol advertising and promotion; and the provision of alcohol by parents and friends including reasons for supplying or not supplying alcohol to minors. The findings are presented under each theme and the type of informant is indicated at the end of each quote by the use of either Parent/Caregiver; 18-20 or 16-17. The bold text indicates the facilitator's questions or comments.

3.1 Descriptions of social supply

Some parents were willing to buy alcohol for their children and other younger relatives. The alcohol could be for drinking at family events or to take to parties.

Just thinking about your own teenagers aged 14 – 17 years, have any of your teenagers ever asked you for alcohol?

Yes, yes and no

Would that be your own or others such as nephews and friends etc?

Both yes – everyone said yes.

What sorts of situations have they asked? Family parties etc?

Yes family events and celebrations.

Just to drink really because they can't buy it.

So they have they asked you to buy them alcohol to go to friends parties etc or is it mainly when you are supervising?

To go to a teenage party

Majority would be same – to take away from home...(Parent/Caregiver)

In this study older friends or relatives were identified as common sources of alcohol for minors. Some under-18s had multiple sources of social supply that could be utilised especially when they were aware that their parents did not wish them to drink or would refuse to supply them with alcohol.

Most of the parents thought that their children would or could ask other people for alcohol even if they hoped that they would not do so:

I know that with our son and his cousins, he's got older cousins and he's been around there and he knows not to ask us because I'd probably give him a little whack [...] But I mean I probably would say he's probably been drinking,

Yes, but they haven't come to you?

Well no, because he'd get a, you know he'd get a flat no (Parent/Caregiver).

Do you think your children would ask other people to buy them alcohol?

Yes mine would

I would like to say no but probably yes

What kinds of people? Do you think they ask friends or other family members?

Mine would ask the ones that they know they will definitely get it from, whether it be an uncle or whoever (Parent/Caregiver).

Young people identified older relatives as a common source of alcohol for underage drinkers:

Some of them were my friends, they used to start when they were 12, 13 but the thing is that they just drank because their friends drank and they thought it was like cool and stuff. I asked them who would buy them alcohol because of course they were young and real young to go out. And they like said it was their Aunties and Uncles and Mum's and Dads which is like, some parents do approve and let young people drink (18-20).

Some 16-17 year olds thought over-18s were an easier source than parents because they know their parents would not give them alcohol. They thought it would be hard for older friends or cousins to say no to a request for alcohol. Even if it was illegal for older friends to give alcohol to under-18s some of the younger people would still use their friends as a source of supply because they knew their parents would not approve of them accessing alcohol.

If that was illegal, would that affect your decision to ask an older friend to buy alcohol? Would you guys still go to an older friend to buy you alcohol?

Honestly, yeah.

Possibly, yes.

Na.

See you mum and dad

Why is that? Why would you guys still go to your friends that are 18?

Cause you're scared of what your parents thought.

Cause you already know what your parents are going to say to you (16-17).

Under-18s were more likely to approach someone that they had a relationship with to ask for alcohol, i.e. a cousin or an older friend, an aunt or uncle than approaching someone they did not know. However strangers could be approached outside alcohol

outlets and be 'bribed' into buying alcohol for under-18s by exchanging cigarettes or money in return for the purchase of alcohol. In some cases it was best to approach a stranger who was already drunk or otherwise 'weak' as chances of success were greater.

3.2 Inevitability of access to alcohol

The inevitability of easy access to alcohol for under-18s from alcohol outlets and social sources was a common theme across the focus groups and influenced some parents' decisions to supply alcohol to their children. For example, some parents thought that it was better to provide alcohol to young people themselves rather than their children accessing alcohol by other means:

If you turn around and say, no, they're going to go somewhere else and ask you know, probably go down the road and that. If they do get it they'll get drunk, go stupid, think they're bullet-proof and they could be in worse trouble. But, if you were to give it to them they could be drinking in your house, where you can supervise them (Parent/Caregiver).

They are going to do it [drink alcohol] anyway regardless off where it comes from (Parent/Caregiver).

Providing alcohol at home was seen as a way of preventing possible harm that could result from unsupervised drinking. The belief underpinning these comments appeared to be that young people could easily obtain alcohol without their parents' assistance. This belief was shared by many of the younger focus group participants.

Sixteen and 17 year old participants reported that older people, such as friends and relatives, felt obliged to provide them with alcohol.

So how does that happen, how does that happen that they'll buy alcohol for you?

They feel obliged.

They feel obliged because you ask them, or....

Yeah.

Yeah.

Yeah, well like, they'll buy it for themselves and then you're with them and they'll just ask you if you want a drink or not (16-17).

A sense of obligation to supply, even when they were concerned about the young age of drinkers, was also expressed by the 18 to 20 year olds.

But I think you feel guilty if you say no to some. It gets to that point where you do think about it. Like if you do give it to them it's really bad because they are really young (18-20).

For some focus group participants the ability of young people to access alcohol from social sources was taken for granted and seen as normal:

Interviewer: Do you think that supplying to under 18s is a problem in our community?

I never thought about it but it just happens. It is just normal.
Yeah (18-20).

In summary, for some participants, underage access to alcohol is an accepted part of everyday life which suggests that there are community norms supporting alcohol availability for underage drinkers. A sense of obligation to supply by some older young people is evidence of this norm. A belief that alcohol is readily available to young people, influences some parents' decision to supply alcohol to young people in situations where they are able to supervise their drinking as a safer alternative to young people accessing alcohol in uncontrolled situations.

3.3 Impacts of wider environment

The sense that alcohol is readily available to young people was supported by features of the local area. Participants commented on factors in the wider community environment that influence their ability to control the supply of alcohol to young people. These included the number of liquor outlets, alcohol advertising and promotion, the price of alcohol and lowering of the purchase age.

Liquor outlets

The number of liquor outlets in Mangere was identified as a common issue across all age groups. For example, one group of parents discussed whether reducing the density of liquor outlets would help to reduce young people's access to alcohol via social sources:

You used to be able to only buy liquor from Liquorland and Robbie Burns back in the day. Look at it now! [...]

Do you think the fact that there are so many liquor stores, makes it harder on our community to reduce social supply as well? Just because the way that you guys are talking is that its everywhere anyway, so its becoming part of the 'norm' so if you took some away then maybe not so 'normal'.

But realistically, in another breath, you can get the older people getting the younger ones to go for a walk (because they too old to go further down the road) so yes... whether or not that would work...

May reduce though...

Yes may reduce the social supply but...but at least that way they have further to go so may have to fork out more money to get there and less money for alcohol.

Yes well if you are just going down to the local dairy you could buy it at the same time but if it is further down the road you may not even go...for me it would be that I may not even bother.

(Parent/Caregiver).

The targeting of low socio-economic areas was seen as one reason for the large number of liquor outlets in Mangere.

Yes, because I find in the low social economic areas, like Mangere, Otara, in these low social economical places, they have so many liquor stores. If you go into one of those affluent places like Remuera you won't even find, you'd most probably find one or two alcohol places. Other than that, it's mainly in the poor areas. It's because they target all the poor people, because the poor people are accessible, they'll get it because it's cheaper, it's in their face (Parent/Caregiver).

