Rethinking drinking: an exploration of the discourses surrounding binge-drinking among first-year university students that live in residence

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

Over one-third of Canadian university students engage in heavy drinking, with even higher rates reported amongst those who live in on-campus residences (CAMH 2004; Kypri, Paschall, Langley, Baxter & Bourdeau, 2010). At the time of this study, there was very little recent research to demonstrate the prevalence of alcohol consumption amongst young adults in postsecondary education in Canada. The purpose of this narrative inquiry is to deconstruct the experiences of binge-drinking among first-year undergraduate students at a Canadian university.

Data was collected through interviews with the nine participants, allowing the participants to share their stories of drinking and understandings of the ways that social norms influenced their decisions. The interview data was then analyzed to highlight the discourses of drinking that exist within the university residence context, the ways that the discourses are disseminated and disciplined among first-year students, and the ways that first-year students negotiate these discourses of drinking. After analyzing the data, I rewrote the stories shared by the nine participants into three narratives. These three narratives all tell the stories about one Friday night in residence but are written from three perspectives to demonstrate the varying experiences and understandings of the discourses as described by the participants.

The thesis concludes with a discussion on the ways that drinking in residence is understood as safe. Understanding drinking in residence as safe manifested in several ways throughout the interviews, highlighting the ways that certain policies and practices further normalize drinking as an acceptable part of the university student experience.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Central Phenomenon

"I bet I'm the last person you thought you'd see here" was the first thing I said to a familiar classmate during the first day of our graduate school careers. It was as if I said that out of habit, defending myself against his expectations of me that were based on choices that I had made years prior. The choice – to drink – felt as easy as twisting off a bottle cap. Years later I realized that the decision to drink while living in the university's residence was not a question of yes or no, but rather a cocktail of influences that led my first-year university student self to become under the influence. I was not pressured by my peers to drink, yet it felt as if I was expected to drink because I was a university student. For this thesis, I called these expectations into question by asking current students if they had experienced any of these expectations – perhaps social norms – surrounding heavy alcohol consumption in their university residence. Throughout this exploration, we can uncover and question discourses around the role of alcohol in the "university student experience" while discussing the influential nature of this potential culture.

Previous studies have found that almost one-third of Canadian university students engage in heavy alcohol consumption, with even higher rates reported by those that live in a university residence setting (Center for Addictions and Mental Health, 2004; Kypri, Paschall, Langley, Baxter & Bourdeau, 2010). Although there is a deficit of recent statistical and/or scholarly data to demonstrate the prevalence of binge-drinking among Canadian university students, my personal experiences have demonstrated that this prevalence is still significant. For example, CBC reported that over 22,000 people celebrated St. Patrick's Day on Ezra Street last year (Salvian, 2018). This is a significant increase from my first St. Patrick's Day in Waterloo, where

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CTV reported a mere 5,000 partygoers as breaking the record for the Ezra Street festivities (The Canadian Press, 2013). This type of media coverage indicates that binge-drinking among university students is increasingly prevalent.

Quantitative research has been conducted from other disciplines to demonstrate the rate of engagement in heavy drinking among Canadian university students, but this activity warrants research from a leisure perspective. There is one quantitative study that explores alcohol consumption from a leisure perspective, which used survey research to explain why students chose to engage in drinking (Shinew & Parry, 2005). This study sought to understand drinking as a leisure pursuit, but I think the absence of qualitative inquiry further highlights a gap in the literature. Based on personal experience, I proposed that binge-drinking among university students needs to be explored holistically rather than statistically for the following reasons.

First, previous quantitative research has found the number of students that engage in alcohol consumption, with few studies asking why students choose to do so (Shinew & Parry, 2005; Palfai, Ralston, & Wright, 2011). There is a lack of research that asks how and why students are making this decision, which means that the exploration of the social and contextual influences has been neglected. I believe that alcohol consumption among university students is a highly social pursuit that is heavily influenced by discourses and social expectations. This was found through a survey that assessed the perceived social norms of drinking of university students, where participants reported their rates of engagement and then estimated the drinking habits of their peers (Kypri & Langley, 2003). The results demonstrated that students overestimate the frequency of binge-drinking among their peers, with correlations indicating that the students who think their peers are drinking heavily will engage in binge-drinking themselves.

Secondly, I think that an individual's personal identity is reproduced and/or challenged through their engagement in binge-drinking, as well as the negotiation that occurs when adhering to a larger collective identity. Research has found that first-year students that have been exposed to social media content that represents alcohol are more likely to engage in drinking, finding that this exposure impacts the perceived social norms of the students (Boyle, LaBrie, Froidevaux & Witkovic, 2016). Another study explored how first-year university students utilize social media to reinvent their personal identity, finding that students change how they portray themselves on social media while transitioning to university in pursuit of acceptance from their peers (Thomas, Briggs, Hart & Kerrigan, 2017). These two studies demonstrate how the perceived social norms of alcohol-use influence the behaviours of students, as well as how students adjust their identity to fit within these social norms in an effort to achieve feelings of belonging. I think that the transition to university enhances an individual's need for belonging, and alcohol consumption is an accessible social pursuit that could meet this need for social acceptance.

Lastly, I think this qualitative inquiry allowed for further exploration of alcohol consumption as a leisure pursuit among university students. The previous quantitative study that assessed the participants' conceptualization of drinking as a leisure pursuit found that students do indeed categorize alcohol consumption as leisure (Shinew & Parry, 2005). A leisure perspective is required because students are engaging in binge-drinking during their free-time to achieve benefits that are attainable through other leisure pursuits (Shinew & Parry, 2005).

Overall, this central phenomenon is of social and scholarly relevance due to the lack of leisure research on binge-drinking by university students. This research will contribute to the existing literature on alcohol consumption by university students, providing qualitative insight into the experiences and decisions of the participants. Society will also benefit from this research

as we begin to deconstruct the notion of the university student experience and how alcohol has been previously unchallenged within the discourse.

1.2 Purpose Statement and Research Questions

The purpose of this narrative inquiry is to deconstruct the experiences of binge-drinking among first-year undergraduate students at a Canadian university.

What discourses of drinking are enabled within the university residence among first-year students?

How are those discourses disseminated and disciplined among first-year students?

How do first-year students negotiate these discourses of drinking?

1.3 Anticipated Contributions

This narrative inquiry was designed with the intention of facilitating social change at the community level. This decision was made based on inadequate previous interventions and campaigns to reduce binge-drinking on campus. Particularly for the University of Waterloo, I would like to share my work with the Committee on Alcohol Use and Education to ensure that campus initiatives are targeted towards the necessary groups and more effective in nature. The Secretariat at the University of Waterloo implemented Policy 21 regarding alcohol procedures and guidelines, but this policy has not been updated since 2004. I think that this policy warrants further revisions, which could be influenced by the findings of my research. Working with this policy could help with the implementation of effective awareness campaigns. A poststructural approach to this research will allow for questions surrounding alcohol consumption by postsecondary students to be asked differently (Berbary, 2017). Since all knowledge is valued, regardless of being partial or inconsistent (Crotty, 1998), the experiences of students will be

exposed in ways that previous research has not been able to. Rather than calling out delinquent behaviour or reducing contextual influences through numerical data, a poststructural approach allowed for me, the participants, and readers of the texts to trouble how binge-drinking has remained in the discourse of university student behaviour.

1.4 Conceptualization and operationalization of terms

There are a few terms that were used interchangeably in this study, so have been operationalized to prevent misinterpretations. 'Drinking' refers to the consumption of alcoholic beverages. 'Heavy' alcohol consumption and 'binge-drinking' were used interchangeably, referring to the episodes of purposeful alcohol consumption where the individual drinks enough to experience significant impairment. Although previous studies have sought to determine the exact number of drinks based on biological sex that qualifies as heavy drinking (Department of Health and Human Services, 2004), I do not see value in this measure.

1.5 Summary

Based on my personal experiences, popular media, and academic research, binge-drinking remains prevalent among Canadian university students. There is an important opportunity to explore the experiences of Canadian university students from a qualitative perspective, as most of the previous research has been conducted in other countries and quantitatively. While previous research has focused on the motivations and consequences of drinking for individual university students, there is an absence of literature that looks at binge-drinking from a discourse perspective. The use of qualitative leisure inquiry that uses a discourse lens could further the knowledge that students, university staff, researchers, and society have about the reasons why first-year university students that live in residence may or may not drink alcohol. The use of poststructural inquiry to deconstruct the experiences of first-year university

students that live in residence from a leisure perspective allows us to look differently at an arguably common phenomenon. The next section elaborates on the tenets of poststructuralism and its use in leisure studies, as well as trends among the previous research on alcohol consumption among university students.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework

This chapter outlines the concepts that will influence this study. Firstly, onto-epistemological considerations are discussed, as philosophical underpinnings guide all aspects of this research. Secondly, the tenets of poststructuralism will be outlined as a more specific frame for thinking through this research. Thirdly, the main concepts such as leisure and drinking will be described using previous empirical research. Lastly, I will highlight the gap in the literature that exists between poststructuralism, leisure, and postsecondary students' participation in binge-drinking.

2.1 Epistemological Perspective

Ontology refers to the exploration of reality, answering questions about the existence of things in the external world (Schwandt, 2015). The varying ontological perspectives all encourage us to determine what is real but differ in how we define something as real (Pernecky, 2016). The differences in solidifying what is real stem from whether reality exists through our senses, through the human mind, or other forms of knowing. While ontology encompasses the justification of what exists, the act of describing what we know is referred to as epistemology (Pernecky, 2016; Berbary & Boles, 2014).

Epistemology is described as a "theory of knowledge" by Crotty (1998), exploring the various ways we have acquired knowledge, or come to know what we know, about the external world (p. 3; Berbary & Boles, 2014). While ontology is describing the existence of being, epistemology requires us to explore how we came across that meaning (Pernecky, 2016). Ontology and epistemology, with definitions that can be reduced to "being" and "knowing," are arguably the foundations of humanist research (Kumm & Berbary, 2018, p. 78). Ontological and epistemological questions are heavily philosophical, which provides an opportunity for the

researcher to define their stance towards knowledge acquisition (Johnson & Parry, 2015). Under the assumption that qualitative inquiry is carried out to understand meaning about human actions within a social world (Schwandt, 2015), it is important for the researcher to understand the philosophical underpinnings of their inquiry.

Theory provides a framework that guides our research by providing a means of approaching epistemology, methodology, the data and its analysis (Berbary & Boles, 2014). Theory is an orientation for researchers to use as a means of grounding their own ideas philosophically (Crotty, 1998). Qualitative researchers use theory to provide context for the decisions made about methodology and the data, providing a lens for exploring the research questions in relation to a set of assumptions and prior understandings. While onto-epistemologies allow us to discuss knowledge, how we understand meaning and approach truth, the theory provides a basis for discussing the philosophical perspective that is driving our methodological choices. Ontology, epistemology, and theory all function together to inform the nature of research, guiding the purpose of the research and eliminating a sense of improvisation (Berbary & Boles, 2014). The theory is a more specific understanding of the guiding philosophical assumptions that are derived from our epistemologies, which are influenced by our ontologies. All three of these ways of thinking philosophically about knowledge work with one another in varying degrees to guide our research decisions (Berbary & Boles, 2014). Some frames for thinking function outside of humanist foundations of knowledge and include both onto-epistemological and theoretical characteristics; poststructuralism operates differently than the scaffolding for qualitative inquiry that is used within humanist research (Berbary, 2017; Berbary & Boles, 2014). Due to the deconstructive nature of poststructuralism, it is difficult for all tenets of poststructuralism to adhere to the traditional expectations of a theory. As such, I will outline

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the philosophical assumptions and key points that guide poststructuralism as an epistemology, which has previously been defined under humanist scaffolding as the subjectivist epistemology (Pernecky, 2016; Schwandt, 2015). At the same time, poststructuralism will also provide theoretical guidance for this research, which I will elaborate upon in the following section.

2.1.1 Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism is a call to trouble the 'taken-for-granted truths' that occur within our worlds because of power structures and linguistics (Schwandt, 2015). Poststructuralism provides an important opportunity to explore social issues outside of the structures of thought that have contributed to the development and reproduction of social injustices (Berbary, 2017). Moreover, it is an approach to thinking and practicing the critique of humanist ways of understanding experiences, deconstructing the socially constructed structures that influence the actions of individuals (Schwandt, 2015). Poststructuralism is a relatively recent theoretical development that became significant in the 1970s. Several scholars that had been working within structuralism began to critique the humanist and metaphysical notions of structuralism that are attributed to the construction of reality. These scholars critiqued structuralism and the construction of social reality in a deconstructive manner, leading to the development of poststructuralism (Harrison, 2006).

There is variation between poststructuralist scholars, but there are a few main underlying philosophies that resonate with this theory. Poststructuralist theory is a vehicle that allows researchers to question the humanist ways of knowing when working toward a reassembled society (Berbary, 2017). Moreover, poststructuralism can be described as the overall "doubt" that any form of knowledge or research is to be privileged over another, as other theories utilize power to claim truths (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005). The following section will outline the

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main tenets of poststructuralism, including the roles of language, discourse, power, truth, and the self. The tenets that are outlined below are adapted from the work of St. Pierre (2000), as her work organized the characteristics of poststructuralism in an understandable way. Aspects of the research process, such as positionality and representation, that are influenced by specific characteristics of poststructuralism are outlined in this section to highlight connections between the theory and research practice. Ideas related to the research process are elaborated upon in the methodology chapter.

2.1.1.1 Language

One of the most significant features of poststructuralism is the deployment of language. While humanism recognizes that words are used to label things in our world, the use of language can be rather limiting (St. Pierre, 2000). Language is limited when used from a humanist foundation because there is a finite number of ways to identify something through language, which means that different things are categorized together for the sake of easily identifying them. Initially, the relationship between the identifying word and the identified object was said to lack meaning in itself, but rather the identifying word gained meaning from its relationship to other words (de Saussure, as cited in St. Pierre, 2000). De Saussure's notion of language states that the meaning of identifying words is static, which is one of the main critiques within poststructuralism, as introduced by Derrida (2016/1967). Derrida (2016/1967) argued that the meanings of the identifying words are contingent upon the social context that it is used within, illuminating the notion that meaning is everchanging and never final within poststructuralism (Schwandt, 2015). Derrida explained that the difference between the identifying word and the thing being identified is how binary structures are formed and reinforced, as the difference between things is exacerbated when identifying them through our language (2016/1967). In order

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to question the structure that emphasizes the differences between things, deconstruction is employed to explore how language and power have worked together to form this structure. There is immense worth in redeploying the language used in our research and worlds as a means of resisting and deconstructing the powerful systems that value other ways of knowing over subjectivist knowledge (Kumm & Berbary, 2018).

Kumm and Berbary (2018) explained the importance of utilizing language that has not been deployed with meanings that are reproduced through discourse. This critique is aligned with how Butler (1992) described our reductionist tendencies when reading complex 'texts'. Within poststructural thought, everything is a text, which is described as pantextualism (Schwandt, 2015, p. 299). Pantextualism grew out of hermeneutics, with differences highlighted in the awareness that texts cannot be transferred, texts are not whole and constantly changing with each new read, and that every text is related. Pantextualism is related to the notion that meaning is everchanging, never final, and not able to be represented holistically (Schwandt, 2015, p. 245).

2.1.1.2 Discourse

The next main tenant of poststructuralism is discourse, which is difficult to define within this school of thought (St. Pierre, 2000). Poststructuralism recognizes that meaning is constantly changing, so to define the concept of discourse would be contradictory. Rather than outlining what discourse is, individuals working with poststructuralism are questioning the historical development of discourse, the practices that reproduce the discourse, and the implications of the discourse (Bové, 1990).

Discourse can also be thought of as the common-sense understandings of texts that exist within language, which allow powerful ideologies to be continuously reproduced by language (Berbary, 2017). Through the exposition and questioning of previously undisturbed structures –

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the deconstruction of texts – the meaning of texts can be highlighted. Without this deconstruction, the meaning of language remains a common-sense understanding, becoming more powerful in how it influences the individual. Overall, poststructuralism significantly questions previous means of generating knowledge without entirely rejecting them (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005). Recognizing that discourses also exist within research, poststructuralism allows researchers to explore and critique traditional methods of inquiry while developing new ones that may be more substantive towards illuminating understandings within a certain context (St. Pierre, 2000).

2.1.1.3 Power

Discourse and language can be thought of as the product of power relations (St. Pierre, 2000). Power is defined within humanism as something that an individual can own, steal, share, and/or lose. Humanist thought believes that power is the agency that we individually possess, which is acquired naturally and available to all individuals (Butler, 1995; St. Pierre, 2000). This agency allows individuals to function within their society, meaning that the actions individuals take are of choice because they have the power to do so (St. Pierre, 2000). The understanding of power from a poststructural lens is less concerned with the individual's agency and focused more on what Foucault described as "relations of power" (1997, p. 292). Instead of defining power at the individual level, poststructural thought highlights the fluidity and temporality of power between individuals and groups. Power relations – the way power is deployed between individuals – contributes to the sustainability of discourses, the meaning of language, and consequentially, the determination of truth (St. Pierre, 2000).

