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Front, Side and Back-loading: Patrons' rationales for consuming alcohol purchased off-premises before during or after attending nightclubs

Short Title: Off-premises drinking and nightclubs

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Front, Back and Side-loading: Patrons' rationales for drinking alcohol purchased off-premises before during or after attending nightclubs

Abstract

Aims: To examine motivations for consumption of alcohol purchased off-trade when visiting on-trade licensed premises. **Methods:** In-depth interviews were conducted with nightclub patrons who also completed a drinking diary detailing the time and place their previous week's alcohol consumption. **Results:** Drinking before entering nightclubs was the norm, though the location and extent of this 'front-loading' varied. Consuming alcohol purchased elsewhere while attending nightclubs ('side-loading') or continued drinking after leaving these premises ('back-loading') were reported much less frequently. Interviewees reported a range of psycho-social motives for consuming alcohol before or after night-club attendance, rather than a single reason (e.g. cost) **Conclusions:** The findings of this research imply that off-premises alcohol consumption by night-clubbers is widespread and motivated as much by the structure of the night-time economy as by price differentials between competing sectors of the licensed trade.

Keywords: nightclubs, front-loading, off-premises-drinking

Statement of competing interest

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Front, Side and Back-loading: Reasons for drinking alcohol purchased off-premises before during and after attending nightclubs

Introduction

In recent times there has been rising concern about the practice of ‘front-loading’ (also known as ‘pre-loading’, ‘pre-drinking’ and ‘pre-gaming’, see Wells et al, 2009). That is the practice of consuming alcohol before attending a venue licensed for the consumption of alcohol on-premises (e.g. Borsari et al, 2007; Channel 4 TV, 2007; Engineer, 2003; Glindermann et al, 2006; Moriarty and Gilmore, 2006; Pederson & LaBrie, 2007; Quinn, 2007). This term can mean consuming alcohol purchased off-trade, either in a private dwelling (e.g. at home) or in a public place (e.g. the street) before entering any on-trade premises (pub or nightclub). This concept can be extended further to the behaviours of those who move between on-trade sectors; specifically prior consumption in pubs before entering nightclubs. In both instances price has been proposed as the reason for this behaviour, with off-trade prices being lower than those on-trade (Addaction, 2007; Human Factors Analysts Limited; 2007; Hughes et al, 2008) and pub bar prices being viewed as being cheaper than those inside nightclubs, especially when promos are involved, such as ‘happy hours’ or ‘2-4-1’ (Charity, 2005; *Evening Telegraph*, 2006; McKinney & Coyle, 2005).

This view has been contested. For example, in a submission to the Scottish Parliament (2005) the Scottish Grocers’ Federation argued “*It is not the case as suggested in previous evidence that consumers are intoxicating themselves with liquor purchased from the off-license prior to entering public houses and nightclubs*”. In contrast another submission to the same Parliamentary committee by the Scottish Beer and Pub Association (SBPA) claimed that “*anecdotal evidence from our members suggests that there is an increasing trend, particularly amongst younger drinkers, of consuming alcohol from the off sales sector at home, and then coming out for an evening to frequent on sales premises, passing the consequent problems of ‘binge drinking’ on to the on trade. In the past, there has been a presupposition that on and off trade are different and separate entities. This is no longer the case*”.

In this scenario a high degree of mobility between premises and sectors is suggested, one which might extend to ‘back-loading’ (drinking off-trade alcohol after on-trade closing

time) and ‘side-loading’ (smuggling alcohol purchased elsewhere for consumption within on-trade premises). Thus there is a clear need to investigate not only whether such drinking patterns exist, but more importantly why, as these raise a number of concerns in terms public health, economics and policing.