Along with the concern about the number of outlets in the Mangere area there was a perception that staff at some licensed premises would sell alcohol to minors. Apparently 'Indians' always asked for age verification but some 'Asian' staff only looked at the young person to order to assess their age. One local liquor store always sold to minors according to an underage focus group participant:

There is a local liquor that always sells but don't want to name them (16-17).

Young people reported that sometimes they get alcohol from an older looking friend who is able to purchase alcohol without being asked for ID. They believed that some premises were willing to sell alcohol to underage buyers as long as they had money. In the following exchange the facilitator asks the group what they do in cases where they don't want to ask their parents to buy them alcohol.

Or someone who looks old but who is the same age as us.

Oh...someone who looks old but is the same age...you guys don't get carded [asked for age verification]?

Nah...sometimes

Sometimes you don't, if you have a certain look, that can pass, you don't get asked for ID [...]

As long as they [licensed premise staff] get their money; we get what we want and they get what they want...they don't care (16-17).

One young woman reported an incident where an underage purchaser was taken around the back of the store so that the owner did not get caught selling alcohol to a minor. Another commented that the best time to attempt purchasing is when there is no one else in the liquor store.

There were reports by all types of focus group participants (parents; 18-20 year olds and the 16-17 year olds) of young people under the purchase age asking an older person outside a liquor shop to buy them alcohol. In some cases, purchasers were given cigarettes or a proportion of the alcohol purchased. A few people commented that this happens all the time, with four to five o'clock on a Friday or Saturday

afternoon as the main times when this was observed. In one focus group, with 16-17 year olds, detailed information was provided on how minors persuaded strangers to buy them alcohol:

So where would you get your alcohol from?

[...]

Sometimes when me and [...] friends couldn't get buyers we find an adult near an alcohol store to get it

Yeah

And how do you go about it, do you just ask them or give them money or...

You just ask them, but away from the liquor store though so that the owners don't see

Or bribe them

Or if they say no you bribe them with things, say you will give them a smoke

And they usually do?

Yeah, most of them usually do (16-17).

Young people also targeted strangers who had already been drinking as they believed these people would be more likely to buy alcohol for them. Parents also noted that young people target drunk adults at parties as sources of alcohol.

[T]hey'll pick on the weak, I mean the weak that's already drunk, they grab the beers with one hand or other than that they are sitting there and looking like part of the party (Parent/Caregiver)

Alcohol advertising and promotion

Some parents believed the influence of alcohol advertising was pervasive and they were powerless to counter this influence:

...We've got a new brand of beer coming in, you know, things like that and the ad on the TV and things like that and we want help you know. You've got [inaudible] and they're showing all the commercials and everything on the TV is all about beer. You know all the kids are watching TV and the commercials are [inaudible] it's icon for them. You know it's just to hook on their brain, and we can't do anything about it (Parent/Caregiver).

Some thought the manufacturers of alcohol products deliberately targeted young people through the use of sweet flavourings and the low price of alcohol.

Nowadays you see a lot of the alcohol targeting kids you know, the Woodstock and all those Cruisers and all those lolly drinks (Parent C)

Yes, it's the manufacturers that you [should be] looking at targeting, because they're the ones that's producing all the stuff for everybody to have. That's what sets up the businesses of liquor places here, there, everywhere. I think just having a look at what you're saying for the [petition], well if they would have abolished it [alcohol] in the first place, we wouldn't have this problem (Parent/Caregiver).

Yes, and how cheap they are, eh. You know everything is so cheap. So you know lunch money, there you go, save it up at the end of the week (Parent/Caregiver).

Purchase Age

The lowering of the minimum purchase age in 1999 was also seen as increasing young people's access to alcohol:

The [purchase] age should have been lifted.
Yes, age should have been lifted ages ago.
Shouldn't have gone down in the first place (Parent/Caregiver).

While describing a party for his son's 16th birthday one father noted that in some situations it is possible to control young people's use of alcohol and to avoid harm. However he also noted that the current purchase age has lessened control of young people's access to alcohol:

I had my sons sixteenth birthday last year and it was one of the best birthdays I have ever been part of, organized to a point where yes there was alcohol. We did say we were going to have alcohol, but it had to be restricted, to those like the parents and kids as well and our time periphery was twelve o'clock, twelve thirty and shut down was pretty straight forward. Oh they do, they booze but at the end of the day we controlled the party to its limit and respectability to our neighbours, and so if you have the right process you can have a wonderful time but with the age of kids with eighteen getting access to beer it is not controlled, I mean they can go anywhere to do that (Parent/Caregiver).

Focus group participants identified a number of features of the local environment that increased the availability of alcohol to young people. These included the number of alcohol outlets; the willingness of licensed premise staff and strangers to either sell or purchase alcohol for young people; the promotion of alcohol to young people along with low prices and products that are appealing to young drinkers; and the lowering of the purchase age to 18 years. Parents thought that factors such as the prevalence of alcohol marketing, alcohol outlet density and the lowering of the purchase age contributed towards alcohol becoming a norm in society where it was inevitable that their children could obtain alcohol in one way or another. This sense of inevitability of access to alcohol influenced some parents' decision to supply alcohol to their child. Furthermore parents and older friends felt a sense of obligation to supply alcohol to under-18s and reported that they felt bad if they did not supply (even if they felt that they shouldn't). Some parents felt that supplying to their children was a way of keeping them safe.

3.4 Reasons for providing alcohol

Reasons for parents providing alcohol

Along with the belief that young people would be able to get alcohol anyway, parents and caregivers reported other reasons for providing alcohol to young people. In one situation a caregiver gave alcohol to her nephew as a reward for good behaviour:

My nephew that I am caregiver for, and I wouldn't allow my kids to do half the things that he has done, but he came in doing everything and we have kind of learnt how to pull him away from what he is doing and rewarding him for.... "you did well at your exams so you can have a little drink at home with your friends and I will supply you and your friends" (Parent/Caregiver).

Some parents were willing to supply alcohol to their children when they were able to supervise them personally:

Honestly away from me, no because I know how ugly it can get, I mean you can't help it if other people have given it to them, but definitely no because for that reason, if you can't see what they are doing then no. But in a home situation and I am able to see them I probably would (Parent/Caregiver).

Others would give alcohol to their children to go to a private party as long as the party was supervised by a responsible host. Although this was seen as a goal some thought that adequate supervision didn't always happen in practice.

So teenage parties, you would feel comfortable if they are supervised by parents etc?

Yes

I suppose just mature people who aren't drinking just knowing that they are going to a responsible home.

But realistically it doesn't really happen these days, does it?

What doesn't happen, that they go to responsible parents?

Well they say they are going to a mates' house but then they take off from there and go drinking...

That the hosts aren't responsible.

You need to have them on lock down as long as you can [...] (Parent/Caregiver).

One participant believed the pressures on parents to work makes it challenging for many people to supervise their children adequately:

Being a mother is a twenty-four hour job it's that the Government doesn't look at it like that way. I mean being a mum is a job, a really vital job, to me the most important job a person could ever have that's in my view, but its not looked at that way and then they wonder why the kids are running around because mums at work and dads at work and who is supervising the children? (Parent/Caregiver).