2.1.1.4 Truth

Poststructuralism not only recognizes the relationship between power and knowledge but also highlights the degree of error within our knowledge (St. Pierre, 2000). Poststructural thought does not look for a foundational truth but rather explores the many ways of knowing and the implications of each. Humanist thought believes that rationality is the foundation of knowledge, regardless of the context (Peters, 1996). Rationality within humanism is thought to exist independent of discourses as a static and untouchable standard of truth (St. Pierre, 2000). The significance given to rationality provides an opportunity for limited understandings by relying on common sense. Poststructuralism sees these 'common-sense' understandings – or the humanist sense of reason – as the deflection of knowledge to some hegemonic and distant power structure that defines truth. Poststructural analyses often employ methods such as genealogy and archaeology to follow the historical developments of such 'truth' or reason to highlight its implications and origin (Foucault, 1969). 'Truth(s)' within poststructuralism are not fixed, singular, nor permanent, but rather highly contextual, fluid, and bountiful (St. Pierre, 2000). Poststructuralism, which shares epistemological tenets with subjectivism, understands meaning generation as the subject imposing meaning onto the object through the use of language (Crotty, 1998). The object does not transfer any meaning to the subject, which occurs in both constructionism and objectivism. Rather, the subject creates and adheres to meanings that exist independently of the object before then imposing meaning onto the object. Subjects are limited by language when imposing meaning on the object, as discourses result from the repetition of meaning and word choice (Schwandt, 2015).

2.1.1.5 Self

The self as understood within poststructuralism is contingent upon discourse, which is influenced by power relations (Berbary & Johnson, 2012). Poststructuralism recognizes that

subjects are not entirely autonomous selves that choose roles, but rather they are performing

identities that are expected of them by the discourse (Butler, 1990). The self is not an innate

being that engages in an act, as they are adhering to or enacting power that is developed and

regulated through discourses (Butler, 1993).

I wanted to explore how university students negotiate discourses around binge-drinking,

as I suspect that it has become a social norm or expectation of free-time behaviour.

Poststructuralism supported conversations surrounding the experiences of the participants that

may be deemed as 'deviant' within other theoretical perspectives. I think it is important to

explore this topic through poststructuralism as a means of negotiating the potential actions of

participants to appear 'socially desirable' through manufacturing their stories.

My initial understandings of poststructuralism troubled my curiosity towards the role of

identity in an individual's decision to engage in binge-drinking. I suspected that university

students choose to consume alcohol as a means of identifying collectively, so poststructuralism

facilitated a more in-depth exploration of how the performance the role of a university student is

involved in the decision to engage in binge-drinking. Poststructuralism allowed for the

deconstruction of the discourses that influence university students to engage in alcohol

consumption, as well as how the students reproduce and/or challenge the roles they are

performing.

2.1.2 Poststructuralism in research

There is a main theme within poststructuralism which describes the "decentering of the

notion of the individual" (Schwandt, 2015, p. 245). This describes how the identity of a subject is

derived from their position in power structures, with language playing an immensely significant

role in meaning and power reproduction through discourse. The relationship between the

researcher and the participants is influenced by this decentering, removing traditional boundaries and facilitating collaboration and emotional connection (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). Poststructuralism will have a significant influence on this methodological consideration, which I will elaborate upon in the following chapter.

My positionality as a researcher involved working with the participants, with the recognition that their knowledge is greater than my own knowledge of their experiences (Berbary & Johnson, 2012). Subjectivity was constantly attended to as it related to my connection to the research, recognizing how my understanding of the texts is influenced by my previous experiences (Johnson & Parry, 2015). Like other theories, poststructuralism warrants attention to subjectivity as a means of exploring methodological tensions (Johnson & Parry, 2015; Berbary & Johnson, 2012). The innovative nature of poststructuralism allows for alteration and expansion of methods considering subjectivities, rather than shying away from them (Berbary, 2017).

Since one of the main underpinnings of poststructuralism is the notion that meaning is never fixed, it is not appropriate to say that research findings can be holistically represented (Schwandt, 2015). I used creative writing to evoke thought and personal reflection among readers about an experience that is largely non-representable (Kumm & Berbary, 2018; Richardson, 2000).

A poststructural approach to this research allowed for questions surrounding alcohol consumption by postsecondary students to be asked differently (Berbary, 2017). Since all knowledge is valued, regardless of being partial or inconsistent (Crotty, 1998), the experiences of students are exposed in ways that previous research has not been able to. Rather than calling out delinquent behaviour or reducing contextual influences through numerical data, a poststructural

approach allowed for me as the researcher, the participants, and readers of the texts to continue troubling how binge-drinking has remained in the discourse of university student behaviour.

The understanding of bias and subjectivity within subjectivism differ from those within objectivism and constructionism. The epistemology of subjectivism recognizes that the researcher cannot be separated from their research, as researchers all have relationships with the meanings that result from their experiences in external contexts (Schwandt, 2015). Subjectivism acknowledges, and arguably embraces, the varying emotional, historical, political, and cultural contexts that influence the researcher's perspective (Johnson & Parry, 2015). Subjectivity, when defined as the researcher's lived experiences that contribute to their views on the research context (Schwandt, 2015), is addressed through reflexivity. Reflexivity is a process whereby the researcher explores and interrogates their personal connections to the purpose of the research, the theories, and methodologies used, and the relationship the researcher will have with the participants (Johnson & Parry, 2015).

Therefore, the representation of others is heavily scrutinized by poststructuralism. Since meanings are individualistic and imposed on the object by the subject, there is not one truth that can wholly be represented (Crotty, 1998). Representations are partial to the position of the researcher and influenced by their stance and positionality (Richardson, 2000). Representation within subjectivism is used as an opportunity to evoke thought within the reader, rather than distorting the meaning of the experience by reducing the participants' stories into categorical research findings (Schwandt, 2015; Richardson, 2000).

2.2 Leisure

The concept of leisure cannot easily be captured within a single definition, as leisure is highly contextual, and definitions are often troubled (Henderson, 2013). This section will

highlight how the literature has conceptualized leisure as free time, the definition of casual leisure, and the role leisure plays in the development of the self.

Leisure has been thought of as the opposite of work, characterizing it as our free time (Goodale & Godbey, 1995, p. 4). This polarizing thought does not actually provide a definition of leisure but instead relies on a binary structure to fill the conceptual gap (Henderson, Bialeschki, Hemingway, Hodges, Kivel, & Sessoms, 2001). This has several implications because the nature of non-work time can drastically differ across subjects and contexts, warranting the question of freedom with free time (Henderson, 2013). This conceptualization of leisure disregards the barriers that may restrict people from participating in certain pursuits. Crawford, Jackson, and Godbey (1992) initially categorized these barriers as 'constraints' to full leisure participation that occur at the intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural levels. Leisure constraints continue to be a focal point in leisure studies, as researchers employ different approaches to explore why individuals and groups do or do not access leisure opportunities (Wood & Danylchuk, 2012; Gerard & Jinhee, 2015; Lyu, Oh, & Lee, 2013; Alexandris, Funk, & Pritchard, 2011). Using free time as the sole defining characteristic of leisure is also problematic because leisure is then a product of capitalism (Crabbe, 2006). Leisure becomes the lesser half of the binary and is dependent on, and contributing to, consumption.

Another approach to conceptualizing leisure is to define leisure by the activity that is pursued (Henderson, 2013). This conceptualization alludes to the notion that leisure is for leisure's sake, meaning that the activity and fun are the primary outcomes of leisure. This type of leisure has been previously conceptualized as casual leisure (Stebbins, 1997). While serious leisure is thought of as a pursuit so substantial that participants could make a "career" out of it, casual leisure describes activities that provide instant and temporary feelings of enjoyment to the

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participant. These activities are related to "play, relaxation, passive entertainment, active entertainment, sociable conversation, and sensory stimulation" (Stebbins, 1997, p. 18). Casual leisure is appealing because of the instant feelings of pleasure and/or enjoyment that arise from participation, making these pursuits an attractive choice for those who are looking to escape, cope, and/or relax.

Conceptualizing leisure as free-time or casual leisure may allude to the notion that leisure is passive and hedonic, with immediate and temporary benefits. This has not been found by researchers that have explored the role of leisure in developing an identity, or the self. Firstly, Tinder (1964) and de Burgh (1961) explained that Ancient Greeks used leisure as a means of developing character, actively participating in pursuits that taught and reinforced civility; leisure was not used for idleness or free-time, but rather as an important educational opportunity to strive for virtue.

Secondly, researchers that have studied the psychological outcomes of leisure have found connections between leisure experiences and identity. One example of this that is the concept of flow, which continues to be used as a pinnacle characteristic that researchers measure to evaluate the quality of leisure activities (Decloe, Kaczynski, & Havitz, 2009; Mackenzie, Hodge, & Boyes, 2013; Havitz & Mannell, 2005). Flow is a term coined by Csikszentmihalyi (1975) used to describe the balance between an individual's skill level and the perceived challenge of the activity they are currently engaged in. Nakamura and Csikszentmihalyi (2002) explained that a subject's sense of self emerges from their consciousness, and this self is organized around the subject's goals. Sherif, Kelly, Rogers, Sarup, and Tittler (1973) argued that the "self is conceived as a system of attitude structures which when aroused by ongoing events, are revealed in more characteristic and less situation-specific behaviours towards objects or classes of objects" (as

cited in Havitz & Mannell, 2005, p. 154). Havitz and Dimache (1997) described the motivation

that results from the arousal of the self during a specific leisure pursuit as enduring involvement.

Therefore, the self is not a static or permanent state and can be changed through experiences of

flow (Nakamura & Csikszentmihalyi, 2002), which are achieved through leisure pursuits.

Thirdly, the development of the self through leisure has been thought of in relation to the

context of the leisure pursuit. At the societal level, the influence of discourse on leisure roles and

identities have been highlighted (Berbary & Johnson, 2012). It is unfair to assume that

individuals and groups of individuals share the same leisure values. An example of this was

explored in Berbary and Johnson's (2012) study of sorority girls in a leisure context. While it

may be assumed that people who engaged in sororities are being restricted by longstanding

cultural and gendered expectations, these subjects may value the benefits of enduring certain

leisure pursuits over the discourses they may face or reproduce through their engagement

(Berbary & Johnson, 2012). Emotional labour is a term described by Rojek (2010) used to

explain that individuals engage in activities to advance their skills and gain capital within

society, despite the potentially detrimental risks of engaging in said activities. This could be used

to explain why people choose to join sororities, knowing the negative aspects of the role. It could

also explain why one individual's perception of leisure may differ from another individual's

perception; the development of self and the role a subject has within their social connections is

impacted by their participation, or lack thereof, in leisure.

2.2.1 Leisure and poststructuralism

Since leisure is an opportunity for subjects to redefine their identity, it also provides

space for people to resist the discourses upheld by power relations (Shaw, 2001). This occurs

through the deployment of counter-discourses, which are oppositional responses to power that

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create new knowledge (Ramazanoglu, 1993). These counter-discourses are still operating within power relations, so power is redistributed rather than neutralized. Leisure scholars that utilize a poststructural lens are often looking to unpack the ways in which people use leisure as a means of resisting discourse, often in relation to their identity (Berbary & Johnson, 2012; Parry, 2005; Wearing, 1992).

The use of poststructuralism within leisure studies has been subjected to critique, particularly related to the lack of pragmatic outcomes associated with this theoretical perspective (Rojek, 1997). Since poststructuralism is highly linguistic, the redeployment of language that occurs within poststructuralism can be seen as inaccessible and unclear (Berbary & Johnson, 2012). Poststructuralism highlights the socially unjust nature of clear language, as a 'common-sense' vocabulary already has powerful ideologies and discourses embedded in the meanings of these words (Lather, 1996; Berbary, 2017). Criticism of poststructural leisure research also revolves around the "decentering of the notion of the individual" (Schwandt, 2015, p. 245), as critics believe that subjects are being situated at the margins for the sake of conducting research (Rojek, 1997). The purpose of decentering the subject is to highlight the ways in which power relations influence the process of becoming your 'self' through the performance of discourse (Butler, 1990; Berbary & Johnson, 2012). Rather than placing the individuals at the margins, researchers using poststructuralism are looking beyond the subject to highlight the power relations that influence the subjectivity of the individual (St. Pierre, 2000). The final critique of poststructuralism within leisure studies that I am going to outline has to do with the lack of tangible outcomes associated with this theoretical perspective (Rojek, 1997). Humanist researchers find that poststructural inquiry involves too much introspection without contributing enough results to change leisure practices. This is not of concern to poststructural researchers, as

pragmatism is not a core tenant of poststructuralism, but rather poststructuralism is used to illuminate the ways in which we "word the world" (St. Pierre, 2000, p. 483).

2.3 Postsecondary Students and Drinking

There is a lack of recent, extensive research on the alcohol consumption of university students within Canada, as the most recent comprehensive study is over two decades old (Gliskman, Newton-Taylor, Aldaf, & Giesbrecht, 1997). Despite their awareness of the need for research spanning multiple disciplines, national public health initiatives are relying on outdated and/or international data (PHAC, 2015). Gliskman et al. (1997) found that 94% of university students across Canada had consumed alcohol within the year prior to their survey. The Chief Public Health Officer's Report of the State of Public Health in Canada noted that the rates of alcohol consumption increase during the transition to postsecondary education (PHAC, 2015). This report also outlined evidence-based rates of risky drinking, which is 10 or more drinks for women and 15 or more drinks for men within one week. According to these guidelines, this public health report stated that half of the people aged 18-24 that reported drinking engaged in risky drinking monthly. Studies have focused extensively on the drinking habits of youth under 18 years of age, but comprehensive reports do not include details about alcohol consumption among those who are 18-24 years old (PHAC, 2015). Research conducted in the United States has focused more on the prevalence of drinking among college students, finding that nearly sixty percent of students drank within the month prior to the survey (SAMHSA, 2014). This nationwide survey also found that two-thirds of the students that reported alcohol consumption had also engaged in binge-drinking during that month.

2.3.1 Drinking as leisure

University students have an average of 40 hours of leisure time per week, which includes time outside of academic and part-time employment commitments (Brint & Cantwell, 2008). The most common leisure pursuits of university students include socializing and media use, which fit Stebbins' (1997) definition of casual leisure (Finlay, Ram, Maggs, & Caldwell, 2011). A survey found that students who spend a majority of their time outside of academic commitments engaging in social pursuits drink more alcohol than those who spend their free time in other ways, and they were also more likely to drink heavily (Finlay, et al., 2011). This survey also found that the number of students that engage in drinking increased on the weekends, including those who engage in serious leisure pursuits during the week. This indicates that students are associating their free time on the weekend with the opportunity to consume alcohol.

Due to the nature of available free-time and desire to engage in casual leisure pursuits, the drinking habits of university students should be studied from a leisure perspective. One study that utilized survey research found that most students conceptualize drinking as a leisure pursuit, whereas most students do not categorize drug use as a leisure pursuit (Shinew & Parry, 2005). This demonstrates the need for further exploration into the alcohol consumption of university students, as they define it as leisure while allocating a significant number of hours per week towards social and hedonic casual leisure pursuits (Brint & Cantwell, 2008; Finlay, et al., 2011, Shinew & Parry, 2005).

When the participants were asked about their motivation to engage in alcohol consumption, most of the students agreed that they drink for social reasons, to have fun, and to relax (Shinew & Parry, 2005). This is consistent with Stebbins' (1997) concept of casual leisure, as casual leisure pursuits require no prior skill and offer instantaneous enjoyment and relaxation.

These motivational factors are consistent with findings from research outside of the field of leisure, such as a study from the field of addictions that utilized a boredom scale as one of the measures in a survey that assessed binge-drinking motivation (Carlson, Johnson, & Jacobs, 2010). 80% of the students that participated in this survey reported binge-drinking within the past year, and they did so out of boredom and desire for sensation seeking. Similar results were found in a study from the field of psychology that explored the relationship between students' motivations to drink alcohol and set life goals (Palfai, Ralston, & Wright, 2010). Using personal projects analysis methodology and questionnaires, the researchers found correlations between students' habits of goal setting and heavy drinking. They found that students that do not have strong life goals are more likely to drink heavily, as students without goals used alcohol as the means of providing stimulation and enhancing their mood. These two exemplary studies demonstrate motivational factors for drinking that are consistent with the findings from a leisure perspective (Shinew & Parry, 2005). These various studies demonstrate that university students engage in heavy drinking for reasons that are consistent with the sensation-seeking characteristics of casual leisure (Stebbins, 1997).

Research from a variety of disciplines has found motivational factors that are consistent with the other concepts of casual leisure, such as socialization (Stebbins, 1997). The quantitative study that was conducted from a leisure perspective found that social reasons were the highest reported factor among students that participated in the survey (Shinew & Parry, 2005). Other disciplines have also found that social reasons are highly influential on the drinking habits of students, including the frequency and amount of alcohol consumed (Kypri & Langley, 2003). Psychology researchers administered a survey that asked students to estimate the frequency and intensity of their own alcohol consumption, and then the consumption habits of their peers in

relation to their own drinking habits. The researchers found that students tend to not only decide how much to drink based on the perceived amounts their peers drink, but they are overestimating this amount as well. While Shinew and Parry (2005) found that students are most likely drinking for social reasons, Kypri and Langley (2003) found that students are drinking more based on incorrect perceptions of the drinking habits of their peers.

2.4 Exploring Drinking as Leisure from a Poststructural Lens

The lack of research on binge-drinking among postsecondary students from a leisure perspective combined with the empirically proven influence of free-time and social needs demonstrate the value of conducting further research into this phenomenon. Shinew and Parry (2005) found that social reasons were the highest reported motivation for drinking, while peer pressure was the least reported reason. While students may not feel pressured by their peers to engage in drinking, Kypri and Langley (2003) have demonstrated that students decide to drink based on the perceived drinking styles of their peers. It appears that the perception of other's intentions and actions strongly influence students during their decision to engage in alcohol consumption. Conducting research on this phenomenon that is informed by poststructuralism allowed us to further unpack the influential power of others in the decisions around binge-drinking for university students.