Methods

In-depth interviews were conducted with nightclub patrons ($n = 32$). These interviews were a follow-up from an observational study of nightclub violence conducted in Glasgow, Scotland, during the spring of 2006. The study had involved two teams of fieldworkers visiting a sample of eight city centre nightclubs and detailing the incidents of disorder that they witnessed. Nightclub patron interviewees were initially recruited in May 2006 via these observers handing out project recruitment cards to clubbers ($n = 8$). Unfortunately this policy was abandoned after one weekend when a newspaper journalist responded. Recruitment resumed again in the late summer when clubbers were recruited via chain-referral from students ($n = 17$, not the students themselves) attending the author’s institution. (It should be noted that according to *The Times Good University Guide 2007*, this “is among the top UK universities for attracting students from areas without a tradition of higher education, and more than a third of its undergraduates come from working-class homes”). Finally direct approaches were made by the author on the streets of Glasgow city centre, in September 2006, targeting demographic types (e.g. teenagers) apparent in observations but not already recruited for interview ($n = 7$). Only one person approached in this fashion refused to be interviewed (claiming he was “too young to get in” to nightclubs).

Interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes, were semi-structured, taped and, with the exceptions of the first interview (held in a café) and the seven conducted on the street, were held in private at the university outside term-time. Respondents were provided with an information sheet which stressed the confidential nature of the research, and a consent form. All participants were paid a small sum (£20) for their participation. The interview topic guide explored interviewees’ experience of Glasgow’s night-time economy and included the prompts “Drinks before (off-trade, on-trade)” and “Drinks after (off-trade, on-trade)” in connection to nightclub attendance.

The interview began with a drinking diary which covered the seven days prior to the interview. For each day, over the previous week, any alcohol consumed, beverage type, brand and vessel size was recorded (allowing standard units to be calculated). The time and place of each alcoholic drink's consumption during each day / occasion was also recorded, allowing each drinking session to be tracked both temporally and spatially.

Results

The 32 nightclub patrons interviewed had mean age of 23 years (range 16 – 48). Twelve interviewees (37.5%) were female. Table 1 gives details of each interviewee's drinking pattern over the previous week in relation to the number of nights which they had spent clubbing. It should be noted that, some interviewees ($n = 12$) had not been clubbing during the previous week, however others ($n = 6$) had been out on more than one occasion (e.g. interviewees #13 and #32 had been out on three separate nights during the previous week). In such cases units of alcohol consumed for each clubbing occasion are summed (e.g. #32's alcohol consumption in the 'Units in nightclub' column on Table 1 are 14+1+16, which indicates the number of standard units of alcohol that he had consumed while actually inside a nightclub, on each of his respective nights out clubbing over the seven days prior to being interviewed).

<Table 1>

Perhaps the most striking finding from the drinking diary was the extent of heterogeneity amongst the sample. From Table 1 it can be seen that three interviewees, #4, #6 and #26 (all female) had not consumed any alcohol during the whole week prior to being interviewed. At the other extreme, nine interviewees had consumed 50 or more units that week, with 14/20 males and 4/12 females exceeding the supposed limits for 'sensible drinking' of 21 and 14 units respectively (eight males and three females reached the comparative 'risky drinking' levels of 50 and 35 units respectively). Perhaps of even more concern was the finding that some interviewees had concentrated all their weekly drinking into a single occasion, with nine male and (all) four of the female interviewees who had exceeded their recommended weekly maximum having reached these respective limits (of 21 or 14 units) in a single day / drinking session. For example, interviewee #8 drank his entire weekly total of 28 units in around six hours of clubbing and 'front-loading' on the previous Friday night. He stated his alcohol consumption and dancing in nightclubs were indissoluble.

“...for me alcohol goes hand in hand with dancing and when I drink I drink to excess as probably I do when I go out it becomes more a night out for dancing not for chatting. I would rather have a carry-out in the house than go to a pub.”
(Male, Interviewee #8)

At this point it should be reiterated that the figures shown on Table 1 only refer to interviewees' drinking in the previous seven days and these data may not be typical of their individual drinking occasions. For example, interviewee #22 had her 18th birthday during the week concerned. On the other hand interviewees #4, #5 and #6 were students, who lived in a rural area and only went clubbing during term time in Glasgow. For this reason alone (13 interviewees were students) the figures on Table 1 may be an under-estimate. Some indication of a typical clubbing session is provided by the right-hand column of Table 1, in which interviewees estimate how much they would expect to spend on a single night out clubbing. Again this varied greatly between individuals, though typically these totals were derived from summing together the cost of all alcohol purchases, entry to nightclubs, fast-food at closing time and transport, with the latter cost often being around half of total spend for those who lived far from the city centre.