Some of the participants in the 16-17 year age group thought it would be alright for underage people to be given alcohol at special occasions or when they are with family members. Some of the younger focus group participants thought that minors

should only be able to drink alcohol when they are being supervised by their parents and that this would help prevent violence and vandalism. However, they noted that supervisors could sometimes be drunk or gang members. The young people believed that supervisors needed to be people who could handle a party or a situation that got out of hand. One young woman reported that she only drank with her parents because she is scared of the violence associated with drinking in public places such as parks.

Some parents' rationale for supplying alcohol focused on the belief that giving young people a taste of alcohol before they turned 18 could help prepare them for drinking. The rationale is that allowing young people to experience the effects of alcohol in a controlled environment will help them when they drink in uncontrolled situations.

I already just give my kids [...] their first taste of alcohol, that's in my environment, this is what I am saying, which is my own house and I have already explained why I do it, so that one day that they might learn from it or whether or not it is wrong, there is no right answer, there is no wrong answer, at least my kids have already had a taste of what yet to come when they do get to the legal age (Parent/Caregiver).

When they hit 18 you know they want to hit the clubs [...] so it's best that you know for sure within yourself that my child can handle their own liquor so will be safe when he goes out (Parent/Caregiver).

Asking permission

Parents expressed differing views about whether or not it was necessary to get the permission of other parents before they provided other people's children with alcohol. Some felt that permission should be obtained while some felt that it was unrealistic and that it would not happen anyway. In one case a participant thought it would be too difficult to ask for permission from other parents. She also wanted to remain popular with young people:

Do you think that you need to ask the friends parents or caregivers before you provide alcohol, i.e. if one of your son/daughters friends came up to you and asked you to buy for them?

I should ask but I haven't.. ha ha

Why do you think you haven't?

Hmm convenience.. too much hassle trying to catch them. And sometimes like my partner says he just wants to be my kids' friend and not their aunty. Cause I don't want to be the one to say no.

You want to be the cool aunty..

Ha ha yes but it always blows up sometimes, oh well live and learn (Parent/Caregiver).

In contrast, other parents expected to be asked for permission before another person

gave their children alcohol:

I mean your friends friend's parents giving your teenager alcohol, would you expect them to ask your permission.

I think so, any responsible parent should if there are underage children [who are] going to be at the same party the older children are at, you would, I mean I would (Parent/Caregiver).

A number of parents reported incidents where their child had been given alcohol or was at a function where alcohol was available without the parents' knowledge. One parent expressed annoyance about the availability of alcohol at an event to celebrate a school achievement. The issue of respect was raised in one discussion in relation to an incident where a minor was given alcohol (without the parents' knowledge or permission) whilst travelling home from a sports trip:

You know whether it was consent or no consent, they have to bear in mind that they've got a minor there, regardless of what, it's a respect, trust, honour, all of those things come into that. They need to be responsible for actually looking and taking care of that minor (Parent/Caregiver).

Participants in the 16 to 17 year old and the 18 to 20 year old groups thought parents or caregivers should be asked for permission before others gave their children alcohol. However, most people reported that it was not realistic or feasible to actually ask for permission:

...so do you need to ask parents or caregivers for permission, if you are going to supply underagers with alcohol?

I think so.

If they're underage yeah.

Yeah.

Because just say what if they are allergic to some substances, and you didn't know about it and you gave it to them and they had a reaction to it. Or if they are on medication and they shouldn't be drinking alcohol, anyway.

And if you give it to them and they get drunk and they do something stupid and they hurt themselves, then who's the parents gonna blame? The person who gives it them.

Well you know that's a very good point. So how realistic, how feasible would it be like if you were going to buy an underager alcohol, how realistic would it be to go to their parents first and say oh...

I'd come home with a black eye (18-20).

A variety of reasons were given for providing alcohol to underage drinkers and these were related to the issue of supervision. In some cases parents believed it was acceptable to give young people alcohol when they were supervised but at the same time the difficulties of ensuring adequate supervision were acknowledged. Younger participants also thought young people should be supervised when drinking in order

to reduce the harms that could occur. A few parents thought that teaching young people to drink at home could help them when they reached the purchase age.

In theory participants agreed that parents should be asked for permission before other people provided their children with alcohol. However, participants reported reasons why they would not do so including concern about what parents might do to them and a desire to remain popular with young people.

3.5 Reasons for not supplying alcohol

In contrast, other parents definitely would not allow their children to be in situations where they could have access to alcohol. A mother described a conversation she had with her sixteen year old daughter:

She says, oh Mum can you get me some alcohol? I thought, [...] your brother didn't even go there with me. Because she was going to a party. I said "Well, are the parents at this house? Are they allowed to drink?" She goes, yes, yes and yes. I said, that's fine, because you're not going (Parent/Caregiver).

Several participants were clear that they would never supply alcohol to minors. They identified concerns about the health and social impacts of drinking alcohol as justification for their decision not to supply. For example one young woman had a younger brother who had started drinking at a young age and had left school in the third form:

....when is it ok to give them alcohol?

It's not. No it's not they are under age and they shouldn't be. Because it's damaging their brain and once they get hooked into it, then they will want more. Then they will find a way to get it. Then the alcohol will become their number one priority, not school, not friends, it will be the alcohol (18-20).

Similarly, a parent commented that the thought of the possible consequences of supplying alcohol to a minor meant that they would never do it:

But to me, it takes five seconds to walk, \$20 get them a drink, here you go, off they go, right. Then is that worth 20 bucks the five minutes to walk over there and get it [...] and then you spend the last 35 years of your life thinking about what has this done to their kids? (Parent/Caregiver).

Another young woman was concerned about breaching the trust of parents and the harm that might result from young people's drinking.

How about you [...]? What stopped you from purchasing it for your sister's friends?

Their parents trust me and I don't want [the] mistrust of parents. Then once you do something like that, the trust is gone – hard to do anything else. I

wouldn't also want to risk anything happening to them...might jump into strangers' cars and not know where they are etc (18-20).

Underage participants didn't think it was a good idea for young people to be provided with alcohol to drink in unsupervised situations (such as drinking at night in local parks) and expressed concern about safety and the violence that occurred when situations got out of hand:

Even the girls they saw one boy go to hospital, yeah because the guys who were beating him up they were all drunk. It was really bad and it has affected the other people as well. Like my friends Mum almost got beaten because she was trying to stop them. Because she knew them that was the only reason why they didn't beat her up. Because she knew who those boys were and when they saw her they just stopped. When you see that, you just see the affect that alcohol can have on younger, especially guys, I think (18-20).

Particular concern was expressed by a few 18 to 20 year olds about supplying alcohol to young girls because of what might happen to them (for example, sexual assault).

For one group of young people the ease of social supply had a negative impact on perceptions of the Mangere community.

What are the issues about that? How does it make you feel and seeing that in Mangere, seeing all the other young people getting supplied alcohol by older people.

Setting a bad example.

Killing our community [...]

What are the messages that are being given out by that happening and those sorts of things?

Don't come to Mangere.

Very typical. (16-17).

In summary, a number of reasons were given for not providing alcohol to young people including concerns about both short and long term alcohol-related harm, breaching the trust of parents and impacts on the Mangere community.