2.5 Summary

This chapter began with a discussion of poststructuralism as a frame for thinking through research. The main tenets of poststructuralism were discussed, as well as the application of these tenets in leisure research. Overall, poststructuralism allows researchers to explore and critique traditional methods of inquiry while developing new ones that may be more substantive towards generating knowledge about a given topic.

Conceptualizations of leisure were also discussed in this chapter, highlighting the implications of various definitions of leisure. Conceptualizing leisure as free-time is a useful departure point for researching binge-drinking as a leisure pursuit but defining leisure as free-time does not substantiate the necessity of this leisure inquiry. To better understand binge-drinking as a leisure pursuit, connections were made between elements of Stebbins' (1997) concept of casual leisure with the motivations for drinking that were found in research conducted from other disciplines. The connections that I highlighted between previous research on postsecondary students' engagement with binge-drinking and conceptualizations of leisure demonstrate the importance of researching binge-drinking among first-year students that live in residence from a leisure perspective.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Central Phenomenon Overview

This thesis explored whether there is a culture and/or set of social norms surrounding the role of alcohol in the university student experience. Based on my experience, drinking is portrayed as a normal and expected activity for university students, influencing the free-time choices of first-year students. I explored how students make the decision to engage in heavy alcohol consumption as it relates to the social expectations that they feel are projected onto them. The relationship between identity formation and drinking may exist because individuals are wanting to establish their identities upon arrival to university, as they are largely unknown by their peers. Individuals can shape their identities and try new things that they have not been able to do in previous contexts. I think there is still room for exploration of the discourses and structures that have allowed binge-drinking to be acceptable free time pursuit for some people, but not for everyone. My research served as an opportunity to challenge what we know about identity and the collective need for belonging among new university students as it relates to previously unchallenged discourses surrounding binge-drinking.

3.1.1 Purpose statement and research questions

The purpose of this narrative inquiry is to deconstruct the experiences of binge-drinking among first-year undergraduate students at a Canadian university.

What discourses of drinking are enabled within the university residence among first-year students?

How are those discourses disseminated and disciplined among first-year students?

How do first-year students negotiate these discourses of drinking?

3.2 Theoretical Overview

Poststructuralism guided this narrative inquiry, using each of the main themes of this theory within this narrative inquiry (Schwandt, 2015). First, poststructuralism recognizes that the self is developed through interactions with the environment and around the individual. This is strongly related to my central phenomenon, as exploring how first-year students are negotiating their sense of self while transitioning to university within a new environment may contribute to a self that is different from their previous self. Secondly, everything in the environment is defined as a text, with intertextuality describing the ways that texts are related to one another (Schwandt, 2015). This is relevant to the central phenomenon as I explored the multitude of reasons why students may choose to engage in alcohol consumption during their free time, recognizing the variety of influential contexts that only the individual can speak about. Thirdly, poststructuralists view meaning as something that is always changing, and therefore can never be defined or represented (Schwandt, 2015). Lastly, the deconstruction of texts is the strategy used by researchers using poststructuralism to uncover the meaning of a text, which explores meanings based on the authoritative influences on social structures (Schwandt, 2015). Deconstruction of meaning is achieved by exposing power dynamics, breaking down social expectations, and questioning the taken-for-granted truths (Schwandt, 2015; Berbary & Johnson, 2012). Poststructuralism also recognizes that individuals may not always fall into the "other" category, as they may not fit within the subordinate half of the binary (Parry & Johnson, 2015). This theoretical perspective views data as an individual's thoughts and feelings, which is very relevant for my methodology (Schwandt, 2015). In addition, a poststructuralist perspective encourages further exploration of the discourses that contribute to identity formation, which is a crucial part of my central phenomenon (Berbary & Johnson, 2012).

3.3 Methodological Overview

The purpose of this poststructural narrative inquiry is to deconstruct the experiences of binge-drinking among first-year undergraduate students at a Canadian university.

What are the discourses surrounding the role of alcohol in the student experience?

How are discourses surrounding alcohol acted on and reproduced through living in residence?

How do university students negotiate the discourses of drinking when making leisure decisions?

Methodology is imperative for qualitative research as it draws important connections between the theoretical and epistemological perspectives and the research purpose while providing a rationale for data collection and analysis, which is informed by the established body of literature (Crotty, 1998). The methodology provides justification for how I obtained data by linking the method of data collection to the theoretical framework, allowing me to provide a rationale for how I approached my research problem. A humanist qualitative inquiry occurs through an eight-point scaffold (Berbary & Boles, 2014). This scaffold is as follows: ontology, epistemology, theory, methodology, data, methods of collection, analysis, representation, and conclusions or non-conclusions. While each of the eight points of scaffolding for humanist qualitative inquiry play into one another and exist in a cyclical form rather than transcendental form, it is important for methodology to be considered towards the beginning of the research process to make informed decisions about data collection and analysis (Berbary & Boles, 2014; Crotty, 1998).

A researcher's choice of methodology is philosophical in nature, as it is associated with the theoretical perspective that is related to their epistemology (Crotty, 1998). Due to the strong connections with theoretical perspective and epistemology, I made my methodological decision

based on the context of my research purpose and my understandings of the theory of knowledge (Pernecky, 2016; Crotty, 1998). While a linear approach to methodological decisions based on theoretical perspectives and research questions may work for some researchers, there are many factors that impact when and how this decision occurs (Berbary & Boles, 2014). Congruency between the theoretical perspective, research questions, and methodology are essential, requiring an approach that is flexible and intuitive. For example, Berbary and Boles (2014) began with a strong purpose but did not find a suitable methodology. The researchers concentrated on the purpose of their project and distilled their ideas into a more specific perspective on their experiences of losing their grandmothers. Berbary and Boles (2014) knew how they wanted to explore these experiences, having made decisions surrounding their methods based on the purpose of the research. The researchers then revisited existing methodologies to explore how their desired research methods and purpose fit into the existing methodologies and eventually decided to amalgamate two methodologies to fit their purpose. The process carried out by Berbary and Boles (2014) demonstrates how factors that contribute to methodological decisions can vary greatly, resulting in differing approaches to qualitative research. Overall, the purpose of the research is what is driving the decisions regarding theoretical perspectives and approaches to data collection and analysis.

3.4 Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry is the study of stories, as researchers that engage in narrative inquiry uphold the belief that story is "the fundamental unit that accounts for human experience" (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, p. 4). While this assumption demonstrates the immense value of narratives as the phenomena under study, solely focussing on narratives as a type of data is not exclusive to narrative inquiry. Indeed, qualitative researchers that engage other methodologies

may collect personal narratives or represent findings through stories. What sets narrative inquiry apart is the way it combines attention to stories as the phenomena being explored with a narrative approach to interpretation (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

It is evident from the wide range of histories and developmental progressions that narrative inquiry can be utilized in a variety of contexts and disciplines, with each researcher taking a different approach to narrative inquiry (Creswell, 2007). Epistemological and theoretical perspectives heavily influence what a researcher qualifies as a story, contributing to the diversity of methods and approaches within the overarching methodology of narrative inquiry. The narrative inquirer starts with an ontology of experience, recognizing that reality is highly relational, temporary, and continuous (Clandinin, 2007). The researcher then uses narratives to explore the ways in which human experiences are relational, temporal, and continuous based on what emerges from the narratives, rather than only representing a previous experience. Narrative inquiry invites researchers to engage in a "description of, and intervention into, human experience; it acknowledges that descriptions add meaning to experience, thus changing the content and quality of the experience" (Clandinin, 2007, p. 44). In other words, narrative inquiry is used to elicit, create, and construct meaning from the human experience, recognizing that meaning is derived from the connections formed between events by the individual that is having the experience (Richardson, 1990). Researchers engaging in narrative inquiry listen to participants' experiences and through analysis, they highlight connections between personal narratives and the greater discourses at play (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Narratives can be utilized in research for both reasoning or gaining knowledge about an experience, and for representation, as researchers share findings through the construction of a story (Richardson, 1990).

The internal structure and thematic organization of data are the main defining characteristics of narrative inquiry, distinguishing it from other qualitative methods that also utilize stories and words (Glover, 2003). Internal structure refers to the sequential nature of stories, as they begin with the characters and setting and then proceed through the plot (Labov as cited in Glover, 2003). In other words, a story's internal structure is made up of the orientation, conflict, and resolution of the experience that is being shared. The second characteristic of narrative inquiry is thematic organization, which refers to the way that an individual ascribes meaning to the story that they are telling (Mankowski & Rappaport, 2000). The thematic organization helps readers understanding the reason behind why the story has been told while providing an opportunity for the readers to evaluate the story for believability, which is referred to as narrative fidelity (Mankowski & Rappaport, 2000; Fisher as cited in Glover, 2003).

3.4.1 The history of narrative inquiry

Narrative inquiry in social science began in the 1980s, so the history of this methodology is recent (Livholts & Tamboukou, 2015). The history of narrative inquiry differs across disciplines, with several different accounts of a similar development (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). Narrative inquiry developed within the main social science disciplines: history, psychology, sociology, and anthropology (Glover, 2003). Despite the varying backgrounds of the scholars that have reported these historical accounts, the development of narrative inquiry stems as an alternative to the positivistic ways of conducting social science (Bruner, 1986; Geertz, 1983). This movement away from positivism has not been without critique, as narrative inquiry has come under scrutiny for lacking reliability and credibility (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Bruner, 1986; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). Researchers that use narrative inquiry recognize that stories are not static, as the discourses in the context of the stories are constantly changing (Riessman,

1993). Instead of evaluating research in terms of how "true" it is, narrative inquirers have turned towards using trustworthiness as an assessment of the quality of their work.

3.4.2 Four main themes of narrative inquiry

Four main themes resonate with the array of historical accounts of narrative inquiry, with each theme reflecting a specific research practice that changed when social science researchers moved away from positivism (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). The first theme is the relationship between the researcher and participant, as the social sciences moved away from the positivistic ways of knowing towards meaning and interpretation. This change occurred when social scientists embraced ways of knowing outside of realism, recognizing that individuals and their social interactions were not physical objects. Those who follow positivist traditions deemed the relationship between the researcher and participants as "bounded", which means that the two parties exist separately from one another and do not influence each other (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, p. 10). Through understanding that the researcher and the participant cannot remain static, emotionally distant beings throughout the research process, social science researchers began to separate inquiry that focused on objective behavioural experiments from the interactive research processes that were emerging. Rather than controlling for bias and striving for generalizability, researchers using narrative inquiry embraced the value of developing relationships with their participants.

The second main theme that occurred through the development of this methodology is the movement from numbers towards words as data (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). Numbers have been used as data to represent the human experience, receiving praise from postpositivist thinkers for the reliability and generalizability of this type of data. The meaning of what a participant shares verbally with a researcher is lost when the experiences are reduced to numbers, as numerical data

cannot reflect the unique experiences. The use of numbers to represent human experiences reduces these experiences to items that can be categorized for the sake of simplicity and generalizability while overlooking the depth of meaning that exists within narratives. The simplicity of numerical data makes it an appealing descriptor, but numbers still hold linguistic value (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, p. 19). The linguistic nature of numbers is valued for being universal and specific, which has contributed to discourses that favour quantitative knowledge over qualitative meanings. Narrative inquiry emerged as an arena to conduct inquiry that values the messiness of human experiences, recognizing that meaning can be found in the connections between networks of contexts that contribute to an individual's experience.

The third theme among historical accounts of the development of narrative inquiry is the shift from generalizable to particular knowledge (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). While researchers with certain ontologies and epistemologies value the power of generalizability, researchers that engage in narrative inquiry find power in the particular experiences and embrace the specificity that is associated with context. Valuing particularity is related to the other themes, as narrative inquirers find themselves moving away from grand findings that can be applied across many different contexts towards unique, contextually dependent ways of understanding the human experience.

The final main theme related to the emergence of narrative inquiry is the turn towards multiple realities and away from a single way of knowing (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). While narratives have been valued for centuries as a means of sharing knowledge and generating understanding in social and cultural contexts, the field of academia has valued findings that are valid and factual. This has previously excluded narrative inquiry, but social science researchers operating in paradigms outside of positivism and postpositivism recognize that there are multiple

ways of knowing as it relates to the human experience. As researchers move away from academic discourses surrounding quantitative validity, they are able to look beyond the boundaries for knowing that have been established for the sake of theorizing. Narrative inquirers are not looking to work within these established boundaries that ignore context but instead, listen to the narratives of individuals that are able to share meanings about experiences within the contexts that they have occurred in.

3.4.3 Three types of narratives

Glover (2003) discussed three types of narratives that can be explored through narrative inquiry, which were useful for me to keep in mind as I analyzed the data. The first type of narrative includes personal stories, which are an individual's recollection of events, their meanings, and the connections between events (Glover, 2003). These personal stories are told within the typical structure of a story and share information regarding their life history or a specific event.

The second type of narrative inquiry as outlined by Glover (2003) are dominant cultural narratives. Dominant cultural narratives are the stories about certain subjects that remain unchanged regardless of the setting that it occurs within and/or the individual that experienced it. This unchanging nature means that dominant cultural narratives occur at the larger societal level rather than at the individual level. Dominant cultural narratives can benefit from a critical discourse-based orientation to narrative inquiry (Souto-Manning, 2014). This approach is suitable for researchers that are interested in the relationship between the individual experience and the construction of institutional discourses, as well as how institutional discourses influence the individual experience. By taking a critical discourse analysis approach to narrative inquiry researchers are able to facilitate individuals' disentanglement of their own experiences in order

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to understand how macro-level power discourses influence their micro-level lived experiences. This occurs when individuals question the social construction of their experiences as the researcher highlights the role of language in the reproduction of these discourses and oppressing factors.

The final type of narrative is community narratives, which represent the particular shared experience of a particular group of people (Glover, 2003). Community narratives are like dominant cultural narratives in the sense that they are experienced by multiple people, but they differ in the nature of the experiences. While dominant cultural narratives are consistent across settings and groups of people, community narratives are more specific and not wholly transferable. This specificity contributes to the way that community narratives can counter dominant narratives, as a certain group of people may share an experience that is different from the status quo.

3.4.4 Methods of narrative inquiry

While all narrative inquirers explore stories as a means of gaining knowledge about the experiences of individuals, theoretical differences impact how the researcher utilizes the methodology through their choice of methods (Glover, 2003). Narrative researchers rely heavily on interviews as a data collection method. Some authors view unstructured interviews as useful tools for allowing the participant to freely share their story, believing that the individual will share their story in a meaningful manner if they are given control (Reissman, 1993; Glover, 2003). On the other hand, the conversational nature of narratives fosters storyteller and audience roles (Larson, 1997). By engaging in dialogue with the participants, I was able to facilitate the participants' deconstruction of the meanings within their experiences (Larson, 1997). This

dialogical process attended to the research questions related to discourse, as the participants and I were able to share the origins of our understandings and ideologies surrounding binge-drinking.

More specifically, data collection occurred using active interviews that focus on generating experience-centred narratives. An active interview is where the researcher and participant unpack the meanings of experiences through their conversation, requiring collaboration in the dialogical production of meaning by the researcher and participants (Glover, 2003). The interview style is similar to reflexive, dyadic interviews, as the participants' experiences will remain as the focus, but the "mutual disclosure" facilitates further reflection by everyone involved (Mulcahy, 2015, p. 262). Since the research explored discourses that influence the binge-drinking culture among first-year university students, I used my reflexivity to ask participants to elaborate. The participants shared their stories with me, and then I contributed my perspectives to further the conversation and illuminate discursive ideologies and experiences.

Experience-based narratives are personal narratives about a certain phenomenon that is shared in a "sequential and meaningful" way (Squire, 2008, p. 42). While event-centred narratives focus on a specific point in time and are more concerned with the structure of the narrative, experience-centred narratives value a broader approach to personal narratives. Experience-centred narratives are less concerned with pinpointing a time and space associated with a narrative and more interested in the multitude of personal contexts that influence an individual's narrative. Meaning is generated through not only what is shared in a personal narrative, but also how that personal narrative is told. The sequential nature of experience-based narratives contains rich meaning because the individual can share their personal transformation in relation to the phenomenon under study, as the element of transformation is a key characteristic of experience-based narratives (Squire, 2008).

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While interviews are the most commonly utilized method of data collection when conducting narrative inquiry, field notes and other artifacts may be utilized by the researcher to support the narratives shared in the interview process (Creswell, 2007). A semi-structured interview guide has been included as Appendix A, which was used to initiate and direct the conversations as needed.

3.4.5 The narrative inquiry process

To begin the narrative inquiry process, I had to decide if the purpose of the research and the desired sample are appropriate for narrative inquiry (Creswell, 2007). Part of my methodological decision also involved the recognition of reality as highly relational, temporary, and continuous; considering the nature of reality helped me determine that I was prepared for the ongoing engagement and redevelopment of my own understanding of experiences, rather than simply reporting the experiences of binge-drinking among first-year students (Clandinin, 2007).