Table 1 also provides some indication of interviewees' patterns of drinking over their night-clubbing sessions, including instances of 'front-loading', consumption (only) within nightclubs and 'back-loading'. Again these patterns were very heterogeneous, with for example interviewee #3, drinking before but not inside the nightclub he attended that week. Similarly 11 of the 20 interviewees who attended a nightclub in the past week can be seen to have consumed a greater quantity of alcohol on at least one occasion before entering the premises than they subsequently did while inside. Strikingly only one of these 20 interviewees had not 'front-loaded' on at least one occasion during the previous week (range 4 to 21 units). This was interviewee #7, who stated that his diary was atypical, as he had been on a camping holiday, and interestingly he also claimed to spend the more than any other interviewee on a typical clubbing occasion. Two of the three interviewees who had not 'front-loaded' on at least one occasion stated that they had not done so because they had gone straight to the club after finishing work. These were #7 who was a bar manager and #13 a student who worked in an off-license. Despite this, these two interviewees were amongst the heaviest consumers of alcohol interviewed. The remaining interviewee who had not 'front-loaded' on one occasion, #2,

was a Canadian exchange student, the only non-Scottish resident interviewed (i.e. he was not part of the UK night-time economy / drinking culture).

What Table 1 does not indicate is where all this ‘front-load’ alcohol originates. Table 2 indicates that ‘front-loading’ could include alcohol consumption from either off-trade sources or prior on-trade drinking (all of the latter, except a single vodka & lime in a restaurant by interviewee #11, took place in pubs). Six interviewees ‘front-loaded’ from both on and off-trade sources during the previous week, including four who did so during the same session on at least one occasion. This variance in ‘front-loaded’ alcohol source / drinking venue begins to infer that there may be different motivations for such practices between individual consumers or occasions, which required qualitative investigation.

<Table 2>

Tables 1 and 2 also account for ‘back-loading’, though only four of the 20 previous week clubbers had consumed any alcohol in this fashion (range 2 to 14 units). No instances of ‘side-loading’ were recorded on any of the drinking past week’s diaries. Again it should be stressed that these figures only refer to the previous seven days’ alcohol consumption / nightclub attendance and interviewees were able to discuss motivating factors and experiences of ‘back-loading’ and ‘side-loading’ as well as ‘front-loading’, regardless of whether they had engaged in any of these drinking behaviours during the previous week.

The interview transcripts revealed a mix of motivations for these drinking behaviours, the first of which was socialising. Social ‘front-loading’ could take place either at friends’ houses or in pubs. In the latter case this was often at premises located nearby the intended destination nightclub, where “*You can always pop your head out the door and see if the queues are starting and get in quicker*” (Male, Interviewee #13). (To this end premises in both sectors could have the same parent company or another business arrangement, such as pubs selling discount nightclub tickets). The purpose of this type of prior drinking behaviour was to ‘catch up’ with weekend clubbing friends before entering the nightclub environment, which was not felt to be conducive for such conversation, owing to the volume of the music, lack of seating and time spent dancing or mingling around inside the venue, as exemplified in the following quotes.

“I like music but usually before I go out to a club I like to be able to go out and you have your first couple of rounds with your mates and you catch up. Cos’ usually you don’t get to see them through the week cos’ of work. I like to catch up with them cos’ instead of being in a club and somebody sitting next to you and sitting shouting in your ear and you can’t hear the other guy sitting at the next table from you.” (Male, Interviewee #31)

“Well, I think you probably couldn’t really go out and go straight into a nightclub because you’d probably just be standing there like that, no confidence to actually move about. So I think that’s why you go to the bar [i.e. pub] first. That kind of settles you and if you’re going out with friends you’ve got a chance to catch up first.” (Female, Interviewee #20)

The second quote above reveals another motivation, psychological ‘front-loading’; specifically drinking to get in the mood for dancing (i.e. ‘Dutch courage’). Rather than arriving at a nightclub sober, feeling uncomfortably abstemious, and then perhaps engaging in ‘speed drinking’ to loose their inhibitions. Saving time by arriving intoxicated was viewed as a better option.