3.6 Interventions

In the second half of the focus group participants were asked for their views on different approaches to reducing the social supply of alcohol to young people. They were also asked about their knowledge of current laws regarding social supply. In general, the participants did not know what the legal provisions are regarding social supply. However, a few were aware that liquor outlets could be fined or lose their license if they sold alcohol to a minor and that you couldn't drink in liquor ban areas.

Petition

One project idea was to develop a petition in support of changes to the Sale of Liquor Act (SoLA) so that only parents or legal guardians would be able to supply alcohol to their children. This is one of the options currently being considered as part of the Law Commission's review of the SoLA. Potentially, clarification of the law could assist police to enforce the law. Most of the discussion about this issue focused on whether participants supported such a law change rather than whether using a petition was the right way to generate community support for the law change.

Some of the 16-17 year olds thought that the petition was a good idea to make people aware of the problems associated with giving alcohol to minors. They believed their parents or caregivers would sign it because they care about their children and they would have more control over when their children drank:

Is it good, is it bad, is it fair?

It's good.

It's better.

Why is it?

Pardon?

Cause you're with your own family. Your legal guardian.

That's a good point. Any other?

Cause they know when to make you stop.

Cause they'll guide you well.

They'll look after you.

Because they'll look after you (16-17).

In contrast, other 16-17 year olds didn't think their parents would sign it. Some thought that only allowing parents and caregivers to supply alcohol was unfair. For instance, one young woman believed it would be unfair if her auntie took her to a social function and she was unable to drink. She also thought it would be unfair if her auntie was penalised for giving her alcohol.

There were parents who supported the petition and a few even said they would encourage others to sign it.

Yes, I will. I will and I wouldn't mind taking it down and going to the dairy and get them to sign it.

Mm yes. So you'd go out and advocate for it?

Yes (Parent/Caregiver).

Others thought it should only be parents who are supplying alcohol to their children anyway.

So [...] you are saying you would truly support it because only parents should be supplying their own children?

Yes because at the end of the day you don't want to be responsible for other kids – your own is enough (Parent/Caregiver).

Most of the 18-20 year olds didn't support the petition because they did not support the proposed law change. They thought that young people would still be able to get alcohol and that penalising adult suppliers was unfair:

Waste of time cause people are still going to drink and supply and will find other ways of getting alcohol and also it penalizes people even if they have their parents permission (18-20).

In particular there was concern that family members could be penalised.

Then relatives get penalized so the impact on family if my sister provided me with drinks even though I want to buy it (18-20).

If the parents buy it then the parents think they are buying it for you but then you go and share it amongst your other friends that are under age, and what happens if something goes wrong then is it the parents' fault? (18-20).

There was consensus in one focus group of 18-20 year olds that a law change restricting social supply to parents would not make any difference because minors would still be able to access alcohol at parties.

The new [proposed] law is that you cannot supply alcohol to anyone unless you are a parent. So it takes away the 'social gathering' so before it was okay if you were at a party but now takes away party and now only if [you are a] parent.

Makes no difference because they will be drinking at the parties anyway and will still be supplied by older ones

Everyone else agree?

There is no doubt that they go to any party and there will be alcohol – there is always alcohol for them to grab or take.

So at parties/gathering you know there will be under-aged drinking because of free supply of alcohol, so it doesn't matter whether or not that law is there?

Yep (18-20)

However some thought it was a step in the right direction as a way to change attitudes and behaviour towards supplying alcohol to minors:

A law like that would make it easier for...like if you are restricting it only to parents then you are kinda, it won't solve the problem completely but it is a step in the right direction. But there is more to drinking than just who supplies it, there are the attitudes towards alcohol and so I guess I would support that law, [inaudible] wait and see kind of try and it out (18-20).

Yeah it ought to make you think twice. If you were giving alcohol to your brother and if you're under that law you could face a penalty. So that's what the changes are saying (18-20).

A variety of reasons were given for not supporting the proposed law change. Some participants had a broad understanding of guardianship and emphasised that for many Pacific people, parents are not the only guardians of young people:

And so as I said that I have allowed them to be there at their Aunts or their Uncles knowing that they will be safe, that's what I'm looking at, so I won't have all that petition [...](Parent/Caregiver).

And you know Islanders [...] they are all your children anyway (laughing) sounds like another booboo, coming up this, happened with this smacking law [repeal of Section 59], this is why the referendum that's been, spent nine million dollars, has gone this way (Parent/Caregiver).

Changing the laws around social supply was seen as further evidence of a general societal shift towards restricting personal freedom:

There are too many rules out there, I mean every, it seems like every month they are coming out with something else and that is something else and something else after that, and in about five years time we will be walking around like robots, oh can't do that (Parent/Caregiver).

Some thought the proposed law change could be counter-productive and increase social supply because it would not stop parents buying alcohol for their children's friends.

Because this is what it will eventuate into...Go and ask your Mum, she can buy you some and then I'll give you 20 bucks and you can give it to me. Who is going to get fined? So it's another form of access, eh. Another easy way of access, because you know bros will always do things for bros. Mates will always do things for mates. If I can easily access that from my Mum because that's not the law, you know that's OK, then oh shot, go and get it from your Mum (Parent/Caregiver).

Others believed the proposed law could decrease parental control of young people and encourage minors to drink in unsafe environments:

So basically you guys don't think it will work? A bit silly really, takes out of your safety eh.

Yes yes takes control away from us.

Then you guys become liable but you are providing a safe environment but under new law still in trouble because you are not their parent.

Will be more money for us too because our kids will want more alcohol from us to supply their mates ..(Parent/Caregiver)

The development of more activities and resources for young people could increase the support for law changes according to one person.

Maybe then that petition scenario could work. If we said that our youth are being supported then maybe we might step up if our children are given activities then we can step back and support it...and its not that we don't want to support it but we just don't think there is anything out there anyway. So we are trying to keep them in a supposedly safe environment (Parent/Caregiver).

Declaration

Another idea for the campaign in Mangere is to have a declaration in liquor stores for over-18s to sign. The declaration would state that they're not buying alcohol for people that are under-18 unless they are their own children. Liquor store staff could also record the license plates of cars where they suspected the purchaser was supplying alcohol to minors. This is a strategy that has been used in Tauranga and the aim of the declaration would be to raise awareness of the illegality of social supply as well as deter potential suppliers by suggesting that there may be a consequence for their actions.

Most of the 16-17 year olds did not think that a declaration would be effective. Some thought that adults would perhaps sign it and supply to minors anyway. Others pointed out that some people may not be able to read it and that it would need to be translated into different languages. One boy thought his parents would sign the declaration as they did not want him to drink.

In relation to the recording of license plate numbers one person asked what would happen if someone had walked to the licensed premise. Others thought that drivers could park somewhere else.

Some 18-20 year olds did not support the idea of a declaration. One person said they would not have time to sign something like that. Another said that people would park somewhere else to avoid having their number plate recorded by the shop keeper.

Other 18-20 year olds supported the idea of signing a declaration as long as it was short and available in different languages. However, the recording of number plates was seen as going overboard and that intervention could have negative consequences:

....[I]f the people in the liquor store think you are buying excessive amounts, and just suspected that you were buying alcohol for minors, how would you feel about that? And writing down their licence plate number?