After determining that narrative inquiry is an appropriate methodology, I selected my participants and began data collection (Creswell, 2007). The sample size for narrative inquiry is relatively small and influenced by the timeline of the research project and the purpose of the study. Since interviews are the main source of data collection, I had to ensure that time constraints would not impact my data collection procedures. Upon completion of the data collection, it was important that I ensured that there was enough information to support the context of the story, as participants may not provide this while initially sharing their experience (Glover, 2003). After data collection finished, the narratives were analyzed before restorying the experiences into a synthesized storyline (Creswell, 2007). Narrative analysis is interpretative in nature and varies depending on the ontological and epistemological perspective of the researcher (Clandinin, 2007). My data analysis could have been deconstructive or reconstructive, depending

on whether a thematic or narrative analysis was employed (Glover, 2003). Narratives are deconstructed through thematic analysis or reconstructed into a synthesized story through narrative analysis. Themes still emerged from the data through my interpretation of meaningful themes based on the stories of the participants, rather than accounting solely for the frequency of keywords (Glover, 2003). Through this restorying analytic process, I highlighted any epiphanies that came up during the participants' stories (Creswell, 2007). The use of literary tools to interweave the participants' stories into one story was done through the creation of embedded transitions and metaphors that help illuminate the aspects of the participants' stories that relate to the purpose of the research (Creswell, 2007; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

3.4.6 Critiques of narrative inquiry

For some, narrative inquiry is attractive as a methodology due to its flexibility, emphasis on the particular, and relatable means of representation, but it is not without critique. Research discourses surrounding trustworthiness, validity, and credibility have contributed to the evaluation of narrative inquiry in comparison to other research methodologies (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). While trustworthiness can be negotiated by including direct quotes from the participants in the findings and analysis sections, validity, credibility, and generalizability are more difficult to navigate for those with different ontological and epistemological views (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007; Snelgrove & Havitz, 2010). Another critique of narrative inquiry is that it may be too narrowly focused on individuals' experiences of the past and present without giving direction for the future (Souto-Manning, 2014). The final major critique of narrative inquiry surrounds the ownership and representation of stories, as it is not possible to separate the researcher's subjectivity from the stories that are being written (Johnson & Parry, 2015). According to the ontology of experience that contributed to the development of narrative inquiry,

the researcher's experience of restorying cannot be separated from the researcher's own story (Clandinin, 2007; Johnson, 2009; Glover, 2003).

3.5 Deconstruction of Binge-Drinking Experiences and Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry was chosen to deconstruct students' experiences with binge-drinking for a few reasons. First, the methodology is congruent with the theoretical perspective of poststructuralism, as it allowed me to highlight the connections between lived experiences and discourse (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). More specifically, narrative inquiry that is experience-centred was employed to help address the research questions. Experience-centred narrative inquiry focusses on the holistic themes associated with the sharing of a personal story, rather than simply recollecting an event based on the traditional structure of a storyline (Squire, 2011). Through listening to the stories about drinking told by first-year students, I found meaning in the way the stories were told by the participants, rather than using a highly structured coding process to fit their experiences into the traditional sequence of a story. This is because experience-centred narrative inquiry assumes that there is immense meaning in the way an individual has shared the elements of their experience (Squire, 2011).

Secondly, the use of narrative inquiry allowed me to develop relationships with the participants and engage in conversations of mutual disclosure (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007; Mulcahy, 2015). The methodology facilitated storyteller and listener roles, which constantly changed throughout the dialogue (Larson, 1997). As a researcher, I shared how my meanings and understandings of drinking at university have changed, which helped the participants facilitate the deconstruction of their ideologies and experiences with alcohol use in their university residence.

Lastly, narrative inquiry was an appropriate methodology because it embraces the particular, rather than searching for findings that can be generalized (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). The specificity of the experiences that participants shared with me was highly valuable for my research, as I am interested in the array of contextual influences that are at play when first-year students decide to engage in heavy alcohol consumption. Narrative inquiry embraces a multiplicity of realities, which is relevant because I believe that everyone has a different experience with binge-drinking while attending university. Hearing a variety of experiences highlighted the various ways discourse influences students' binge-drinking choices, demonstrating the complexity of this free-time behaviour as it relates to first-year students' identity negotiation and leisure choices.

The participants' stories highlighted whether their experiences with binge-drinking at the University of Waterloo may be part of a larger dominant cultural narrative, or if they have a unique community narrative. The type of collective narrative that emerged from the individual stories influenced the deconstruction of binge-drinking experiences through counter-stories and/or illumination of the influential, unquestioned forces that have led to the culture of alcohol consumption by university students.

3.6 Methods Outline

3.6.1 Ethical considerations

This study had some risks to the participants, but there are several more benefits for the participants and society that I surfaced from this research. Firstly, confidentiality was strictly adhered to protect the identities of the participants. This included creating a pseudonym for the name of the residence buildings discussed in the interviews, as identifying the residence building and/or university could expose the identities of those being described in the narratives. The

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benefit to this risk is that there is now data about the binge-drinking culture that is specific to the university at which the research was conducted, as other data on the topic is geographically and/or historically distanced. Secondly, informed consent was required for those who decided to participate in the study. Due to the potentially sensitive nature of the research, it was crucial that participants were aware of the implications of their participation. This relates to the third point, which is that the activity that is being researched has potential legal, health, and safety consequences, not the narrative inquiry itself.

There are risks associated with alcohol that can impact anyone who chooses to drink, including the students that chose to participate in this study. This narrative inquiry focused on the central phenomenon of the discourses surrounding alcohol consumption in university residences, so discussions naturally occurred around the culture of drinking at university, how university students are portrayed in the media, and the participant's experiences of living in residence. As such, an interview guide (Appendix A) was developed to reflect the focus of this proposed study and was used to direct the conversations with the participants.

Participants were informed about the ethical considerations of this research beginning during the recruitment process. The consent information sheet and form (Appendix B) were sent to each potential participant during my initial communication with them. When I first sat down with each participant, I reviewed the consent form with them, emphasizing their right to withdraw from the study at any time, even after data collection concluded. Each participant was given a sealed envelope at beginning of their interview which contained their gift card, an appreciation letter (Appendix E) and a list of mental health resources on campus and in their community (Appendix F).

Although there are risks associated with the activity of binge-drinking, the interviews with participants provided an opportunity for them to rethink how they spend their free time. At the individual level, the benefits of participation included learning about my perspectives on binge-drinking in residence, as I am an older student who has previously experienced living in residence and negotiated the discourse of binge-drinking. As mentioned, the risks associated with drinking are not the same as the risks associated with participating in this proposed study. This study did not encourage students to engage in drinking, and all associated consequences are the responsibility of the person who chooses to drink. I provided participants with external resources that include information about on-campus health services, counselling services, residence support staff, police services, and examples of on-campus leisure opportunities. These resources are outlined at the end of the interview guide (Appendix A) and included with their appreciation letter.

This study posed no additional risks to society, as risks to society that are associated with university student drinking will exist regardless of this study. The benefits of this research outweigh the risks for society in multiple ways, including the education of first-year students about the realities of binge-drinking in residence. Society may also benefit from the stories generated by this research, as residence staff, campus policymakers, prospective students, and families will be more informed about the nature of binge-drinking on campus and the surrounding discourses.

3.6.2 Recruitment

The main criteria for participation were that the person had to have lived in residence during their first year of university. Although the central phenomenon is binge-drinking among first-year students, previous alcohol consumption was not a requirement for participating in this

study. Since this narrative inquiry is looking at the discourse of binge-drinking among university students, I thought it would be valuable to include students that do not drink to contrast the different experiences of first-year university students living in residence. A total of nine undergraduate students participated in this study.

Participants were recruited in four different ways. Initially, participants were going to be recruited through mass emails sent out by dons in the residences (Appendix D). To distribute this email, I had contacted the residence manager several times over a six-week period. The residence manager responded after my last attempt, stating that they were unsure of whether this research would align with the vision of the residences and their own research goals, so they would not be able to help me. The first phase of recruitment still occurred over email, but on a smaller scale than anticipated. Using my personal connections, I asked a few dons to send my email to their students and to other dons to help with distribution. The first two participants were recruited this way, with several other students expressing interest in my study but not answering any further emails about scheduling. After exhausting that method of recruitment, I reached out to a few people within my personal networks. Since this narrative inquiry was guided by poststructural thought, there was an assumption that the participants and researcher cannot remain as emotionally distant, separate entities (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007; Schwandt, 2015). Knowing that the various contexts that I exist within would undoubtedly influence my perspectives (Johnson & Parry, 2015), people that I had existing relationships with were recruited. When deciding on who to contact for an interview, I considered the nature of the interview questions and what stories could be contributed by the potential participants. I decided to contact people within my personal networks that had lived in residence during their first year, and who had been in their first year more recently than myself. This decision was made to help elicit narratives that were relevant to

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the nature of living in residence today, bridging the gaps in my understanding that I cannot address through my own experiences, such as the role of social media in drinking. Three participants were recruited through this strategy. Those three interviews each offered unique insights and perspectives into the experiences of drinking, but it was more difficult to elicit reflexivity from these older participants in ways that would address my research questions. My final major recruitment strategy occurred through social media, as each of the five participants that I had already interviewed spoke about the role of social media in drinking. Participants had directed me towards university-specific Instagram accounts that feature photos and videos of people doing stunts and drinking. The people that were featured in the photos and videos were tagged, so I was able to contact these people directly. Several people expressed interest in participating in an interview, and two interviews were scheduled from this recruitment method. Throughout the entire recruitment and interview processes, participants were encouraged to tell their friends about the research opportunity. The final two participants were recruited through snowball sampling.

3.6.3 Budget

The financial requirements of this study were minimal. All participants received a $25 gift card to the University of Waterloo's retail services as compensation for their participation.

3.6.4 Data collection

Data collection occurred through semi-structured interviews that were around one hour each. The interviews were scheduled at the participants' convenience and took place in privately booked rooms on campus. The interview style adapted the characteristics of semi-structured and active interviews while operating as an experience-centred inquiry (Roulston, 2010; Larson, 1997; Squire, 2008). Active interviews foster dialogue between the researcher and participants,

requiring collaboration in the generation of meaning (Larson, 1997). The interview questions were designed to generate experience-centred narratives, meaning that questions will be asked in a way that encourages participants to share their stories that are related to a specific experience (Squire, 2008), which in this case is binge-drinking in residence.

The interview guide (Appendix A) was developed with three guiding topics in mind, which are alcohol discourses and the student experience, alcohol discourses and living in residence, and alcohol discourses and individual decisions. These guiding topics were designed based on the three research questions, which move from the societal level towards the individual level of experience. Creating an interview guide that funnels from broad discourses towards specific individual experiences may not elicit the type of narratives that I want, as experience-centred narratives follow their own timeline when they are told by the participant (Squire, 2008). Therefore, the interview guide has been developed in a way that addresses all three guiding topics, but the questions were asked in a way that allowed the participants to share their stories in a way that was meaningful for them. The questions were in the ordered in a way that allowed me to set up the context of the research so that the stories the participants shared would reflect the discourses of binge-drinking among university students (Riessman, 1993). Questions were also included to help revisit experiences and ideas, providing an opportunity to follow the participants' understandings throughout the duration of the interview.

While conducting the interviews, I tried to ask questions and engage with the participants in a loosely structured way to allow the participants to share their stories in a way that was meaningful for themselves (Reissman, 1993; Glover, 2003). By keeping the interviews as conversational as possible to avoid rigid researcher-participant roles and question-answer tones, both the participants and I took on storyteller and listener roles throughout the conversations

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(Larson, 1997). The participants were encouraged to ask questions throughout the interview, allowing us to exchange our insights and reflect on our experiences.

The interview data was collected through audio recordings and handwritten memos. Two audio recording devices were used during the interviews to ensure that each interview was recorded and audible. Handwritten notes recorded my own thoughts and feelings, while also noting topics that would require extra attention when I revisited the transcripts. The handwritten memos also captured expressions from the participants that could not be recorded through audio, including facial expressions and body language (Riessman, 1993).

3.6.5 Data analysis

Data analysis began with the transcription of the audio recordings of the interviews. Each interview was transcribed for what has been said, noting the expressions through the tone of voice that I did not want to lose in my memos (Riessman, 1993). Knowing that the transcriptions would lead to the representation of the participants' stories, I included as much detail about the conversations as I could into the transcriptions and memos.

After transcribing the interviews, I read them without making any interpretations or memos. Upon reading the transcripts for a second time, I recorded my initial thoughts and feelings in a memo, including notes about sections that I would like to revisit in more detail based on my interpretation of the narratives at this point (Riessman, 1993). During my third reading of the transcriptions, I "scrutinized" the narratives, to help topics of interest – the discourses – stand out among the transcripts (Riessman, 1993, p. 57). Scrutinizing provided the opportunity for me to highlight potential discourses throughout the narratives, employing poststructural thought as I read the transcripts (Heidegger, 1927/1962).

After these preliminary readings of the transcript, I read the transcripts for narrative structure (Riessman, 1993). At this point, I began to read the transcripts for how the stories were being told, rather than what was being told. While analyzing the meanings behind the ways that participants told their stories, I also began to note elements of plot to use in the restorying of the narratives. These elements included the characters and settings, as well as features related to orientation, action, evaluation, and resolution (Glover, 2003; Labov, 1982). Indicating these features helped me maintain the context of the participants' stories by highlighting and representing the way the storytellers shared their meaning. Rather than omitting content that does not work with the structure, the process of analyzing for narrative structure was used to begin the deconstruction of how first-year students conceptualize alcohol by finding meanings in the ways that they talk about drinking (Riessman, 1993).

The transcripts were then read for specific experiences and assumptions, highlighting whether they occurred at the personal, residence, and/or societal level. While reading the transcripts for the final time I highlighted experiences that resisted and/or reproduced discourses. In order to deconstruct the participants' experiences to understand the competing and/or complementary discourses of binge-drinking in residences, characteristics of discourse analysis were utilized during this stage of analysis (Butler, 1995; Kendall & Wickham, 1999). First, I highlighted the transcripts for each of the research questions, denoting what experiences contribute to the personal, university residence community, and societal level discourses of alcohol use. While coding the transcripts in relation to the research questions I wrote memos of potential topics of significance. These topics were identified by single words or short phrases and were useful when organizing similar experiences together, highlighting the discursive practices within these experiences (Søndergaard, 2010). Through my interpretation of the transcripts, I

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highlighted which particular experiences contribute to the manifestation of binge-drinking

discourses, as well as any experiences that contradict and/or resist these discourses.

The participants' experiences were then restoryed based on my interpretation of their

experiences in relation to the research questions, while also influenced by my own subjectivity.

The following chapter contains more details about the restorying process, walking readers

through my experience of using the interview data to write three narratives to represent the

participants' experiences as shared in the interviews.

After restorying the interview data into three narratives, I used aspects of Foucauldian

discourse analysis to both assess the narratives from a poststructural lens and prepare my

thinking for the discussion of the findings. The five tenets of Foucauldian discourse analysis are

as follows:

The recognition of a discourse as a corpus of 'statements' whose organization is regular

and systematic

The identification of rules of the production of statements

The identification of rules that delimit the sayable

The identification of rules that create the spaces in which new statements can be made

The identification of rules that ensure that a practice is material and discursive at the

same time (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 42)

These five tenets, based on the tenets outlined by Kendall and Wickham (1999) were

reworked into five questions that I used when reworking the narratives to better address the

research questions:

1. Define the discourse

2. What developed the discourse?

3. What is and is not a part of this discourse?

4. How are the new elements of this discourse introduced?

5. How is this discourse acted out in both material and discursive ways?

3.6.6 Knowledge dissemination and representation

It is important to me that the knowledge shared through the participants' personal narratives are published in an accessible, engaging, and informative manner. The findings will initially be published through the completion of my thesis. I would then like to present the findings at conferences, as well as publish the written work in a leisure journal. I would also like to publish the synthesized narratives as a short story or informative video so that people are able to learn about the experiences that first-year university students have with binge-drinking in an engaging manner. The data will also be represented through infographics that can be easily shared on social media to quickly disseminate the findings to more people. Lastly, I want the findings of this research to be used by the University of Waterloo. I believe that it is important for this research to be accessible by more than just scholars, as I want to help students and university staff improve the transition to postsecondary education by questioning the discourses that have sustained binge-drinking as a social norm.

Representation in narrative inquiry is subjected to issues surrounding the interpretations of the stories that are shared by participants, as there may be a gap in meaning between the storyteller and the researcher (Glover, 2003). Issues of representation occur because the author's voice is being used to share the experiences of the participants, which has two main implications that were considered. Firstly, I do not know the participants' experiences in their entirety, as the

participants likely shared episodic stories that do not include all the cumulative influences (Larson, 1997). In other words, the stories that the participants shared may have included contextual details, but it is not possible for me as a researcher to wholly access their lived experiences due to the nature of storytelling. This is related to the second issue of representation, as these untold contextual details left gaps in the stories for interpretation. My subjectivity influenced how the stories are interpreted and what connections I made within each narrative and between all the narratives. The analysis process required my voice to speak on behalf of the participants, making it impossible to separate my own meanings from those being shared by the participants (Richardson, 1990; Riessman, 1993). This issue of representation was addressed through my reflexive memos and the use of many direct quotes within the synthesized narratives.

3.6.7 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is one of the main standards that is used to assess the quality of qualitative research (Morrow, 2005). More specifically, trustworthiness refers to the rigour of selected methods, accountability of the researcher, and the accuracy of the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Johnson & Parry, 2015; Cho & Trent, 2006). Trustworthiness is at play throughout each of the steps in the scaffolding for humanist inquiry (Berbary & Boles, 2014), ensuring that researchers are addressing the existing understandings and practices discussed the previous onto-epistemological, theoretical, and methodological literature (Rose & Johnson, 2018). To address trustworthiness, researchers must also address reliability and validity (Creswell, 2014). These standards of quality stemmed from postpositivist thought (Morrow, 2005; Lather, 1993), so I will next discuss how they were addressed throughout this poststructural narrative inquiry.