“I mean I’d rather go there and be drunk already and be ready to have a great time. Be less self-conscious about dancing like an arsehole basically.” (Male, Interviewee #30)

“I mean I’ve went in sober plenty of times obviously when I was PR-ing and things [working] for clubs, you go in sober. But I think you can just get into it a lot quicker when you’ve went in with a couple of drinks in you and it does make your night cheaper as well.” (Female, Interviewee #14)

As the second quote above highlights financial matters also figured the ‘front-loading’ decision making process. In this scenario, consumption within pubs was viewed as a cheaper option than within nightclubs (at least at the weekends). However, price differentials between premises and sectors inevitably also favoured off-trade purchase by economic ‘front-loaders’.

“We usually go to a pub or else we’ll drink in a pal’s house or something but I always seem to be drunk before I go out to the dancing. Always!”... “Probably sometimes cos’ it’s cheaper as well, cos’ if you bought something with your pals first and then drink it first and then go in, cos’ it will save you money when you get in there.” (Female, Interviewee #22)

“I think it’s cheaper actually if you buy a big bottle of something you keep it in the house and you drink at your own pace. You just feel more in the mood for going out I think.” (Male, Interviewee #16)

It was noteworthy that ‘front-loading’ was seen as much as a consequence of high prices on-trade as low prices off-trade (on-trade offers such as ‘happy hours’ and ‘2-4-1’ were banned in Glasgow from December 2004). This is illustrated by the following quote in which the nightclub described had the second most expensive prices of the eight premises observed (only a premises where ecstasy use was more common than drunkenness had any more expensive drinks) and yet the highest assessed level of drunkenness and the most frequently observed disorder (despite expensive drinks prices 11 of the 34 violent incidents observed occurred here).

“I’m sure it’s about £3.50 or something for a drink! That’s why people drink before they go there though. If you’re going to you’re going to drink before you go in and then you’re already steaming when you get there.” (Female, Interviewee #22)

In most cases however it should be stressed that price only played a part of the decision to ‘front-load’, dependent on a range of other situational and psycho-social factors, as the following accounts illustrate.

“Cheap! Buzz gets you in the mood before you go out sort of thing. If you go into a club sort of flat and you’re not in the mood for it, it can take away from the night. But if you’ve had a couple of drinks and talked to your mates and had a laugh before you go out you kinda more in the spirit of things by the time you get in there.” (Male, Interviewee #13)

“My mate came up to mine and we had a couple of bottles of beer there and then we went to [friend’s flat] and we had a bottle of beer there. Then we went to a pub and we had a few pints and then go on to a nightclub.”... “I think it’s to save money and you have a better time in a nightclub when you’re drink, drunk.” (Male, Interviewee #10)

This process could also work in reverse, when, rather than intentionally ‘front-loading’, on some occasion interviewees only decided to attend a nightclub after having already become intoxicated elsewhere.

“It’s just certain nights we’ll meet up with people in town and then it’s the decision do we stay out longer.” (Male, Interviewee #24)

“Usually we just plan to get drunk and then once we’re drunk in the flat we say lets go out and that’s it.” (Male, Interviewee #30)

For more dedicated clubbers ‘front-loading’ was viewed as an integral part of the nightclub session / experience, part of a pre-club ritual, which itself could be pre-planned earlier in the week (as with deciding where to go, and buying / choosing what to wear).