(Girl) I'd be offended. And some people might take it the wrong way and they might go back to the liquor store and deal to the customer service guy. You know, especially if some people took it eh wrong way.

(Boy) Especially to some of the...like a lot of the liquor store owners are Indian and if you hear of a problem they are probably going to think that it rests back with the store owner. Yeah, cause you know?

So, you think that if they are given more assumptions about why you are buying alcohol that it could case more racial tension?

(Boy) Yeah, like if the cops show up at your house and like they are gonna want to know where you got it from and they going to go back to the shop and like say "why did you give the cops my address? And...

(Girl) They would beat up the poor guy for just...(18-20)

There was no support for the declaration from one group of parents. One person thought the focus should be on making sure bottle stores don't sell to minors rather than focusing on parents. Others promoted the benefits of instant consequences and argued that unless license plates were followed up immediately there would be little point. In another parent group some thought recording license plates was an invasion of privacy and another person noted:

If you have been caught supplying, that's okay because they would be in the system but not just doing randoms, that's just wrong! (Parent/Caregiver).

Some were unsure about whether licensed premises would come on board with this strategy.

Family rules around alcohol use

There is evidence that establishing family rules restricting alcohol use can impact on young people's drinking and potentially on social supply (see Greenaway et al., 2009). In general, the idea of having family rules around the supply of alcohol to young people was supported:

And it would be good because if the parents are supportive, if it's in the family and if the Mum and Dad agree on what they want, then the family generally follows. So, it might not be a perfect way but you will at least, you know that the parents are starting to and the family will follow (18-20).

Others thought that getting families together, at church for example, would support people to set rules. However, some were unsure if parents would follow through with the rules once they got home. One person noted that the pressures on parents' time made it difficult for them to know what their children are up to. The normalisation of young people's alcohol use was also seen as making the instigation of family rules challenging:

Because alcohol is seen like it's socially acceptable, at that age, it kind of offsets any other initiative that you do, than if you say within the family oh supplying alcohol to minors is bad. They are not going to like it because it's

in their system [...] they want it. We're gonna have a part and we want to be drinking. They don't care what their parents say (18-20).

The 16-17 year old participants thought the family rules would be more effective when parents were already strict. However, participants pointed out that parents don't necessarily know when young people are drinking. For instance, they reported occasions when they said they were going to the movies or a friends place and went out drinking instead.

Parents also supported the development of family rules and thought that would be a useful way of getting everyone on the same page and foster community norms restricting social supply:

I mean everything has their own issues around the subject so its not so much just the mere family but it is in the wider community you see so if you have a community that thinks alike then surely there is going to be some boundaries met, some boundaries kept so you have a lot more people on the same page, cause we have this thing about, you know us Pacific Island people, its not just your immediate children that belong to you, it is actually all of our children (Parent/Caregiver).

Similar views were expressed in another parent focus group:

Definitely and I think it's you know, not only within your own whanau, but also with your wider whanau, you know uncles and aunties that I think it's important. I've got an aunty who you know always asks the parents you know if they've got the permission whether they're able to. But I think those values are definitely important, so that everybody is on the same waka. Everybody is taking responsibility (Parent/Caregiver)

Some wondered whether female family members would be more likely to agree with setting family rules:

To be honest I think the woman would be all good, it's just the men. There are some woman though – I know I would be one woman who would want to drink. Sometimes I get an offer so I end up drinking with them and it makes all the young ones around you want to drink (Parent/Caregiver).

One person thought that setting rules and maintaining them would be more difficult for solo parents, especially if they have other family members living nearby who would be willing to supply to their children. Some of the 18-20 year olds thought that minors would still be able to get it from their friends. Delivering workshops in a community setting or through the church was seen as useful. However it was noted that not all parents and children attend church and other avenues for supporting parents, such as culture groups and informal networks, were suggested.

Rules for organisations

Establishing rules about social supply within community groups or organisations was another strategy raised in the focus group discussions. There was support among the 16-17 year olds for getting involved in setting rules for young people's alcohol use.

Eighteen to twenty year olds thought it would be good for people of all ages to be involved in discussions about rules and thought that it could be worth giving it a go:

You know, there's no right or wrong to that, you can try and if it doesn't work then try another way on how you can try to get that message across (18-20).

Others thought the drinking culture presented challenges.

It's a hard one because alcohol involves, like it's part of society and everyone in their communities is different, I know people where I live that because the parents drink the kids are going to drink and any initiative to tell them not to supply alcohol, they are not going to do anything because they don't have that mindset so, sometimes rules and policy don't fit, yeah sometimes it's just how effective it would be when the culture around drinking doesn't change or when people are...I don't know, how feasible it would be (18-20).

One participant in the parent group pointed out that there already rules in place at Marae around alcohol use and the Maori Wardens help ensure the safety and protection of young people.

Another parent who manages a rugby league team (where the boys are all underage) commented that the issue of alcohol is discussed with the team but that there is not a written policy. There was some discussion about whether it would be useful to get young players to sign a contract saying that they are not going to drink alcohol. If they did drink then they would miss a game or be out of the team.

Some thought that having other incentives and rewards, apart from alcohol, could be useful:

I think if there was a different incentive as in Rainbows End – away from alcohol. "If we win this game, we won't have a victory drink tonight, we will have a barbeque [...] Rainbows End gives them something to work towards (Parent/Caregiver).

Promoting alcohol-free message on T-shirts

Another idea was to promote a no supply message on t-shirts as a way to foster support for alternative community norms about social supply. A similar approach has been used as part of a community action project in Northland to alter community

norms about family violence and it enjoyed strong community support. This was a popular strategy with most of the older participants. Some 16-17 year olds were supportive but they pointed out that t-shirts shouldn't be linked with gang colours. Some would only wear it if it was free and had style. Members of one group thought it is a good message to promote to the community and that others would look up to them if they wore a t-shirt promoting no alcohol to under-18s. Others wouldn't wear it in case some people didn't like the message or because they thought it was un-cool. Some were concerned about being hassled or teased. One young woman believed it could be counter-productive and result in young people drinking more because they would rebel against the message on the t-shirt.

For the 18-20 year olds, some said they would wear it if others were too and it was part of a campaign. One person thought it would be good if liquor store staff were wearing the t-shirt and promoting the message as well.

Having a free t-shirt, that looks good, was seen as important:

If the t-shirt looks good, you know, it stands out there and then yeah. Also they will have a second look –aye? What are they trying to get across? (18-20).

Some parents were supportive and thought a free t-shirt with a message that could be read easily would be good. Other parents were less enthusiastic and thought their children would not wear it unless it had a cool catch phrase.

Other ideas

Participants suggested other options for reducing social supply and these fell into several broad categories: strategies to reduce the availability and promotion of alcohol; youth development initiatives; and persuasion and awareness raising.

Reducing availability and promotion of alcohol

Given the concern about features of the wider environment that impact on parents' ability to control young people's access to alcohol it is not surprising that many of the participants identified the reduction of the number of alcohol outlets as a key project goal. For example:

Imagine you are the coordinator, what are some of the things that you think would help your community reduce social supply to young people?

Would get rid of half liquor stores that already there.

Or at least not let any more open (Parent/Caregiver)

Oh, have less liquor stores, cause like in Mangere there's too many (18-20 A).