Reliability is the evaluation of the researcher's use of methodology, ensuring that the researcher employed methods that are consistent with the established literature while

transparently documenting their process in a way that would allow others to replicate it (Creswell, 2014). For this study, I wrote procedural memos throughout the data collection and analysis processes to ensure that readers can follow my interpretation process (Appendix I). In addition, stating my subjectivity as a researcher is important because my own thoughts, feelings, and previous experiences undoubtedly influence my approach to research (Johnson & Parry, 2015). By attending to my reflexivity and sharing what aspects of my experiences influenced this research, I have outlined how the role of the particular researcher contributes to how easily this study could be replicated (Rose & Johnson, 2018).

Validity is used to assess the accuracy of the research findings (Creswell, 2014), which is another quality standard that is problematic within poststructural and qualitative inquiry (Rose & Johnson, 2018; Lather, 1993). This is problematic because poststructuralism questions the existence of a singular truth, valuing a multiplicity of realities and perspectives (Lather, 1993). By placing emphasis on the fidelity of findings as an assessment of quality, there would be inconsistencies throughout the onto-epistemology and methodology of this research. A different approach to validity was described by Cho and Trent (2006), who proposed transactional and transformational evaluations of validity. Transactional validity is addressed through processes of revisiting the analyzed data with the research participants to ensure that the representations and interpretations reflect what they shared with me. I initiated this process with transcript verification by sending each participant their transcript so that they had the opportunity to confirm that what they said was captured accurately (Rose & Johnson, 2018).

The second approach to validity described by Cho and Trent (2006) is transformational validity, which refers to the degree of change that occurs throughout the entire research process. This process is similar to Lather's (1993) concept of transgressive validity, which promotes the

assessment of research in relation to how well it disturbs the discourse under question.

Transformational validity is more difficult to assess, but throughout the research process I aimed

to use my reflexivity to leverage my approach to troubling the proposed taken-for-granted social

norms surrounding binge-drinking in residence.

3.6.8 Timeline

The timeline for this research was:

Table 1	Research Timeline
Date	Milestone
April 2018 – October 2018	• Prepare the first three chapters of the thesis: introduction, theory, and methodology • Prepare for ethics submission
November 2018	• Thesis proposal • Completion of necessary edits • Submission to the ethics review board
January 2019	• Estimated completion of ethical revisions • Begin data collection upon approval by ethics
April 2019	• Completion of data collection • Begin data analysis
July 2019	• Thesis defence

3.7 Summary

Methodology draws connections between the researcher's philosophical lens and the

research purpose to help provide justification for the data collection and analysis methods

(Crotty, 1998). The methodology of narrative inquiry utilizes the familiarity of storytelling as a

means of collecting data about the shared – and sometimes opposing – experiences of individuals

within a certain context (Riessman, 1993). Narrative inquiry not only focuses on stories as a type

of data but as a frame for analysis and representation as well (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

Narrative inquiry recognizes the multiplicity of meanings within social experiences while

valuing the everchanging nature of these meanings (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007), contributing to

the compatibility of poststructuralism and narrative inquiry. For my research, I used semi-structured interviews to elicit experience-centred narratives (Squire, 2008) from the participants. Aspects of narrative analysis and discourse analysis were employed as I analyzed the transcripts, which helped generate topics of interest among the narratives. These topics, along with elements of plot and the structure of the narratives helped guide the restorying process that will be elaborated upon in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Narratives

Drinking provides unique opportunities for socialization for first-year students transition into university, as shared through participants' stories and insights. While exploring the discourses of drinking that are enabled within the university residence, poststructural thought has guided the process of troubling the 'taken-for-granted truths' within these experiences, questioning the roles of power and language in the reproduction of drinking as a popular activity among first-year students (Schwandt, 2015). This chapter contains the findings of this thesis research, which are represented in three narratives that illuminate the experiences of drinking that students living in residence have.

The purpose of this narrative inquiry is to deconstruct the experiences of binge-drinking among first-year undergraduate students at a Canadian university.

What discourses of drinking are enabled within the university residence among first-year students?

How are those discourses disseminated and disciplined among first-year students?

How do first-year students negotiate these discourses of drinking?

4.1 Restorying

After reading the transcripts for narrative structure, I compiled the elements of each story into point form lists (Appendix G). These lists allowed me to quickly refer to each of the stories that the participants shared, outlining the context and unique details of each story. As I read the transcripts for experiences, I added single words to a memo that reflected what assumptions were expressed by the participants as they share stories about their experiences (Appendix H). To begin the restorying process, I brainstormed ways to chronologically organize the experiences of

the participants in a way that would reflect their negotiation of discourse as they moved through

their first year living in residence. The initial reconstructed storyline began with my own stories

about moving into residence and the first week of living there. As the story moved

chronologically from the first day through the first week and month in residence, more

experiences and understandings expressed in the transcripts were incorporated into the narrative.

At this point, I recognized that writing from the perspective of a first-year student who does

drink would not be able to effectively capture all of the perspectives shared in the interviews, so I

decided to instead write a story about "one Friday night in residence" from three different

perspectives. These stories are written in parallel columns to demonstrate how the discourses of

drinking are at play in multiple ways in the same culture, at the same time. Although I ultimately

decided to phase out the narratives that were specific to my own experiences, my reflexivity

helped during the restorying process because I was able to add contextual descriptions that the

participants skimmed over during their interviews. The descriptive writing that I added serves the

purpose of weaving the stories together, creating fluidity between events that actually happened

on different nights.

Thinking with poststructuralism contributed to the development of these narratives in

multiple ways. The narratives represent the ways that first-year students talk about drinking,

which is important to unpack because meanings become associated with certain words within

discourses. Poststructural thought recognizes that language can be limiting, as there are only a

finite number of ways to identify something from a humanist foundation (St. Pierre, 2000). The

meaning of these finite identifying words is conditional based on the social context that is used

within (Derrida 2016/1976; Schwandt, 2015). For example, several participants described

students as 'dying' or being 'dead' when they drink, referring to the ways that people pass out

and become unresponsive from drinking too much. Poststructural thought encourages us to unpack the meanings associated with certain words within this particular social context, while the methodology of narrative inquiry allows us to represent the participants' experiences using the language that they used to describe their experiences.

Another reason why the narratives have been represented in three columns is to illuminate how power relations are at play through each of the situations that take place. Power relations are understood as the ways that power is deployed between individuals, which is entangled with the ways that discourses are reproduced and/or resisted (Foucault, 1997; St. Pierre, 2000). By providing multiple perspectives of the same situations, the ways in which power relations are at play for multiple people can be highlighted across all three narratives on the same page rather than having to move between narratives on separate pages.

The final tenant of poststructuralism that I would like to highlight in relation to the use of narrative inquiry and the decision to write the three narratives in columns is how truth is discussed within this theoretical perspective. Rationality has been understood as the foundation of knowledge within humanism, functioning separately from discourses as an ultimate standard of truth (Peters, 1996; St. Pierre, 2000). By upholding rationality as this untouchable standard of truth, the responsibility of defining knowledge is deflected onto power structures and replaced with 'common-sense', accepting things to be the way that they are because that is the way that they have been. By representing the narratives in three columns, I hope the readers can see the multiplicity of ways that truth(s) are understood in three similar, yet different ways. Poststructural thought and narrative inquiry both recognize that truths and meaning are not fixed, absolute, or singular, but rather embrace their contextual and fluid nature (St. Pierre, 2000; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007).

4.2 Narratives

The three narratives are based on the stories told by the nine participants. All but one of these nine participants lived in the same residence during their first year, which housed one thousand students per year in floors of fifty students each. This residence is called White Guy Hall, or WGH for short. Eight of the participants lived in double rooms with a roommate and had one don that lived on their floor. One of the participants, Alex, lived in the townhouse style residence, which looks like a village of townhouses that house four students each. The column on the left is from the perspective of a student that drinks and contains stories from most of the participants, while the narratives in the other two columns are primarily constructed from the stories shared by one participant for each of those two narratives.

The narratives may be read one at a time, in any order, or across each page. There are a few overlapping experiences that are told across all the narratives, providing three perspectives on the situations. To be able to progress through the narratives within the storyline of one Friday night, these three narratives do not reflect all of the stories shared within the interviews, but all of the interview data will be used to address the research questions in the following discussion chapter. While reading the narratives, I encourage you to reflect on a period of significant transition within your own life and what roles you felt like you had to perform, who you looked to for guidance on how you should be behaving, and what it means to fit in with a group versus belong to a group.

Paige's Friday night

Fridays are probably my favourite day of the week. Most people dropped classes that are held on Fridays, but people that do have classes on Fridays skip them. Fridays are great for going to the gym, catching up on readings or TV, and unwinding from the stressful week. But really, one of the best ways to destress and make friends in residence is through drinking. It is so easy to get alcohol and avoid getting caught, and just so much fun to have those wild nights that you see in movies or on social media. I hope tonight will be as fun as all the other Friday nights in residence so far.

"Do you have links?" Aidan said to Will as he walked past his door. "Yeah, I'm good, thanks" replied Will as he continued walking down the hall. Aidan had a confused look on his face as if Will just spoke another language to him. Will slithered to his room

Jo's Friday night

Spending as much time as possible outside of residence seems to be the easiest way to get my work done and avoid the distractions that come with having a roommate. To do this I work somewhere on campus all day, only returning to go to bed around 11:30 pm. The weekends are no different since there is always more work to be done. Unfortunately, the textbook that I needed for my assignment was in my room, so I had to go back to residence early one Friday evening.

Nancy's Friday night

Being the duty don on the weekends is not an easy job, making me dread the days that I am scheduled on a weekend. Enforcing rules that I once broke makes me feel awful since I was in their shoes only a couple of years ago. My first drink was actually in residence, not having drunk before because of my epilepsy. Doctors told me that drinking would cause a seizure, so I avoided drinking in high school and when I first moved into residence. Seeing my floormates take multiple shots in a row and be extremely intoxicated was terrifying. One time someone on my floor drank an entire bottle of wine in a short period of time. At first, it was kind of funny, but I was confused because the don wasn't doing anything after he saw my floormate that drunk. As my floormate

and privately searched up some of the slang that he had heard in residence so far. Being from a small town makes it difficult to keep up with a lot of the terms, so if you don't learn them quickly you will feel left out of conversations. Will came across an Instagram page from Toronto that features underground rappers and video clips of what goes on in the city. The bright phone screen light up Will's face as he scrolled through several memes that used some of the words he has heard in residence. Will learned that if someone asks for 'links' it means that they want to know if you have connections to any parties, while 'licks' is short for liquor. Warmth flooded Will's cheeks with embarrassment about the way he answered Aidan's question earlier, but he was relieved to know about the

became more intoxicated I became more terrified, as I had never seen someone that drunk before. It's like he was dying. Being scared while interacting with drunk people made me never want to drink myself. My fear of drinking ended when I had my first drink in December. After being at home for the weekend my parents sent me back with some eggnog. Someone on my floor told me that rum goes perfectly with eggnog and asked if we could share, so I said yes; residence is a safe place to try alcohol. Now that I am a don, I encourage my students to stay in residence when they are drinking because it is much safer than going out to a party or the club.

terms that previously felt like a barrier in conversations with his floormates.

The group of floormates travelled down the hall like a snowball, growing as we invited more people to join for dinner while we walked past their open doors. When we got to the cafeteria, we had to move a few of the tables together so that we could all eat together. "What are you going to have tonight?" I asked Julia. "I'm not sure, not anything too big though because I still want to get drunk. Something carby to help nausea I get while drinking, but definitely no dairy. It makes me bloated and ugly" she replied. "I'm just here to buy chase for tonight, I'm not going to eat. I don't want food to stop me from getting drunk" my floormate Matt added.

While sitting in my room, I can often hear people hanging outside in the courtyard, someone down the hall talking too loudly on Skype, doors slamming, and heavy steps on the carpeted floor. For a Friday evening, my residence floor seemed oddly quiet. Everyone must've gone home for the weekend or something. It was relieving to finally be able to concentrate on my work in my own room.

We moved as a pack back to our floor, shrinking in size as people filed into their own rooms to get ready for the evening. The type of music that has men whining over the sound of a computer breaking was playing loudly from one of the guy's rooms down the hall, while some of the girls met in Claudia's room to get ready together. After trying on a few outfits, I decided on a tight-fitting shirt that was a bit fancier than my day-to-day look. The rejected clothes sat in a heap on my desk chair as I sat on the floor to straighten my hair. "Girl look at your hair! Let me do your makeup! Please!" Julia exclaimed as she walked past my room. Make-up has never really been my thing, so the offer was appreciated. "Sure, I'll be over in just a minute," I said while unplugging my hot hair

My peace and quiet ended when the door swung open and my roommate Claudia and her friends came in with their matching school sweaters. I couldn't help but feel a bit jealous that they had gone and bought sweaters together. They started playing music and doing their hair, acting as if there wasn't someone sitting right there working on an assignment. Focusing on my work was difficult, but I knew that asking them to be quiet wasn't an option. I didn't want to be *that* roommate.

Claudia and our floormates finally left my room, leaving a cloud of perfume and hairspray behind them as they headed down the hallway towards the source of the loud music. Seeing Claudia and her friends having fun while getting

The other duty don and I began our first round for the evening – you never go on duty

straightener and grabbing a cold beer from my mini-fridge to drink while Julia did my makeup.

The distinct sound of a ping pong ball hitting a plastic cup, followed by a roar of cheers started to drift down the hallway from the boys' side. Those of us that were getting ready, drinking, and singing along to our favourite songs in Claudia's room decided to top up our drinks and head down the hall to find out what was going on. "They can't get mad at us for drinking if they can't see what is in the bottle!" Annie said, passing over her stainless-steel orientation week bottle. "Make sure you mix mine well, I don't want to taste the vodka. I totally have PTSD from drinking too much of it!" said Claudia.

Aidan's door was open, showing off the game of beer pong that was going on in his room. "What the

ready did make me a bit envious. Working on campus as an athletic trainer for varsity athletes doesn't leave me much time during the day to do my schoolwork. Part of me wishes I could just be like a normal university student and drink, but that wasn't a good idea for me. Being so harsh on myself has its drawbacks, but I am determined to not let the temptations of partying ruin my success.

alone because you don't know what you might come across. We put on our blue vests and grabbed the duty don phone. My mantra as a don is that if I can't see, hear, or smell what you are doing, you won't get in trouble. If someone is going to have a party, I will definitely be able to hear it. I'll admit, sometimes I do turn a blind eye when I see a few friends hanging out and drinking quietly in someone's room. Sometimes students just want to unwind with a drink, so I try really hard to be fair about it. Some other dons will write students up no matter what, but I try to give them some slack when they are being respectful and safe.

heck is this?" asked Annie. "What? Our table? Will the engineer figured out that you can take the closet doors off their hinges and then we put it on top of our desk chairs. Boom. Perfect beer pong table" Aidan replied. It really was ingenious. Those of us that weren't playing beer pong sat on the two beds that smelled sweet, but not a good sweet, more like a mixture of dryer sheets and stale deodorant. It seemed like after every third song that played through Aidan's way-too-powerful-for-residence subwoofer, someone would check their phone, say that so-and-so was here, and head down the hall to open the locked door for them. Joining beer pong wasn't an option, as the guys that were playing always had a say in who got to play next.

It wasn't long before the number of people who didn't live on this floor outnumbered the people who

A constant parade of people trickled down the hallway, searching for the party that their friends had texted them about. Putting earplugs in underneath my noise-cancelling headphones was a last-ditch effort, but I could still feel the bass as strongly as you do when you're stopped at a red light next to a car that is blaring their music. The rules state that people don't have to be quiet until one in the morning on weekends, but it was ridiculously loud. I really needed to get this assignment done, so I thought I'd try calling the duty don. Calling the duty don backfired on my high school friend a few weeks ago. She lives on the first floor of another section of my residence and called to complain about the noise level at 3 in the morning. After the duty don dealt with the

Quiet hours haven't started yet, so we ignore the music that we hear playing from behind closed doors. There is one song that has been playing so loudly that it can be heard from all the floors we have visited so far, so we must be getting closer to a party. My master key unlocks the door to the next floor, and I am immediately met with the signs of a party. The song we heard from every floor is now clear and people are walking between two of the rooms, quickly closing the doors behind them. Cheering and the sound of a ping pong ball hitting the rim of a mostly empty plastic cup can be heard behind one of the closed doors. That changes to silence quickly after my three knocks on the door. After a few seconds, they

actually do live on the floor. The music from Aidan's room could still be heard clearly in the girl's bathroom, which is around the corner from his room. As I approached the room, I first felt the bass ripple through my body before walking into a wall of hot air. The air in the room was hazy, filled by the smoke people blew out of their mouths while vaping. The usual residence odours were replaced with the smells of beer, body odour, and… barf. Three loud knocks on the door pierced through the heavy bass of the music, followed by a loud whisper "it's the duty don!" The beer pong table was disassembled, drinks hidden, and music turned off as quickly as it took Aidan to unlatch the chain from the door, undo the deadbolt, and open the door. "Hey everyone, what is going on here tonight?" asked Nancy, the don who was on duty that

source of the noise, a bunch of guys went and stood outside of her window, knocking on the glass for over an hour as revenge for having their party shutdown. Whatever retaliation was done against me couldn't be worse than trying to work with all this noise, so I gave in and called the duty don. After dialling the number, a busy signal played through my phone, so hopefully that means that someone else was already reporting the same party. Working out seemed like a better thing to do than sit around in my room being distracted by other people partying, so I grabbed my gym bag and left the residence.

open the door, revealing several red-faced students sitting on the beds and the smell of beer. "Okay, well remember to keep it down and no drinking games in residence. I don't want to have to come back here to write anyone up" I said while taking one last look around the room for any major infractions. The part about not wanting to write anyone up is true, I hate dealing with drunk first-year students. They are annoying, stubborn, and even combative sometimes. Being a don is a position of power that gives me authority in these situations, but first-years don't always take it seriously. Telling an intoxicated student to pour out their beer only infuriates them, so I feel like I could be in danger if things escalated.

night. "Nothing really, just hanging out" Annie replied. "Okay, well remember to keep it down and no drinking games in residence. I don't want to have to come back here to write anyone up" Nancy said, scanning the room with her gaze before leaving. Aidan closed and locked the door before saying "Let's try to keep this party going for once instead of getting shut down before quiet hours even start" and went back to his game of beer pong. My don feels like a friend to me, since he doesn't want to get us in trouble and looks out for us. I know some of the other dons are really strict, and it just makes me lose respect for them. I don't care if I piss off one of the strict dons since they always seem pissed off anyways. I would feel bad if I upset my own don though because it doesn't feel good to disappoint a friend.