“Generally erm, well it would take me a couple of hours to get ready. I’ll maybe have a wee drink when I’m getting ready. Then I’ll go tae a friend’s house, have a drink there. And then, mebbe, well if I’m going out local then we’ll just get a taxi into town. If we’re coming up here [city centre] then it’s the train [where we will continue drinking] “...and then we’ll probably go tae a couple of pubs and then we’ll go tae a nightclub.” (Female, Interviewee #15)

“Normally I’ll just basically go, get a shower. Come down. Chill. Stick some music on. Have my friends round. We’ll normally sit and chill. Get a couple of beers, have a laugh. Listen to some music while getting ready then basically go out.” (Male, Interviewee #28)

A similar set of psycho-social reasons were given for ‘back-loading’, as for ‘front-loading’, except that ‘getting in the party mood’ had now developed into ‘keeping the party mood going’ for as long as possible at ‘after-parties’.

“Well, a lot of people you don’t see until you get into the club and a lot of people or maybe you won’t go the club, or you go to the club straight away [i.e. when do not ‘front-load’] so its hard to sort of speak to all your friends to any great degree, so after-party gives you a chance to go and speak to them after and have a proper conversation, albeit probably a drunken one. Usually a lot of fun, you don’t want the night end.” (Male, Interviewee #13)

“All the rules, all the rules go out of the windae when you’re at an after-party. You’ll just drink whatever’s there because you think “Oh well, I don’t have a choice here, it’s not my drink”. But I think that, as I was saying about going to the chip shop, that you just want the night to keep going so, the after-party just kinda keeps the atmosphere going and you think you’re still out.” (Male, Interviewee #16)

Interestingly, although it was felt that longer (24 hour) opening times in the on-trade sector could jeopardise the very existence of after-party scene. It was also felt that greater availability of off-trade alcohol was fuelling this after-hours phenomenon.

“I get big discounts on booze from work [off-licence] so I drink before I go out and erm I just have a few drinks in the club to top myself up. Tend not to go to excess. Maybe party afterwards” ... “The only thing I have seen emerging over the last five years has been all-night partying. Things like there’s 24 hour booze services you can phone up when you’re at a party and get them to come and deliver a set amount of alcohol.” (Male, Interviewee, #13)

Finally, there was little evidence of ‘side-loading’ during nightclub attendance. This was because opportunities for this sort of behaviour were limited by security staff door searches (ostensibly to find illicit drugs or weapons). However, some interviewees were aware of a new method of ‘side-loading’ while attending nightclubs, one which was a by-product of the national smoking ban of 2006. This involved using the smokers’ pass-out system (hand stamp or wrist band) to leave a venue ostensibly for a cigarette, but instead “*you can go to the pub, it’s cheaper!*” (Male, Interviewee #13) for a quick drink (e.g. a shot) then re-enter the nightclub.

“Well, that’s the other thing [laughs] it’s like £2.50 for a shot of Sambucca [name of nightclub] and you can jump into next door [name of pub] and get it for £2.00.” (Male Interviewee, #13)

One other impact of door-staff was that this could deter some ‘front-loading’, although how highly would-be patrons’ intoxication levels figured in door policies was unclear.

“You expect maybe that it would be a bit cheaper to have a few drinks before you go in than it would if you were actually in the place but I’m always wary about getting too drunk then they won’t let you in.” (Female, Interviewee #11)

“Like a few times I’ve been told [by door-staff] “no you’re too drunk” and I’ve been like, I’ve actually just finished my work at 11.00 and I’ve went straight and I was like I’ve just actually finished work driving. “Ah you’re drunk or you’re on something.”” (Male, Interviewee #12)

Discussion

This research has found ‘front-loading’ to be the norm before nightclub attendance. This would appear to justify nightclub operators concerns about their premises being unfairly blamed when their door-staff have to deal with persons turning up intoxicated on alcohol purchased elsewhere (e.g. the supermarket). However it would be inaccurate to attribute this problem solely to cheaper drinks prices in some premises or sectors. Price was only one factor in the decision and this was seen as being as much to do with high on-trade prices as supermarket discounts. This implies that measures such as ‘happy hour’ bans may have fuelled off-trade ‘front-loading’ (see also Wells et al, 2009).