Mobilising community members to have more influence on liquor licensing decisions was seen as an important strategy:

That's exactly what we need out here and all of South Auckland, not just Mangere. I mean it's throughout the whole of South Auckland. To have that initiative take place I mean we could do heaps as one,[...] so I think that's somewhere to start that would be really good. I mean it's even word of mouth, you know from family to family, it sort of gets out that you know we can all stop this and you know just oppose them from still selling alcohol, especially at these corner shops (Parent/Caregiver).

Some commented that in other areas communities had got together to stop liquor stores from opening and the same thing could happen in Mangere:

It [information on how to participate in licensing processes] needs to be out for parents, because there are parents around here who are sick of what's happening and they can't do anything about it, you know you talk to somebody else and they're in the same knowledge. Don't know anything. So it would be really good (Parent/Caregiver).

Another person thought a petition could be used to gather peoples support for reducing the number of liquor outlets in Mangere. Organising a protest against liquor outlets was also suggested as a useful strategy. Given the general concern about the number of liquor outlets in Mangere, and the perception that the premises are not complying with the SoLA, this is likely to be a promising approach.

Other suggestions included: increasing the price of alcohol; only selling low alcohol products to young people; getting rid of liquor altogether; placing limits on the amount of alcohol that one person can buy at any one time; banning alcohol advertising and 24 hour licensing; introducing the use of consents for holding a party where alcohol is involved (like getting a consent for a hangi); installing CCTV cameras at liquor stores and monitoring of liquor stores by community people to make sure there are no sales to minors; hefty fines and "3 strikes you're out" for those that sell to minors; and the availability of alcohol-free branding for sports teams like Smokefree.

Youth development

Focus group participants identified the importance of youth having access to positive experiences and opportunities in the Mangere community. These included: youth-led initiatives; alcohol free events such as discos and camps which were seen as an opportunity to promote the benefits of not drinking alcohol; activity and sports groups;

and music, dance classes, free studio time for rap, and art (graffiti) classes as ways of increasing awareness of Pacific cultures/identity. A few parents thought a petition might be supported by more parents if other positive investments are being made for young people.

Persuasion and awareness raising

Participants supported a range of persuasion, educational and awareness-raising strategies which included: enlisting famous people to promote non-drinking; competitions; strategies to foster the individual responsibility of young people; creating conversations with young people and others to support them to make positive choices (as opposed to approaches telling young people not to do this or that); positive drinking models and increased awareness of consequences of drinking too much; challenge to the normalisation of young people's drinking; peer education—supporting young people to facilitate and promote alcohol free messages/lifestyle; and sending SMS messages to kids.

The importance of using holistic approaches and increased collaboration between government, church and everyone was stressed. When asked for their ideas about what might work to reduce the supply of alcohol to young people, one young woman strongly advocated a 'whole of community approach'.

I reckon the only way it could be possible for it to happen is for the community to come together...like to help prevent as well. If the youth and teenagers like play their part as well...then it could possibly reduce the amount of liquor being given to underage drinkers.

[...]

Yeah that's like mainly why there is a lot of vandalism and crime happening as well because the youth feel like we are not included and then we rebel against society and our community by like showing them that if we don't want to be included... by doing our own thing (16-17).

Participants pointed out that whatever happens has to be sustainable and not just a one-off event.

Summary of Interventions

Focus group participants had a range of responses to the suggested interventions. There were mixed views about a proposed law change that could restrict the supply of alcohol to parents or legal guardians but there was some support for the use of a petition as an awareness raising strategy. While a few people supported trialling the use of a declaration form at licensed premises the general feeling was that this strategy was not appropriate for the Mangere community because of possible danger for licensed premise staff and perceptions of low English literacy. There was general

support for the development of family and organisational rules around supplying alcohol to young people. It was noted that some families might find it harder to enforce these rules than others. Again there were mixed views about the use of a t-shirt to promote a no supply message.

Strategies to alter the wider community environment in order to reduce the availability of alcohol to young people were supported by focus group participants. In general participants also supported increasing positive opportunities for young people in Mangere and a number of persuasion and awareness-raising strategies.

There is strong evidence that community action approaches which focus on reducing the availability of alcohol can reduce alcohol-related harm for young people (Babor et al., 2003, Holder, 2000, Komro and Toomey, 2002, Treno et al., 2008, Wagenaar et al., 1999, Wagenaar et al., 2000). Community action focuses on changing the way community systems operate in order to reduce harm (Holder et al., 1997, Perry et al., 1993). Generally education and persuasion strategies do not change individual behaviour and many studies have shown that these kinds of strategies (for example host responsibility training) are only effective when combined with enforcement (Babor et al., 2003, Holder, 2000). Media advocacy, which is the strategic use of media to promote policy change has resulted in greater community support for effective alcohol policies (Casswell et al., 1989). Community support can be an important factor for encouraging decision-makers to take bold actions.

As well as identifying factors in Mangere that contribute to youth drinking, focus group participants also mentioned some of the strengths of the Mangere community that could provide resources and support for initiatives aimed at reducing alcohol related harm. One of these strengths was the ability of community members to come together and provide support to each other. There also appears to be a shared desire to strengthen and improve public perceptions of the community. Young people expressed a desire to be included in project activities and there was general support for increasing positive youth development opportunities in Mangere. Many of the responses of young people suggested that they are asking for boundaries and to be kept safe.

4.0 Discussion

In each age group participants had differing views and experiences regarding the social supply of alcohol to young people. Some parents were willing to supply alcohol and others were not. A few 18 to 20 year olds had real concerns about minors consuming alcohol, whereas for others providing alcohol to younger friends and siblings was not something they had considered in any depth. While a number of 16 and 17 year olds reported situations where they could access alcohol (from a variety of sources) some were concerned about the potential harm, particularly violence, which could result from unsupervised drinking.

There is evidence that community action can be an effective way of increasing public support for alcohol policies and can also be a way to encourage enforcement of such policies once they are introduced (Casswell et al., 1989, Holder, 2000). A small number of studies have measured attempts to reduce the social supply of alcohol to minors. These included the 'Think before you buy under 18s drink' campaign in New Zealand, the Communities Mobilising for Change on Alcohol (CMCA) in the United States and the Trelleborg and Obero projects in Sweden.² The literature review outlined three key paths for action:

(1) encouraging law changes that enable the enforcement of legal provisions restricting social supply; (2) the development of initiatives that support parents and other whanau/family members to set limits on young peoples' alcohol use and (3) policy changes that send a clear message about the undesirability of social supply could make it easier for parents to set clear boundaries around their children's alcohol use (Greenaway et al., 2009:19).

In a recent Californian study an association outlet density and increased access to alcohol from social sources was found:

[A]lcohol outlet density was significantly and positively related to the initial levels of the likelihood and frequency of getting alcohol through various sources including commercial outlets, shoulder tapping, home or family members, and underage acquaintances (Chen et al., 2009:582).

Therefore it is likely that a reduction in wider alcohol availability is also likely to reduce the social supply of alcohol to young people.