Sweaty and sore from an intense workout, I returned to my floor in a better mood than before. I stopped to use the washroom before heading back to my room. Embarrassment froze me in my steps when I saw a guy walk out of one of the stalls, thinking that I must have walked into the wrong washroom. "Sorry, this was closer than the guy's washroom," said the guy washing his hands. Anything goes on a Friday night in residence.

Not long after that, a crisp knock pierced through the heavy air. Without checking the peephole first, someone I've never seen before swung the door open to reveal two campus police on the other side. The bass of the music I felt in my chest was replaced by my nervously pounding heart as the room suddenly became silent. Before the cops even said a word, the sounds of bottles and cans being dropped or thrown behind people's backs broke the silence. The two police officers entered and started asking for people's student cards. Most of the partygoers were able to slip out of the room behind the officers' backs, fleeing to their rooms or out of the residence. Nancy the don stood in the hallway talking to Matt about the party. Like a horse at the starting gates of a race, Matt took off in a sprint down the hallway, the echoing sound of

The flashing lights of a police car flickered into my room between the cracks of the plastic blinds. The music and cheering from down the hall turned to silence for a few moments before I heard the sound of people running down the hall. It's funny – students say that campus police aren't real police, they're just mall cops with cars. But now that the police have shown up to a party everyone is running away as if they are scared of getting in trouble. I grabbed leftovers from my mini-fridge and took them down the hall to the common room to use the microwave and spy on the party from a safe distance. I slammed the microwave door shut, which was echoed by two guys who burst into the room and slammed the door behind them. They didn't notice me standing in the corner using the

The duty don phone rang as I was just about to unlock the door to the last floor of this round. It was campus police asking for us to return to one of the floors we had already been on because they could see students partying through the windows that faced the road. As we returned to that floor, one of the cops pointed out a student that I needed to finish dealing with so that the police could respond to an emergency. As I approached and asked the student to pour out his drink, he took off down the hallway. My legs carried me as quickly as I could down the hall behind him, but his height gave him an advantage and he got away. The encouraging laughter from his friends was pretty embarrassing, but I was just trying to do

his feet hitting the carpet accompanied by encouraging cheers from the other students. Nancy chased him for a bit before giving up, providing entertainment for the students as they returned to their rooms. Once things settled down, a few of my floormates and I met up in Aidan's room to come up with a plan for the rest of the night. "It's only ten o'clock, we could hop on a bus and go to that frat party" Sonny suggested. "No way, I heard they are charging ten bucks for guys to get in. Ten bucks! We don't have enough girls with us to get a discount" replied Aidan. "I can't wait until I turn nineteen, so this doesn't have to be an issue. I can drink what I want, where I want, without having to worry about getting a ticket or kicked out or whatever it is they do" said Annie. "You know, I did see a bunch of people heading towards my residence when I was

microwave as they stood with their backs against the door. "Oh fuck, you almost got so busted by that don," the one guy said to the other. I think his name is Jarrad, but I'm not sure. "Frig yeah I can't get caught again. I have already had to meet with that stupid coordinator bitch. She told me if I keep it up, I will get kicked out of residence" replied the other guy through his heavy breathing, as if he had just been running. I think his name is Matt. "Yeah you don't want to get caught for breaking those exit signs either, I've heard you can get charged by the real police for that," said Jarrad. The microwave timer beeped, sending a startling jolt through both of their bodies as noticed me in the corner of the room. "Fuck man, I am so sorry I shouldn't have said that was you. I didn't realize we weren't alone"

my job. I set a reminder in my phone to ask his don tomorrow about him so that we can write him up. Once things settled down on this floor, we continued our rounds through the rest of the residence before taking a quick break until the next round.

It wasn't long before we had to start our second round of the night. After walking through the first floor we headed to the stairwell where we came across a girl sitting on the floor and leaning against the wall. She didn't respond to us and was all alone, so I knew we had to call an ambulance because she

leaving to come over here. Maybe we can go and see what is going on over there?" suggested Alex, who is a friend of one of my floormates that lives in the townhouse style residence village. We agreed that would be the best way to finish our night since we had already been drinking, didn't want to spend money for an Uber or to get into a party, and everyone would be allowed in since we aren't all legal. I packed a few beers into a reusable shopping bag while the other girls added more liquor and pop to their stainless-steel water bottles.

After walking for about twenty minutes along a busy road that lines the east side of campus we arrived at Alex's residence. As we walked through the village of townhouses, I could tell which house we were headed to. There was a crowd of people outside of the apologized Jarrad. In a hushed tone, Matt replied, "Man it's okay, she's an international student. She can barely speak English. I can't hear anyone in the hallway anymore. Let's get out of here." The appetite I had worked up at the gym left with the two white guys that labelled me as not being able to speak English. We've never spoken before because they are part of the drinking crowd that I avoid, but that doesn't mean they can assume I don't speak English based on how I look. That pissed me off. Part of me wanted to expose Matt for breaking those exit signs, but the other part of me was scared that they'd know I exposed him, and they'd retaliate. As much as I don't want to do these guys any favours, it wouldn't be worth it for me to go against the unwritten rules in residence.

could be experiencing alcohol poisoning. "Please don't call" the girl mumbled several times after I told the other duty don that I was about to call the ambulance. The girl could barely hold herself up or open her eyes, stumbling towards me like a zombie while begging for us to not call for help. I don't like calling ambulances because the students figure out what don was on duty and blame them for being strict. There seems to be backlash for dons that work against students instead of with them. Situations like this are difficult because the students don't want to get in trouble and think they will be okay if they just sleep it off, but if a student were to end up in a critical condition or worse, I would feel horribly guilty

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backdoor of one of the townhouses, smoking and hanging out. The bass of the music was stronger than it was in my residence, carrying the tunes across the open parking lot. It was hard to see what was going on inside the townhouse because the lights were off inside, and the windows were fogged up with condensation. Alex opened the unlocked front door, but we were met by a girl sitting on the other side of it. "Who invited you? I can't let anyone else in" she snapped as she shut the door. "Wait, my friend texted me that she needed me to meet her here. I just need to talk to her quickly" Julia fibbed, brushing past the girl at the door, leaving the rest of us on the front porch. We went around to the back of the house where we saw a group of people through a cloud of smoke. Joining the circle of smokers allowed us to walk back

Hearing people partying down the hall while I was studying reminded me that I am different from other people my age. This residence was an attractive option because it places several students in the same program on one floor, so the idea is that you can study together and access resources that are specific to your program. Unfortunately, it hasn't been that helpful for me because the other students in my program all want to party each weekend,

for not intervening earlier. Despite this student's pleas, I followed the emergency procedures and returned to my rounds once the ambulance drove away.

We entered the next floor and I immediately saw a girl walking through the hallway with an open can of Somersby cider. "No open alcohol allowed in the residence hallways," I said.

"This isn't alcohol, I am just drinking juice," the student slurred.

in with them as if we had been at the party the whole time.

A group of people stood in the kitchen of the townhouse, showing off as they blew smoke out of their mouths in unique ways. In the small living room area, people attempted to play drinking games, but the round dining table was too short. Being forced against the warm, sweaty bodies of strangers was suffocating, but trying to move through the crowd only made it worse. Do you know the feeling when the person behind you in a line is standing way too close? That's how it felt to be in this house but from all three-hundred and sixty degrees of my body, not just the back. The crowd started to swell, pushing me further back into the people I was already brushing up against. A small clearing was formed around a guy who got

whereas I want to set myself up for a successful career. Being a first-year student means that I have had to work really hard in my job as an athletic trainer for varsity athletes. It would be easy for the big football guys to gravitate towards the male trainers, so I want to keep up with my own workouts so that I can show the athletes how to do their lifts. Part of me wants to just hang out and drink with my floormates, but why would I let something that I can prevent derail my success? I have enough barriers to fight as a female and person of colour in the world of sports. I need to work harder to establish myself and not let my reputation be tainted, or else the male athletes won't take me seriously anymore.

"I can see on the side of the can that it says alcohol. Can I please have your student card?"

"Ummm no, I don't actually go here."

"Well, in that case, you are trespassing in this residence and I am going to have to follow up in that regard."

"Oh… Sorry, I forgot I do go here. But I lost my student card."

"Okay, well let's go to your room and find it."

"Oh, actually wait… It is right here in my pocket."

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down on one knee and started chugging an expensive bottle of vodka. People were cheering and videoing as this guy finished the bottle, stood up, and burped. Immediately after that people went back to whatever they were doing, not fazed by what they just watched. I don't know what happened to the guy after that.

Staying close to at least one friend while navigating the crowds is important, so Annie and I linked arms as we walked or held each others' hands above our heads so that the leader could direct the follower through the mass of people. While brushing up against the people we were walking past, I would occasionally feel hands across my lower back or gripping my sides. Several guys took the opportunity to put their hand on your hips to 'help' guide you past them. Annie and I agreed that we would keep moving

Guys who drink are seen as cool and able to have fun and relax but girls that drink get a different reputation. Girls are seen as sluts, or sloppy, or crazy when they drink, even if they act exactly like guys do when they drink. People just don't take girls that drink seriously, so I don't want that for myself. My everyday look involves baggy athletic clothes, glasses and tied up hair to keep my identity as an athletic trainer. Sometimes I really want to wear something tight and revealing, but I know what is said about girls that show skin and flirt.

If I did go to a party, there's no way that I could flirt openly like other people do. You see, I am queer, but I haven't come out yet. When I told two of my closest female friends that I am queer,

"Great. Can I have it please, I am going to have to write you up" I replied. Dealing with drunk students can be like pulling teeth sometimes.

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to get away from the guys that would put their arms around us or grab or waists. What this really meant is that we had to constantly keep moving to get away from the creepy guys. Aidan and Alex were great at stepping in between the creepy guys and us, blocking them from touching or talking to us. Annie and I decided to go into the bathroom together so that we wouldn't get separated. After waiting in line, we entered the bathroom that looked like it had never been cleaned. The person that I saw through the streaky mirror had frizzy, tangled hair that was stuck to her forehead with sweat, dark makeup smudged under her bloodshot eyes, and a partially untucked shirt that was shifted out of place across her chest. This person looked like me but was almost unrecognizable. While sitting on the toilet, Annie's head fell into her hands as

they started acting weirdly around me. One of them even asked if I was hitting on her after I ran ahead to open the door because her arms were full. People don't understand what being queer means, so I don't want to just be seen as a lesbian woman who likes sports. All that taught me was that I might as well back into the closet and slam the door, so hitting on someone that I find attractive at a party is completely out of the picture for now. I know queer people can find comfort in LGBTQ communities, but residence is not the place for coming out.

she worryingly said "I just hate how guys think they can just grab or touch any girl that walks by. When I was single, I didn't mind it as much, but now that I am in a relationship, I am nervous about something happening by accident. I don't want my boyfriend to think that I would ever cheat on him, but it is hard to be around drunk guys. I don't know what to do to make them stop thinking I want to hook up with them just because I happened to make eye contact with them or something."

As we returned downstairs the music and cheering were replaced with yelling and screaming as the crowd was being rocked back and forth. It was hard to see over all the bobbing heads in the jam-packed room but based on the way people were being pushed into each other it seemed like something was

brewing in the middle of the crowd. "Fight! Fight!

Fight! Fight!" was being chanted as people started

spilling outside through the back door. Two guys were

grabbing each other's shirt collars and punching each

other in the face and stomach. Bystanders were

recording the fight on their phones, screaming for it to

stop, or cheering them on. It wasn't long before

flashing lights flickered through the fogged windows,

followed by all of the partygoers pouring out of the

front and back doors of the townhouse. Annie and I

took this as our cue to leave before we got caught for

underage drinking. We were unsure about where our

floormates ended up, but we figured we would be safe

if we stuck together. As we walked across campus, I

noticed a blue pole that said EMERGENCY with a

button on the side and a light on the top of it. I

wondered what kind of situation would lead to someone pushing that. I had no reason to believe that I wasn't safe at that moment.

At first it was disappointing that dons shut down both of the parties so early, ending the night prematurely. As the cool evening air dried my sweaty skin, I was feeling relieved to be away from the crowd and looked forward to ordering late-night snack delivery. While walking down our quiet residence hall, Annie heard people talking in one of the rooms, so we decided to join instead of heading to our own rooms as we planned. Hanging out with the smaller group felt safer since my floormates can be trusted, which was a nice change from being in a room of strangers that I won't ever see again. The handful of us sat on the two beds, using the makeshift beer pong table to play

We entered the last floor of the night's last round and found it suspiciously quiet. The exit sign at the end of the hallway was hanging by one of its corners with broken pieces of the foam ceiling on the ground underneath it. A trail of blood along the carpet led us to the door at the end of the hallway. The window on the top half of the door was shattered, with shards of glass lying on the floor. Bloodstains covered the broken window but didn't continue past the door. Whoever is bleeding must still be on this floor, and we need to find them. The boy's bathroom was empty, but large splatters of blood covered the white tile floor and the white porcelain sink. Based on the blood-trail we assumed whoever is bleeding must be a male

drinking games with cards. Card games were a good choice because they were quiet and easier to play with a smaller group. I had just finished the last beer out of the four that I had been carrying around in the reusable bag. A few of us counted how many drinks we had that night, using the amount we brought with us to the party as a gauge. "Here, have some of this" Julia said while passing me a red solo cup filled with…. I don't know what it was filled with, but it was drinkable. It was Annie's turn to draw a card from the pile when we realized that she was outstretched on Aidan's bed between where we were all sitting and the wall. "No way, she's like totally dead! What a lightweight" laughed Julia. "I wish that was the case for me, it would be so nice to get drunk that easily. It would be so easy on my wallet" Aidan added. We finished our

student on this floor, so we started knocking on doors of rooms that we suspected. Blood smears covered the handle of one of the doors. No one answered when I knocked loudly several times, but the light shining through the crack between the door and the floor told me that someone had to have been in there. After another loud knock, someone from inside the room groaned. The door handle was unlocked, so after knocking once more I announced my entry and used my foot to push down on the door handle, opening the door. In the middle of the room was a pile of blood-soaked paper towel and a bloodied t-shirt. The shirt's owner paced topless back and forth across the far end of the room, barely acknowledging our

game while Annie laid behind us, unresponsive to us calling her name or poking her. It was funny to see her like that, so we posted some photos and videos on Snapchat.

"The dons shouldn't be coming around anymore, so we are clear to carry Annie back to her room" Will suggested. Will and his roommate lifted Annie off the bed, carrying her down the hall by her armpits and ankles. Aidan followed behind with his phone recording the whole thing. When we got to her door, I reached my hands into each of her pockets to find her keys. The guys lifted her into her bed, and we tucked her in, placing the garbage can beside her just in case. Her roommate Heather was still awake, having gotten home from a different party shortly before we did. The boys headed back to their rooms while

presence. He was bleeding from his scalp, staining his forehead and hair a deep red. An Instagram account dedicated to showcasing parties at this university posted a video of someone running and jumping into exit signs, so I suspect that this guy might be the culprit. Two girls lay on a bed, unresponsive to any of my talking or poking. My nose alerted me to the puke in the room, covering the carpet and the bed where the girls lay. The other duty don called 911 and explained the situation while keeping close to me for our own safety. The guy who is bleeding sat down on the floor, putting his bloodied hands to his head. The blood on his hands could've been from touching his head, but a closer look revealed

Heather and I ate the pizza that she ordered. Even with us talking and the florescent light on overhead, Annie didn't wake from her deep sleep. The conversation was interrupted by the sound of Annie puking off the side of her bed, so I jumped up and moved the garbage can closer while Heather put Annie's hair in a ponytail. Our don taught us a way to prop an unconscious person's head on their arm so that they won't choke on their own puke, so I started grabbing Annie's arms and legs to try and move her into the pose. The only thing that I could remember about that pose was how funny Aidan looked as the volunteer who pretended to be passed out; I didn't think I would actually need to position an unconscious person's body while in residence. After Annie settled back into her bed, Heather ran down the hall to grab paper towels and the

that his hand was bleeding as well. As he moved his hand the light hit his knuckles in a way that exposed the bones in his hand. I have only ever seen something that gruesome in Grey's Anatomy, but I was not a doctor and felt like this situation exceeded my first-aid qualifications. I made small talk with the bleeding guy while the other duty don sat with the unconscious girls as we waited for the paramedics. Being a don is so much more than organizing social events for your students. Being a don means having power over first-year students and using that authority when needed for the safety of first-years, who went from having to ask permission just to use the washroom a few months ago to now living with

vacuum cleaner while I quietly went into my room where Stacy was sleeping and grabbed a scoop of powdered laundry detergent from her closet. I took it down the hall to Annie and Heather's room and sprinkled it on the carpet before Heather started vacuuming the area. Annie started puking again, somehow knowing to lean over the side of the bed even though she couldn't speak to us or hold herself up. While our hands were full of cleaning products Annie suddenly slipped off her bed and onto the floor, hitting her face on the garbage can on her way down. Her nose and forehead started to bleed while she lay on the floor in her own mess, adding to it as she threw up again. "Ok, I'm going to call the duty don. I didn't want to get Annie in trouble, but this is too much. I'm starting to freak out" Heather said. I wanted to stay and

the freedom of being away from home for the first time.

help, as something about Annie being passed out had ignited this heroic feeling inside of me. On the other hand, it was easy to see that I had been drinking all night and didn't want to get in trouble myself. After Heather placed the call I left for my own room, leaving Heather to watch Annie until the duty don could arrive.