A range of psycho-social factors, such as pre-dance socialising and resultant loss of inhibition, were at least as important factors in the decision to purchase off-premises as price differentials. This is further evidence by the amount clubbers claimed to spend

during a night out, against which any savings made from economic front-loading would be small. Much of this behaviour can instead be attributed to the structure of the night-time economy. For example, loud disorientating dance venues were not viewed as appropriate settings for conversation and due to their late opening; nightclubs were not viewed as suitable venues to begin drinking. Interviewees spoke of the need to become intoxicated quickly, rather than wasting valuable dancing time attempting to lose their inhibitions by arriving sober. Thus a scenario emerges where a number of psycho-social factors have combined to foster a culture of off-premises drinking in which saving some money, during what for many could be an expensive night out, is an added bonus.

These motivations echo recent research, also conducted in the Glasgow area, with focus groups of young adult street drinkers, who perhaps represent those who might be expected to be the most price responsive of all economic ‘front-loaders’ but for whom speed of intoxication and socialising were also factors, as is exemplified by the following exchange. Participant1: *“Aye, it’s cheaper tae get fucked [intoxicated] here and then go doon the pub. Saves money. If you drink in the pub, its too slow man.”* Participant2: *“Get mad wi’ it [intoxicated] up here then go doon, its cheaper and its quicker. Then yer walloped [intoxicated] for the rest of the night man, but you dinnae pay as much.”* (Galloway et al, 2007 p41.).

Although ‘back-loading’ had similar motivators to ‘front-loading’, this practice appeared to be less common among clubbers, while ‘side-loading’ was particularly rare in the nightclub context. Again this appeared to be down to the structure of the night-time economy, with door searchers deterring ‘side-loading’ and later on-trade opening hours lessening the desire for ‘after-parties’ Interestingly, those who did not ‘front-load’ on any particular occasion usually did not do so because of some prior commitment, such as going out straight from work. Ironically this tended to affect those who worked in the licensed trade themselves (e.g. interviewees, #7, #13 and #14). However, being unable to ‘front-load’ seemed to favour ‘back-loading’ at ‘after-parties’ as a means of achieving some of the economic and social benefits of ‘front-loading’.

In conclusion this research has uncovered a pattern of off-premises drinking which is as dependent on the structure of the night-time economy as it is on price differentials between sectors of the licensed trade. Policy makers therefore need to take care with

interventions designed to curb such behaviours, for example policies which foster higher on-trade prices may only encourage off-trade purchase and activities such as those described in this paper, while reducing late licenses on-trade may encourage increased 'back-loading'. This research would agree with those who argue that the off-trade, pub and nightclub sectors are not distinct entities and that 'joined up' policy involving all sectors is required (e.g. by reducing price differentials). However, given that young people such as those interviewed here are prepared to spend so much of their income on nightlife, the price differentials between sectors alone cannot account for 'front-loading' in particular becoming an embedded part late night drinking culture.

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Table 1: Interviewees' previous week's drinking patterns