The focus group research indicates that there is a resistance to initiatives that were perceived as 'telling parents what to do' or restricting parents' ability to make

² See Greenaway, S., Huckle, T., Casswell, S. & Jelley, S. (2009) Literature Review: Social Supply of Alcohol to Minors. Auckland, Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation, Massey University.

decisions about their children's welfare. The majority of the focus groups took place either during or shortly after a vote was held on the citizens-initiated referendum related to the repeal of Section 59 of the Crimes Act; the so-called 'anti-smacking' legislation.³ There has been considerable media coverage of debates about child discipline and concern over 'unnecessary' intrusion into the family life of 'good parents'. The comments made in some focus groups seemed to be drawing on discourses where parenting is framed as an individual responsibility that should be as free as possible from state intrusion or interference. At the same time, some of the Pacific participants framed parenting as a collective endeavour where adults exercise parental responsibility for all the young people in their care, regardless of whether the young people are their biological children or not. There was little support for a proposed policy change where only parents and caregivers could supply alcohol to young people. The use of a declaration at licensed premises was unpopular because it was seen as too punitive; risky for licensed premise staff and difficult to implement in a community where there may be low English literacy.

This suggests that it may be useful for the project initiatives to concentrate on building shared norms around not supplying alcohol to young people and to frame this in positive terms, such as guardianship. The idea of developing family rules around alcohol use was seen as a useful strategy by many of the participants although a number of challenges around the actual implementation and follow through were raised. Furthermore, the data indicates that initiatives to reduce social supply may be more acceptable to the local community if they are implemented alongside strategies to reduce the general availability and promotion of alcohol in Mangere. There is evidence that parents who monitor young peoples' alcohol use and who implement house rules around alcohol use are less likely to have children who drink (Foley et al., 2004). Therefore Jackson et al (1999) argue that prevention programmes should focus on parental monitoring of their children's alcohol use, family norms about children using alcohol at home and increasing parents ability to enforce behavioural rules. However, without changes to the wider environment it is unlikely that programmes targeting parents will have long-term effects (Alcohol and Public Policy Group, 2010).

³ A citizens-initiated referendum was held between 31 July and 21 August 2009 on the question "Should a smack as part of good parental correction be a criminal offence in New Zealand?" Eighty-seven per cent of those who voted, responded 'no' to this question. Yes Vote Coalition (2009) The Yes Vote: For a law that is working.

The focus group findings indicate that there are key parts of the Mangere community that could be included in community action initiatives. There is tension between the owners of local liquor outlets and community members so it may be useful to look at ways of including licensees in solutions for reducing social supply. The reports of shoulder-tapping strangers to purchase alcohol are concerning and it may be useful to explore ways of increasing awareness of the illegality of such activity and the potential for consequences. Reports of sales to minors from licensed premises also indicate the need for regular Controlled Purchase Operations.

It is useful to note that a key finding from previous community action projects aimed at reducing alcohol-related harm is the need to keep steering groups or coalitions at a manageable size (Holder and Reynolds, 1998) and to maintain focus on evidence-based or informed strategies (WHO, 2009). In large coalitions, strategies may be amended in order to please the greatest number of interested parties and this can result in effort being expended on approaches that have little potential for achieving immediate or sustainable changes (Casswell and Stewart, 1989, Holder and Reynolds, 1998).

5.0 Recommendations

Overall, the focus group findings and the research evidence indicate that social supply is complex and closely connected with perceptions of the wider availability of alcohol to young people. Therefore it is likely that a comprehensive approach is needed to address young people's access to alcohol from all sources.

1. It is likely that community action initiatives will be more effective if multiple sources of supply are targeted and there was support for this approach from the focus group participants.
2. Supporting families, groups and organisations to set rules that restrict the supply of alcohol to minors could lead to changes in community norms and practices around social supply and alcohol availability. This strategy is unlikely to be effective on its own and needs to part of a broader approach to reducing the availability of alcohol in the Mangere community.
3. Reports of self-purchase by young people indicate that licensed premises may not be implementing effective age verification practices. Working with local regulatory agencies to advise licensees of the study findings and advocacy and support for increased monitoring and enforcement activities, for

example, purchase surveys and Controlled Purchase Operations (CPOs) would be useful.

4. Reports of minors requesting strangers to purchase alcohol for them suggest that increased monitoring of local bottle shops may be required. For example a shoulder tap survey could be a useful strategy.

Until project interventions are finalised it is challenging to develop specific evaluation measures. However, it is important that records of project implementation are kept so that it is clear which activities have been undertaken. It will also be useful to monitor other developments such as changes in the practices of local regulatory agencies, national and local media coverage of alcohol issues, outcomes of recommendations made by the Law Commission and so forth that may have an impact on the outcomes of interest.

Table One outlines potential interventions for community action initiatives to reduce social supply in Mangere. The table includes the strategies developed through the stakeholder meetings and the strategies suggested by focus group participants. A rationale is suggested for each strategy with a very brief comment on the existing research evidence. An assessment of the feasibility of implementing each strategy is based on the strength of the rationale, the appropriateness for the Mangere community and the potential costs of the strategy. Possible evaluation measures are suggested for each strategy based on the assumption that only a small budget is available for the evaluation.

Table One: Interventions and possible evaluation measures

Intervention	Rationale	Feasibility: 1 (low)—5 (high)	Outcomes (from revised logic model)	Possible evaluation measure
<p>Petition for law change regarding social supply (restrictive) and/or PLUS reduction in availability (eg. no. of liquor outlets, age verification, stranger supply)</p>	<p>Law and regulatory changes are likely to be effective if implemented and enforced. Petition may be a cost-effective way to raise awareness and could involve community members and young people in the collection of signatures. Opportunity for media advocacy.</p>	<p>3—Mixed support from focus groups regarding law change. Strong support for reduction in licensed outlet numbers. Petition may not be effective in low literacy community but could work if locals are able to explain it to community members.</p>	<p>Increased coverage of social supply and alcohol availability issues in local media. Increased local support for effective policy changes.</p>	<p>Record number of signatures on petition and involvement of volunteers and community organisations. Record use of petition for advocacy. Record media items and content analysis Record examples of influence on outcomes of law review, local policies and so forth.</p>
<p>Declaration at licensed premises</p>	<p>No research evidence on the declaration per se but social host liability in the United States is a promising strategy if the message about liability is widely disseminated (see Holder). Way of involving licensed premises and improving their practices plus raising awareness in local community.</p>	<p>1—low support from focus groups and not seen as appropriate for low literacy community. Recent murder of licensed premise owner in Manurewa may mean that refusal to sell could be perceived as risky for licensed premise staff.</p>	<p>N/A</p>	<p>N/A</p>