My piercing headache and wrenching stomach-ache woke me up before seven the next morning. My dry mouth needed a drink, so I sat up to grab my water bottle. An instant wave of dizziness rushed through

The light from my phone screen burned my eyes as I read 6:03 a.m. on the screen. Most days I am out the door by five-thirty to head to work. Sleeping in residence is hard when people are yelling or running up and down the halls late at night. One time the fire alarm went off at 3:00 a.m. because someone was smoking inside, so I just

me, letting me know that being upright wasn't an option. Part of me wondered if moving the garbage can closer to my bed would be a good idea. My mind was foggy, and my body felt heavy as if I barely slept the night before. It was almost as if my body had been paused for the four or so hours that I slept, rather than recovering in that time. Unable to sleep but unable to sit up straight, I hung my arm over the side of my bed and looked for my phone in the pile of last night's clothes. Scrolling through social media and my camera roll revealed details of last night that I didn't even know happened, but I must've been there since I recorded it on my phone. What I can remember only accounts for about 2 hours of my 6 hours of drinking.

stayed up and went to work early because I knew I wouldn't be able to get back to sleep. Like most weekends, I decided to pack up my things and head out for the day to find somewhere to do my work. Nervous about waking Claudia up, I used the flashlight on my phone to find my flip flops and shower caddy. The blob on Claudia's bed that I was tiptoeing around turned out to be a heap of blankets, but she was not in it. She was talking to a friend the other day about a guy that she had been interested in, so I wonder if she spent the night with him. I grabbed my shower caddy and went to the washroom to take a shower. When I opened the washroom door I was met with a disgusting sour smell. I used my towel to cover my mouth as I headed towards one of the stalls. Ew! That one

hadn't been flushed, so I tried the next one. What

the heck, it was full of purple vomit and the

surrounding floor was stained purple as well. I tried

each of the four stalls and only one of them was

tolerable, so I quickly used it before heading for the

shower. When I pulled back the shower curtain, I

found another source of the awful smell. I rushed

out of the washroom to stop myself from throwing

up and decided I would have to wait until the

cleaning ladies visit our floor before I can use the

showers again. I got dressed in my room, grabbed

my backpack and headed out. Empty bottles and

cans, red cups, and fresh stains on the carpet lined

the hallway. My entire residence floor smelled like

an awful combination of stale perfume and cologne,

beer, sweat, and vomit. I was happy to leave and get outside for some fresh air.

"OMG" Annie texted around 10 o'clock, so I knew she had woken up. Intense dizziness and nausea consumed me as I left my room. I stopped in the washroom to throw up, where I could hear someone else in another stall doing the same thing. It was somewhat relieving that I wasn't the only one throwing up – I didn't want people to think that I couldn't handle my alcohol. I felt better and left the washroom to visit Annie. We reminisced on the night before and tried to put together the different pieces we each remembered to figure out what we did last night. My memory was almost in screenshots in my head,

showing me still pictures of different things that

happened but not how long those things lasted or how

they connected to one another. When 11 o'clock rolled

around a group of my floormates headed for breakfast

now that the cafeteria was open for the day. I decided

to head to breakfast with them to maybe get a drink.

Eating after drinking hasn't worked out for me before,

so I'm not sure how people can eat a big greasy

breakfast. I slowly drank a Gatorade, fighting against

my body's response to reject the drink. Looking

around the table at my floormates while they ate

sausages, bacon, pancakes, and hash browns, I saw

greasy hair tied up in messy buns or under hats,

makeup smudged under bloodshot eyes, several yawns

from a lack of sleep, and baggy comfy clothes to

replace last night's tight and revealing outfits. We

exchanged stories from the night before, reminiscing

on the funny things that happened. "Annie, you were

so funny. We didn't even realize what happened until

we turned around and you were just laying there dead"

said Sonny. "Yeah, oops… I will probably have to

meet with that residence manager person today about

that. I hope I don't get in too much trouble" Annie

replied. We talked about our plans for the day, which

all revolved around recovering from the night before. I

was glad that I didn't have anything important to do

today, knowing that my body wouldn't be able to keep

up with anything more than lying around and watching

Netflix. Hopefully some rest will help me feel better in

case we get invited to any parties tonight.

4.6 Summary

By representing the findings of the interview data in three parallel columns, readers are provided with three different experiences within the same context. The next chapter will use the interview data to highlight the discourses of drinking that are enabled within the university residence among first-year students, discuss the ways that those discourses are disseminated and disciplined among first-year students, and unpack the ways that first-year students negotiate discourses of drinking.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This chapter begins with a discussion of the findings of this research study. The discussion begins with an outline of the discourses of drinking that are enabled in the university residence, based on my interpretations of the interview data. These discourses are discussed based on the elements of Foucauldian discourse analysis, as described by Kendall and Wickham (1999). First, each discourse is defined based on my interpretation of the data, followed by an outline of the development of this discourse. Next, what is and is not defined by the discourse, as well as the ways that new elements are introduced to this discourse are discussed. Examples from the interview data are used to highlight the discourses throughout this discussion, demonstrating the ways that the discourses are acted out within the context of the university residence.

After highlighting the discourses presented in the interview data, I discuss the ways the discourses are disseminated and disciplined among first-year students. Next, I discuss the ways in which first-year students negotiate discourses of drinking relating them back to the theory of poststructuralism. In doing so, I highlight the ways experiences of first-year students support and/or counter the tenets of poststructural thought as outlined in the second chapter, covering the specific topics of language, power, and self. I conclude with a discussion of the implications for future research and practice.

5.1 Purpose Statement and Research Questions

The purpose of this narrative inquiry is to deconstruct the experiences of binge-drinking among first-year undergraduate students at a Canadian university.

What discourses of drinking are enabled within the university residence among first-year students?

How are those discourses disseminated and disciplined among first-year students?

How do first-year students negotiate these discourses of drinking?

5.2 Discourses of Drinking in Residence

While I expected to hear about the roles that social media, life histories, and intersectionality played into the experiences of binge-drinking among first-year students, the discourse of residence being safe surprised me. Safety was both explicitly mentioned, such as "residence is a safe place to drink" or inferred through stories about drinking in residence as a means of learning how your body reacts to certain types and amounts of alcohol. Although several participants spoke about experiences of drinking that they dislike, such as feeling physically ill or interacting with creepy people, they told stories of easily overcoming these negative experiences to be able to drink again. Throughout the nine interviews, safety was defined, redefined, and enacted in multiple ways. This section will outline the multiple discourses of safety in relation to various discourses of drinking in residence.

5.2.1 Rules make things safe

Although the participants spoke about not liking and/or breaking the rules in residence, they also shared an understanding that rules are in place to ensure everyone is safe while drinking. Participants told stories of pushing the boundaries, such as drinking out of reusable water bottles to negotiate the ambiguous rules. Another rule that participants referenced in their stories state that drinking games are not permitted in residence. When the duty dons or campus police arrive at a party, students put away red plastic cups and playing cards, and dismantle their makeshift tables prior to opening the door to conceal the drinking games. The last main rule in residence as discussed by the participants had to do with the noise level. On Friday and Saturday nights, the 'quiet hours' rule does not apply until 1:00 AM, instead of the usual 11:00 PM on

weeknights. The participants mentioned that excessive noise sometimes drew attention to their parties earlier than 1:00 AM, but they were often able to avoid getting caught because of this rule.

Beyond the rules of the residence, first-year students must also navigate the laws, such as the province's legal drinking age of nineteen years old. Most students are seventeen or eighteen years old when they enter university, so these underage students must also negotiate the law when drinking. Although underage students cannot purchase their own alcohol from a liquor store or restaurant, or even enter most clubs and bars, alcohol is easy to access through older friends and family members. While some participants' "mom[s] gave [them] a two-six of vodka when [they] moved into residence" or their "dad[s] buy [them] stuff now, but only if it is a respectable beer", others discussed the importance of finding out who was of age on your floor and asking them to buy something for you. Participants that were the legal drinking age during their first year indicated buying alcohol for their peers "was the nice thing to do and how you make friends."

Several understandings of the roles of dons and campus police were shared by the participants, and every participant questioned the authority of both dons and campus police. Dons, the upper-year students that are paid to live in residence and support first-year students, were understood as the first point of contact for enforcing rules in the residence. Participants shared stories of avoiding the dons, such as hiding in closets and under furniture when the dons show up to a residence party. Participants that had been caught drinking in residence did not take the consequences seriously, so they did not change how they drank after being caught. Most participants heard rumours involving more substantial consequences, such as being kicked out of the residence or forced to enroll in alcohol support groups, but the participants shared that these

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stories felt distant, vague, and unrealistic. First-year students' opinions of their don varied depending on the nature of their relationship. Students that felt as if their don was like a friend did not want to disappoint them, though stricter dons were met with resistance from the students. While dons that took a friendly and relatable approach encouraged students to follow the rules, participants shared stories of lenient dons being taken advantage of by the students. Many participants said it was hard to see their dons as an authoritative figure when they joked while introducing the rules during their first day in residence.

First-year students have understandings that rules are in place for their safety, so drinking in residence "must" be safe. Participants also expressed feeling safe from consequences through the stories they shared, as the rules can be easily navigated, and the penalties are trivial. Participants explained that the enforcement of stricter rules will drive first-year students to be more creative in the ways that they navigate these rules, rather than completely deterring them from drinking. Rules in residence create boundaries that simultaneously make first-year students feel safe while encouraging them to explore new ways of negotiating the rules without being caught.

5.2.2 Drinking with friends is safe

Friends were an integral part of each of the stories about drinking in residence. First-year students rely on their peers in residence when making decisions around alcohol. "I wouldn't ever drink alone, it's a social thing," meaning that friends not only influence each other to drink but also encourage each other to drink more. Although the participants shared stories of their friends encouraging them to drink even though they did not want to, the participants mentioned that they do not feel pressured by their friends and could say no if they really wanted to.

Friends do not only influence each other to drink, but also care for each other throughout the night. "I trust her, I'm putting my life in her hands" was how one participant described his decision to have someone who he perceived to be an 'experienced drinker' keep track of the number of drinks he had throughout the night. If someone were to pass out from drinking too much, first-year students expect that their friends will take care of them. Participants shared stories about their friends caring for them, or them caring for their friends, which involved getting food and water for the drunker person, cleaning up their vomit, walking them back to their room, and tucking them into bed. While first-year students not only rely on their friends when making decisions around drinking and to care for each other if they drink too much, they also rely on drinking as a means of making friends.

Stories about meeting new people and making friends while drinking were present throughout all the interviews. Although orientation week is supposed to be a 'dry week,' several participants mentioned that they would not have attended the evening activities without drinking first. This notion continued throughout the school year, as participants explained that they would not sit around in someone's room on a Friday night if drinking were not involved. Some of the participants said if it were not for the presence of alcohol, first-year students would rather spend their time alone doing something like watching Netflix rather than participating in social activities. Drinking in residence may be the only thing that first-year students know they have in common with one another, so drinking can be thought of as a safe way to socialize with others during the transition to university.

5.2.3 The residence building is a safe place to drink

Participants told stories about residence being a safe place to drink because of the way the building is designed. All but one of the participants lived in the same residence building,

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which has a reputation for being the party residence. This residence – let's call it White Guy Hall – houses around one thousand first-year students each year. White Guy Hall (WGH) is the only residence that is exclusive to first-year students, contains double rooms, and has co-ed floors. Participants described parties in these rooms that hosted dozens of people, as many people can sit on the beds and desks, stand along the farthest wall, and crowd in the middle of the room. These double rooms are much larger than the single rooms in the other residences, making it easier to fit more people inside of them. There is one key feature of the rooms in WGH that sent mixed signals to the participants: a metal bottle opener installed on the inside of each of the closest doors.

Since underage students cannot go to the bars or clubs, the participants mentioned that the residence became their main location for partying. If the first-year students wanted to drink somewhere other than the residence, they would ask around to find out about any house parties that may be happening in the city, but often chose to drink in residence instead. The residence parties described by the participants took place at WGH or one other residence that is made up of townhouses. Participants described these townhouse parties as being more like a house party than a residence party, as you are less likely to be interrupted by dons and many more people can fit inside. While parties at the townhouse provide opportunities to meet more people, the stories about parties at WGH are about the drinking games that can be played there. The tables in the townhouses are not suitable for any drinking games, but students living in WGH have found ways to take the closet doors off their hinges to make tables for beer pong and other drinking games.

For the most part, first-year students know who is on their floor because of the locked doors. Some participants mentioned that people who do not live on that floor are let in for

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parties, but guests are usually accounted for by at least one person. If someone that lives on the floor is uncomfortable by anyone that does not live there, they can call the duty don and for that person to be removed.

"I see why people get as drunk as they do in residence just because they're home. It's so easy to go to bed. And be safe." Although the participants spoke about wanting to go to house parties to get away from the rules of residence, they also mentioned that they do not like to venture too far away from their residence since they will have to stay sober enough to get back at the end of the night. Drinking in residence is also seen as a safer option than going to a party off campus because there are always several people in residence. Participants told stories about taking care of people on their floor or being taken care of during nights of drinking. First-year students have even been encouraged by their dons to stay in residence when drinking instead of going to an off-campus party, as it is viewed as safer than venturing into an unfamiliar city while intoxicated.

5.2.4 Thinking with Poststructuralism

After analyzing the data and restorying the narratives, I employed poststructural thought to determine which discourses to highlight for this thesis. There were several discourses that emerged throughout each of the transcript readings, so I compiled a list of experiences to draw upon when writing the narratives. Although the narratives highlighted how discourses are enacted through the participants' stories, I wanted to use this discussion to explore the discourses that are not explicitly mentioned in the stories. Employing the five tenets of Foucauldian discourse analysis (Kendall & Wickham, 1999) allowed me to not only define the discourses but also begin to understand how the discourses have been developed and how they are enacted.

Poststructural theory has been supported by working with the tenets of Foucauldian discourse analysis to make sense of the data.

5.3 Dissemination and Discipline of Discourses

Discourses of drinking in residence are communicated and enacted in several – and often interconnected – ways. While some stories were similar between participants, each participant had unique introductions to alcohol and the roles of drinking in residence. Some participants had been exposed to alcohol consumption for as long as they can remember, as their families drank openly around them and even encouraged them to try alcohol when they were teenagers. Other participants had never seen someone drunk before moving into residence, learning about drinking from their peers in residence. "There are show-ers and there are learners" when it comes to first-year students who drink in residence. Despite this, all the participants shared two main experiences related to the dissemination and discipline of discourses about drinking. Firstly, no one had previously questioned where the idea of drinking in residence came from but accepted it as a normal part of the residence experience. And secondly, every participant had learned about drinking by directly interacting with someone who drinks. I will highlight three ways that the discourses of drinking in residence have been dispersed throughout the participants' understandings of the university experience, as well as the ways they have enacted and further reproduced the discourses throughout this section.

5.3.1 Media and the dissemination of drinking discourses

5.3.1.1 Social media

All nine participants told stories about drinking in residence that involved social media. Prior to starting university, some participants read posts on Reddit that described the various universities and their reputations. Although the university where this research took place has

been dubbed as a non-party school, participants looked to Reddit for insight into what residences would be the best to live in if they wanted to experience residence parties. Participants also spoke about photos and videos of drinking that they had seen on social media, as well as the ways that they interact with social media themselves. A few Instagram accounts were described by several participants when asked about the ways they learned about drinking at university and slang. Two of the accounts feature photos and videos of drinking, smoking, and stunts that are submitted by followers. These posts receive thousands of likes, which some participants found desirable. Before 'shotgunning' a beer, one participant asked his friends "how can we make this really creative that we could get on the onto the party life Instagrams?" The account creators selected someone to manage the account based on their willingness to commit time, choose which submissions to post, and interact with the followers. One participant's friend had been managing the university-specific account but decided to step down after he was contacted by the police to investigate a video that featured someone breaking an exit sign in residence. While several participants mentioned that they enjoy viewing this content because it is funny or even impressive, no one was able to speak to the realities that the people in the videos faced after the camera is turned off. A video of someone taking multiple shots before chugging a beer may be entertaining, but it only shows one side of that experience by distancing the viewers from the potentially unsafe outcomes of drinking that much.

The third Instagram account that was frequently mentioned throughout the interviews was a Toronto-based account that was initially designed as a way of showcasing underground rap and hip-hop artists (Weekes, 2018). This account gained traction when it began to feature photos and videos of everyday occurrences in Toronto, providing a snapshot into life in the city from perspectives not included in news coverage, such as those from ethnic communities or lower

socioeconomic statuses. This account is very popular among young people in the Greater Toronto Area, as "two-thirds of my friends follow that account which is like more than I think any account." Interview participants explained that the slang used in residence is more common among people from the Greater Toronto Area, as people from small towns were unaware of the terms before moving into residence. Being from a small town, Will found it hard to keep up with the slang and mixed it up in a brief conversation in the first narrative. First-year students that follow this account are exposed to the slang as it becomes popular, adopting terms into their own vocabulary and using them in residence. Participants told stories about not knowing what the slang meant when they first heard it, which felt like a barrier in some of their conversations.