| ID | Age and Sex | Alcohol and Clubbing activity in past week | | | | | | | Typical Club Night Cost (£) |
|-----|-------------|--|-------------|---------|-------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| | | Days Drink | Total Units | Max Day | Club Nights | Units before | Units in nightclub | Units after | |
| #1 | 23M | 6 | 66 | 13 | 2 | 5+4 | 6+5 | 2+0 | ? |
| #2 | 20M | 3 | 41 | 16 | 2 | 2+0 | 1+16 | 0 | ? |
| #3 | 20M | 1 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 20-60 |
| #4 | 19F | 0 | - | - | 0 | - | - | - | ? |
| #5 | 20M | 3 | 15 | 10 | 0 | - | - | - | ? |
| #6 | 19F | 0 | - | - | 0 | - | - | - | 15 |
| #7 | 24M | 4 | 63 | 33 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 0 | >150 |
| #8 | 30M | 1 | 28 | 28 | 1 | 12 | 16 | 0 | 20-40 |
| #9 | 23M | 2 | 19 | 13 | 1 | 10 | 3 | 0 | 30-40 |
| #10 | 21M | 4 | 34 | 16 | 0 | - | - | - | 50 |
| #11 | 19F | 3 | 12 | 7 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 30 |
| #12 | 20M | 2 | 26 | 24 | 1 | 6 | 18 | 0 | 60-80+ |
| #13 | 26M | 6 | 84 | 34 | 3 | 0+0+8 | 8+10+12 | 0+14 | 25 |
| #14 | 19F | 5 | 48 | 25 | 1 | 4 | 15 | 10 | 35 |
| #15 | 21F | 1 | 11 | 11 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 0 | 20-50 |
| #16 | 20M | 2 | 52 | 30 | 2 | 9+21 | 13+9 | 0 | 45-100 |
| #17 | 20F | 3 | 54 | 21 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 20 |
| #18 | 21M | 1 | 15 | 15 | 0 | - | - | - | 30-50 |
| #19 | 18F | 1 | 13 | 13 | 1 | 6 | 7 | 0 | 30 |
| #20 | 48F | 4 | 9 | 3 | 0 | - | - | - | 40-50 |
| #21 | 19M | 2 | 15 | 13 | 1 | 10 | 3 | - | 20 |
| #22 | 18F | 3 | 38 | 14 | 2 | 10+7 | 4+4 | 0 | 30-40 |
| #23 | 45M | 7 | 50 | 11 | 0 | - | - | - | 30 |
| #24 | 47M | 2 | 5 | 3 | 0 | - | - | - | 10 |
| #25 | 29M | 5 | 53 | 21 | 1 | 12 | 9 | - | 80-100 |
| #26 | 16F | 0 | - | - | 0 | - | - | - | 30-40 |
| #27 | 17F | 3 | 27 | 17 | 0 | - | - | - | 40 |
| #28 | 22M | 1 | 27 | 27 | 1 | 19 | 4 | 4 | 60 |
| #29 | 20F | 1 | 4 | 4 | 0 | - | - | - | 40 |
| #30 | 23M | 3 | 78 | 56 | 1 | 10 | 4 | 0 | 40 |
| #31 | 20M | 4 | 41 | 14 | 0 | - | - | - | 50-66 |
| #32 | 18M | 4 | 52 | 22 | 3 | 3+10+6 | 14+1+16 | 0 | 20-30 |

Table 2: Summary of previous week's 'front-loading' and other alcohol

| Location / nature of alcohol consumption | Mean days/week drinking (range) | Interviewees engaging (<i>n</i>) | Mean Units (range) |
|--|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Nightclub | 0.9 (0 – 3) | 20* ² | 11.6 (0 – 30) * ² |
| Front-load off-trade* ¹ | 0.4 (0 – 1) | 11 | 5.8 (2 – 12) |
| Front-load on-trade* ¹ | 0.5 (0 – 2) | 14 | 9.4 (3 – 22) |
| Total front-load (before club) | 0.8 (0 – 3) | 19 | 10.3 (2 – 30) |
| Back-load (after club) | 0.2 (0 – 1) | 4 | 6.8 (2 – 14) |
| Total clubbing session | - | - | 22.5 (6 – 54) |
| Other off-trade | 1.4 (0 – 6) | 18 | 17.7 (2 – 60) |
| Other on-trade | 1.0 (0 – 7) | 17 | 13.7 (1 – 33) |
| Total non-clubbing | 1.9 (0 – 7) | 23 | 23.9 (2 - 64) |
| Total Weekly Alcohol | 2.7 (0 – 7) | 32* ³ | 31.3 (0 – 92) * ³ |

Notes

*¹ Six interviewees 'front-loaded' from both off-trade and on-trade sources during the previous seven days, four of whom 'front-loaded' from both off-trade and on-trade sources during the same day / session at least once.

*² Figures refer to all previous week clubbers, not just those who consumed alcohol

*³ Figures refer to all interviewees, not just those who consumed alcohol