Intervention	Rationale	Feasibility: 1 (low)—5 (high)	Outcomes (from revised logic model)	Possible evaluation measure
Family rules and strategies	<p>Research evidence suggests that parental rules against drinking is associated with less drinking by young people.</p> <p>Efforts to reinforce strict norms was found to be effective in Sweden but may be hard to promote in liberalised environment.</p>	<p>3- Useful to implement as part of wider approach. Will need to look for cost effective ways of connecting with groups of parents and community networks are likely to be useful.</p> <p>High support from focus groups.</p> <p>May be high cost to implement unless it is possible to meet with groups of parents at a time.</p>	<p>Increased awareness of strategies to reduce social supply and youth access to alcohol.</p> <p>Increased awareness of negative consequences of social supply and youth access to alcohol.</p> <p>Increased awareness of legal consequences of social supply.</p>	<p>Document approach used to encourage families to develop family rules.</p> <p>Record development of family rules and/or commitment to develop.</p> <p>Could complete follow-up interviews/survey with families who set rules to explore successes and challenges and changes in practices.</p>
Organisation rules and strategies	<p>Setting clear rules and boundaries in local organisations may be a way to reinforce community norms against social supply and against youth access to alcohol in general.</p> <p>May reinforce setting of family norms.</p>	<p>3- Useful to implement as part of wider approach.</p> <p>Medium support from focus groups</p> <p>May be high cost to implement depending on number of organisations involved.</p>	<p>Increased awareness of strategies to reduce social supply and youth access to alcohol.</p> <p>Increased awareness of negative consequences of social supply and youth access to alcohol.</p> <p>Increased awareness of legal consequences of social supply.</p>	<p>Document approach used to encourage organisations to develop rules about supply of alcohol to minors.</p> <p>Record development of organisation rules or commitment to develop.</p> <p>Could complete follow-up interviews/survey with organisations who set rules to explore successes and challenges and changes in practices.</p>

Intervention	Rationale	Feasibility: 1 (low)—5 (high)	Outcomes (from revised logic model)	Possible evaluation measure
T-shirt promotion	As a promotional strategy alone this is likely to be ineffective but could be a useful strategy as part of a wider community action initiative that targets supply from a range of sources.	2 -Mixed support from focus groups. Could take a lot of time and energy with not much impact.	Increased awareness of negative consequences of social supply and youth access to alcohol. Community norms against youth access to alcohol.	Document approach to develop t-shirt and involvement of community in process. Could undertake observations of people wearing t-shirts in community and a short street survey with wearers to identify impact and/or reach.
Reducing availability and promotion of alcohol	Reducing availability of alcohol is an effective way to reduce consumption and harm. Could encourage restriction on outlet density, enforcement of current SoLA re sales to minors (CPOs) and purchasing on behalf of a minor (shoulder tap operations) and lobby for change in purchase age, restrictions on alcohol advertising and promotion.	5 —Research evidence for the effectiveness of community action approaches to reducing availability from licensed premises High support from focus groups. Media advocacy opportunities.	Reduction in commercial availability of alcohol. Increased coverage of social supply and alcohol availability issues in local media. Community norms against youth access to alcohol.	Baseline—number of outlets in Mangere area and per head of population. Record changes in numbers over time. Record media items and content analysis. Document changes in practices of regulatory agencies. Could complete follow-up interviews/survey with regulatory agencies to document change.
Youth development	On its own unlikely to reduce alcohol-related harm. Other organisations in Mangere are focused on youth development. Youth development approaches are resource intensive and long term effects on reducing youth drinking	3 - Look for opportunities to develop the skills of local young people as part of other strategies. Will need to manage this carefully. High support from focus groups.	N/A	Document additional youth development opportunities created through the project.

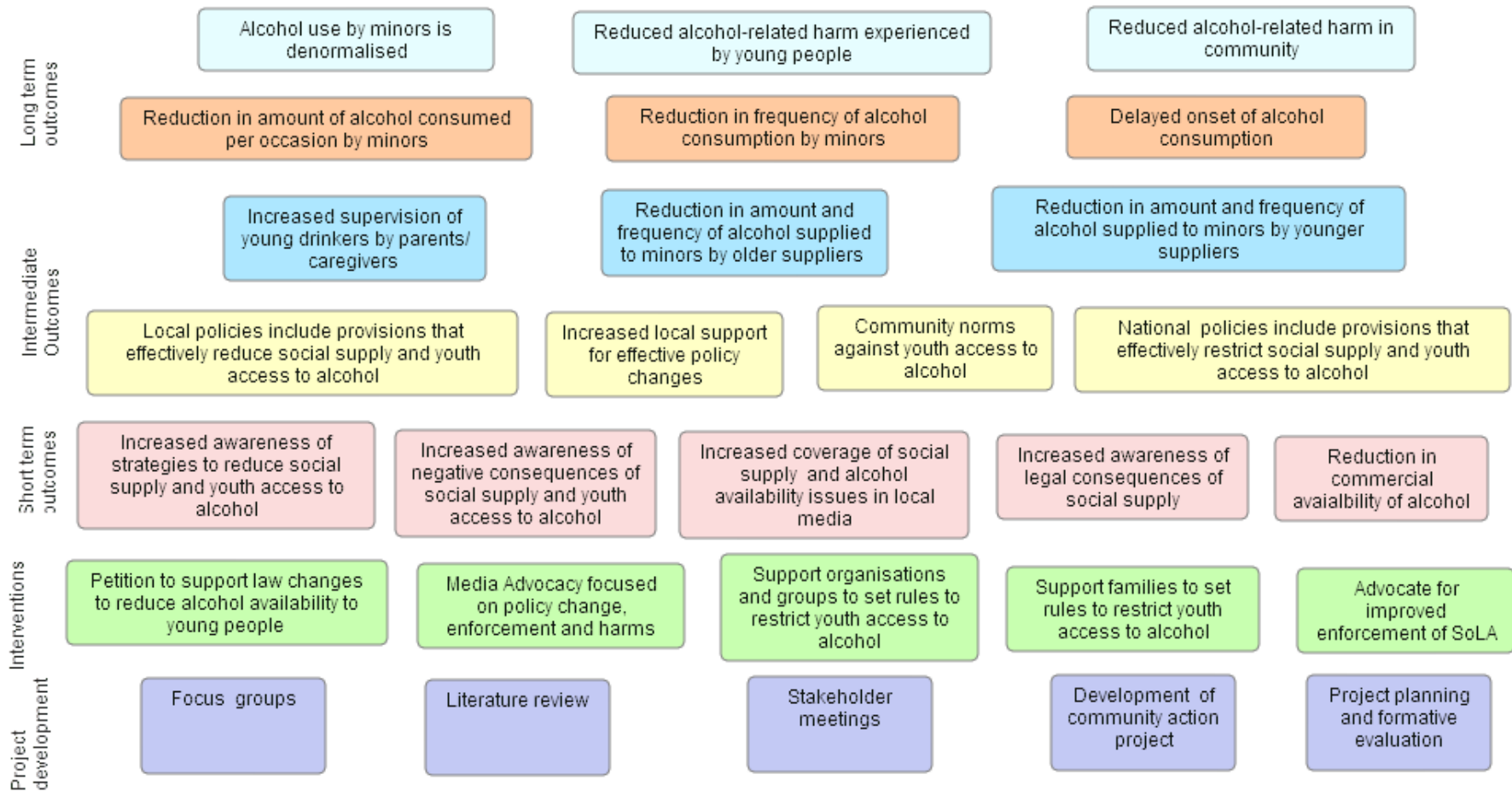
Intervention	Rationale	Feasibility: 1 (low)—5 (high)	Outcomes (from revised logic model)	Possible evaluation measure
	have not been found.			
Persuasion and education	Research evidence suggests that these strategies are not likely to be effective on their own.	1- High support from focus groups	N/A	N/A

6.0 References

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Social Supply Initiative: Version Two



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