5.3.1.1.1 Social media as safe

While only a few participants expressed interest in being featured by these large Instagram accounts, most participants spoke about the ways that they post on their own social media accounts. First-year students create impressions of themselves on social media, choosing images to represent what aspects of their lives that they want to share. "It's like the only way to be celebrated and cool and with it is if you're partaking in that drinking culture. And very much sharing it. It's not just participating in it, but it's sharing that you're partaking in it. I see students posting that they are taking shots at midday and they're so happy to do those boomerangs of all their little shot glasses. I just think they have to share it for it to count. What's drinking if you don't take a picture? And really if you think about it, nothing about drinking is cute or aesthetic."

While some students strive to post content like that to present themselves as someone who drinks, other participants described the need to censor what they post on social media. First-year students create secondary accounts that they refer to as 'spam' out of concern for what potential employers, family, and coworkers may think of their partying. These spam accounts are

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private and not associated with the person's real name, making it difficult to identify who owns the account. Participants explained these accounts as an opportunity for them to post funny, and potentially embarrassing, videos and photos of themselves drinking and smoking for their close friends to view. Posting content on spam accounts is perceived as safe since the account owner selects who is able to see those photos and videos.

5.3.1.2 Other media coverage

The ways that university students are portrayed in popular culture, such as television shows and movies, as well as news outlets, gave many of the participants a glimpse into the university-student lifestyle prior to moving into residence. Several participants mentioned that movies and television shows depict postsecondary students going to wild parties, which celebrates the idea of drinking heavily during university. Without showing the aftermath of partying, these portrayals are not realistic according to the participants. While participants said that these movies and shows gave them initial insight into what university may be like, they also said they do not like the ways that university students are shown as always partying, as it dismisses the hard-work they do academically.

Many participants told stories about being introduced to the discourse of binge-drinking among postsecondary students through news reports about various events. Several participants learned about the unsanctioned street parties on St. Patrick's Day through the news coverage on television, the radio, and the internet. The ways that St. Patrick's Day, riots, and other alcohol-involved events are described in the media reproduce the discourse of binge-drinking, contributing to the understanding that university students drink heavily.

5.3.2 Residence rules and the dissemination of discourses

As mentioned previously, there are several rules in residence designed to deter students from drinking. These rules are introduced to the students multiple times when they arrive at university and reinforced throughout the school year. On the first day that first-year students move into residence, they are required to attend two different events that introduce the rules. The first event is an orientation week presentation in the gymnasium full of hundreds of new students. During this presentation, the first-year students were told that they are not allowed to drink at all during orientation week, which was met by whispers of sarcastic comments and snickering by the crowd. The participants that shared this story described how the crowd's reaction to the alcohol-ban reiterated the notion that university students do indeed party and that rules will not stop them from doing so. After returning to their residence, each floor has an introductory meeting with their don. The overemphasis of rules during their first day in residence made some participants feel like too much attention is given to drinking in residence. The ways that dons introduced the rules quickly left an impression on the participants about the inconsequential nature of these rules. Some dons presented the rules in a lackadaisical manner, alluding that they were once first-years themselves and they know you will drink anyway, so here are ways to drink without getting caught. Although the dons that took a friendly approach and built positive relationships with their students had more of a positive influence over their students, the ways that the rules are introduced iterates the notion that drinking is accepted as a part of the residence experience.

5.3.2.1 Rules can be broken safely

By communicating what is and is not permitted in residence through the introduction of rules, first-year students are introduced what occurs in the residence. By being told to not do

something, that means that it has been previously done before. When students are caught breaking the rules and met with trivial consequences, such as a brief conversation with their don, the discourse of drinking in residence is further reproduced by the insignificance of the rules. Rather than deterring students from drinking in residence, rules introduce each new cohort of students to the actions of previous students that lived in that residence that were perceived as problematic. Instead of abiding by the rules and not drinking in residence, first-year students find creative ways to negotiate the ambiguous rules to avoid getting caught.

5.3.3 Friends and family as communicators of discourse

Throughout the interviews, all participants told stories that involved their friends and/or families when asked how they learned about drinking as a part of the residence experience. "My mom used to tell me about horror stories to scare me when I was little about university students partying." The participants think that their parents told these stories as a way of scaring them away from drinking, but no one felt dissuaded by the stories that their parents told. Rather, the stories told by parents to soon-to-be university students provided the students with insight into what living in residence would be like. Aside from their parents, participants also mentioned that older family members and friends largely contributed to their understanding of drinking at university prior to going to university. The participants told stories about their older siblings, cousins, and friends returning home for the holidays and telling stories about the wild nights they had in residence. For most participants, hearing stories from family and friends about drinking while away for post-secondary education introduced them to the discourse of drinking among university students for the first time.

Drinking at university was discussed among high school classmates as well. Throughout high school, but especially during the later years, people begin talking about what universities

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they will be applying to and hope to go to after graduation. Most participants told stories about this time of their life when asked how they learned about the stereotypes of university students and drinking. Several participants mentioned that the efforts made by their high schools to introduce various universities led to conversations among the high school students about which universities had the best parties. When discussing their application choices with friends in high school, many participants were met with unfavourable responses from their friends based on their chosen university's lack of partying reputation. Many participants expressed that some of their high school friends chose their universities based on the school's party reputation, feeling like people were prioritizing the social opportunities over the quality of the school.

5.3.3.1 If they were safe then I must be too

The stories that friends and family have told about drinking while away at postsecondary school communicate that drinking at university is safe. Even if these stories were told with the intention of presenting drinking in unappealing ways, young people are exposed to the discourse of drinking as a regular part of the university student experience. Since the listeners of these stories are distanced from the experiences and do not have any similar experiences themselves, they may find safety in assuming that the storyteller did not experience severe consequences from drinking heavily while at university.

5.3.4 Thinking with Poststructuralism

I used a poststructural lens to question how the discourses are disseminated and disciplined among first-year students. To do so, I highlighted the ways that students have been introduced to the discourse of drinking in residence while making connections back to the discourses to highlight how these discourses are further disciplined. For example, social media content featuring drinking in residence disseminates the discourse of drinking in residence by

communicating how the discourse is enacted. This discourse is then disciplined in a cyclical manner by students who are drawn to posting content of their own drinking on social media. As students create images of drinking in residence to post on social media, they are disciplined into performing the role of a first-year student as outlined by the discourse. I have supported poststructural theory by highlighting the ways that discourses are disciplined through first-year students acting in ways that align with society's perception of university students as communicated through the discourses.

5.4 Negotiating Discourses of Drinking

First-year university students, whether they drink or not, are constantly negotiating discourses of drinking when living in a university residence. The ways in which students decide to engage with drinking involves a continuous negotiation of the discourses while they resist and/or reproduce the notion that drinking is a normal part of the university student experience. Similarly to the discourses themselves, the ways that first-year students negotiate these discourses are complex and interconnected. I will highlight a few of the ways that students negotiate discourses of drinking while living in residence throughout this section.

5.4.1 To drink or not to drink

All of the participants categorized themselves, or people that they know, as drinkers or non-drinkers when telling stories about residence. Although people were described in these two binary categories, the stories that the participants told revealed that it is more complicated than that. While there are some people that absolutely do not drink at all, such as one man who does not drink for religious reasons and became the tokenized designated driver, people are labelled as 'non-drinkers' by the 'drinkers' because they do not drink in the same ways as them. For example, racialized groups of students may be seen as non-drinkers because they do not drink

with the group of predominantly white students who drink together on the floor. Meanwhile, these students of colour do indeed drink, but only with their friends that live in other residences. Since the group of 'drinkers' have not seen these 'non-drinkers' drink in their residence, they assume that they must not drink at all. An example of this was described by one of the participants who does not drink with the people on their floor to maintain their reputation as an athletic trainer for the university's varsity teams. This participant described their process of negotiating discourses of drinking as a necessary means of "prevent[ing] something that can derail me because I have enough barriers to fight through, I'm not going to add more." While this participant mentioned that they do wish they could sometimes drink like a typical university student, they do not want to be subjected to the stereotypes associated with someone that drinks.

Students that are known to be 'drinkers' by their peers in residence sometimes find it difficult to not drink, as many participants described that students who drink want all of their friends to be drinking as well. Participants shared stories about occasions where they did not want to drink, such as during busy times of the semester when a lot of schoolwork piles up. When they told their friends that they would not be drinking, they were met with comments about how boring they are and how their assignments can wait but the parties will not. When faced with these comments from their friends, some participants explained that they could be easily persuaded and unlikely to stick with their initial decision to not drink. Other participants said that they were more comfortable ignoring the comments and pressure from their peers and would firmly refuse to drink that evening. Despite this pressure from their friends, the participants explained that the significance of the party largely played into their decision to drink. It was easier for students to decline opportunities to drink that were similar to previous residence parties, but if there was a party that was going to be unique the participants were more

likely to agree to go to it without considering things like the amount of schoolwork they needed to do.

As mentioned previously, the university where this research took place has a reputation of being "all work and no play", or "boring", or "anti-social" according to the participants. Some of the participants told stories about balancing schoolwork with their desire to party, and how they felt that was unique to their university compared to the other 'party schools'. Participants felt as though they could not easily blow off their schoolwork for a party, which they perceived as the norm at other schools. A few participants described how their friends at other universities drink most nights of the week, every week, which the participants found concerning based on how difficult they find their own workload. Although first-year students are still drinking while living in residence at this particular university, they are doing so in different ways than first-year students at other universities.

5.4.2 "This reminds me of prohibition"

Discourses of drinking among students that live in university residences have informed the rules and policies that exist within the residence, and in turn how dons enforce these rules among each new cohort of first-year students. Students are introduced to these rules, which further iterate the notion that drinking is expected from first-year students in residence. As students make the decision to drink in residence, they must also consider how they will navigate the residence rules to avoid getting caught. Participants described the ways that they avoid getting caught, such as drinking out of unmarked reusable water bottles instead of the drink's original container. While that type of solution makes it harder for students to get caught drinking, it changes the way the discourse of drinking in residence looks instead of overturning it. Many participants mentioned that stricter rules would only change the ways that they drink, but not

stop them from drinking. Overall, when first-year students are faced with the decision to drink they do not question why drinking in residence is accepted as a normal part of the university student experience, relying on the decisions made by university students before them to guide how they themselves act as first-year university students living in residence.

5.4.3 Thinking with Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism problematizes the ways that we reduce meanings into categories for simplified understandings. This occurs because our language is limiting, as there are only a finite number of ways to identify things. Complex meanings are then lumped together into categories and labelled, which causes us to lose the nuances between those unique meanings. As I worked through this section on the negotiation of discourses of drinking, I came across the ways in which students understand their own drinking, as well as the drinking of their peers. Most participants saw their peers as 'drinkers' or 'non-drinkers', creating a problematic binary. The theory of poststructuralism was supported through this discussion as I highlighted the ways that simplified labels and ways of understanding complex social experiences cause us to lose nuances that are important to further unpacking these discourses.

5.5 Theoretical Implications

I used poststructural thought to inform my thesis to trouble the assumptions about binge-drinking in residence that have been held by students, policymakers, researchers, and society. By deconstructing what we know about binge-drinking in residence, we are able to better understand the ways that young adults are performing the role of a first-year student as expected by the socially constructed discourse, rather than viewing these experiences of binge-drinking as the actions of individuals that choose defy rules and engage in deviant behaviours. The theoretical

implications of this research will be discussed in this section, relating the data back to the tenets of poststructuralism that were outlined in chapter two.

5.5.1 Language

Poststructural theory recognizes that language is limited since there are not enough words to label all the things in our world (St. Pierre, 2000). This means that we place things in categories in order to be able to identify them, but in doing so we lose nuances and ignore particularities. These lumped-together categories are identified by words that gain meaning based on their relationship to other words, rather than the relationship between the identified objects and identifying words generating the meaning (de Saussure, as cited in St. Pierre, 2000). This section will highlight a few of the ways that language was deployed throughout the interviews.

The term 'binge-drinking' has been used throughout this research process to describe the phenomenon of first-year students getting drunk while living in residence. Throughout the research process, I began to despise the term and often dropped the 'binge' from 'binge-drinking'. Although my study was introduced as research on binge-drinking, none of the participants described their experiences with the term 'binge-drinking'. When asked what the term 'binge-drinking' meant, participants distanced themselves from the concept and related the term to alcoholism and eating disorders. While most participants described themselves as someone who has multiple drinks each time they drink, the only personal association with the word 'binge' was jokingly made in relation to Netflix. For the most part, the term 'binge' was understood as problematic by the participants and not relevant to their experiences. This understanding of 'binge-drinking' supports the poststructural notion of language being reductionist, as the use of our language creates binary structures (Derrida 2016/1967). Using this example, the difference between the word 'binge-drinking' and the act of drinking a lot in a short

period of time creates space for simplified meanings to emerge, which are then reinforced by power structures. The space between 'binge-drinking' and the act of drinking a lot in a short period of time is bridged by the image of alcoholism, which has negative meanings within power structures. Since the participants do not associate themselves with the negative image of alcoholism, they would not identify themselves as 'binge-drinkers'. The limited, dichotomous meanings given to language by power structures taught the participants to not view, or question, their heavy alcohol consumption under the same light as the supposed problematic heavy alcohol consumption of someone with alcoholism. Similarly, the participants described themselves and other people within the binary structure of being a drinker or non-drinker, ignoring the spectrum of experiences with alcohol that everyone has by placing them into either category. Placing people into categories, especially categories that you are not a part of, allows power structures to continue categorizing people while maintaining their place in the social structure.

5.5.2 Discourse

Discourse was used in this research to describe the 'common-sense' understandings and assumptions held by society (Berbary, 2017). Through language, ideologies are continuously reproduced, such as the term 'binge-drinking' having negative connotations associated with someone who has issues of alcohol dependence. Poststructural thought was employed to question our common-sense understandings of drinking as a part of the university student experience, especially within the residence context. Several examples of the discourses of drinking among students in university residences have already been discussed in the previous sections, but I wanted to include this section here as a reminder of the theoretical significance of discourse while also preparing the reader for the next section on implications for research and practice.

5.5.3 Power

Instead of thinking of power as something that individuals own (Butler, 1995; St. Pierre, 2000), power is thought of in terms of its relations between individuals and groups in poststructuralism (Foucault, 1997). These power relations are constantly changing, producing discourses and deploying meanings that are based on the current power structures (St. Pierre, 2000). The way that we use language, and the discourses maintained through our language, are determined by the power structures. From a humanist perspective, the dons have power within the university residences, using their authority to enforce the rules and determine what actions are and are not acceptable for the first-year students to do while living in the residence. This hierarchy is not sustainable, as students have a "mob mentality where they're all together so they're so powerful." While humanist thought would explain first-year students who work together to take advantage of the don's authority and break the rules as a practice of their agentic power, poststructural thought highlights the relations of power instead. In this example, relations of power have sustained the discourse that dons, and even campus police, do not serve punishment that is significant enough to change the ways that first-year students drink in residence, so first-year students are able to overthrow this authority and act outside of the rules bound by the residence.

5.5.4 Truth

Humanism relies on the sense of reason to define truth, as rationality is thought of as a static standard that exists independently from discourses to determine truth (St. Pierre, 2000). This dependence on rationality allows 'common-sense' understandings to prevail, as thinkers can rely on previous understandings because 'that's the way they are' instead of troubling how we know what we know to be true. Within poststructural thought, 'truth(s)' are highly contextual,

multiple, and fluid, as meanings are constantly changing yet limited by discourse and language (St. Pierre, 2000; Schwandt, 2015). This research embraced the array of meanings and understandings of drinking that are held by first-year students who live in residence, while also using poststructural thought to trouble the development of 'truth(s)' around drinking. The common-sense understanding that drinking in residence is 'bad' has informed research, policy, and approaches to supporting first-year students, relying on a distant power structure to determine that drinking is indeed deviant. By employing poststructural thought throughout this research, I have begun to highlight first-year students' understandings of the role of drinking in residence away from the assumption that their actions are detrimental. This will allow us to further unpack the ways that they are performing the role of a first-year student, rather than deliberately choosing to act in opposition to rules.

5.5.5 Self

The identity of a first-year student that lives in residence and drinks is expected based on the discourses maintained by power relations (Berbary & Johnson, 2012; Butler, 1990). Rather than choosing to identify as a 'drinker' while living in residence, first-year students are adhering to roles that have already been developed through discourses (Butler, 1993). While all participants could identify where they had previously seen or heard of university students drinking, no one was able to explain how they made the decision to drink upon arriving at university. This is consistent with poststructural thought, as students that drink while at university are performing the role of a university student as outlined by the discourse. Punishing individual students for actions that are involved in the performance of a first-year student has not previously disrupted the discourses that sustain this role, demonstrating that first-year students

are not collectively deciding to drink, but rather adhering to the discourses of drinking in residence that were established long before they moved into the residence.

5.6 Implications

5.6.1 Research Implications

This research study contributed to our understanding of drinking among first-year students that live in university residences. Previous research was conducted from the fields of psychology, higher education, and addictions, which lacked the interdisciplinary and holistic approaches used in leisure studies. By thinking with poststructuralism, I was able to question what has been previously accepted as rational understandings of binge-drinking and the ways that discourses shape the experiences of first-year students living in residence. Although there are many ways that drinking in residence should be further deconstructed, there are three main implications for research that I suggest based on this thesis.

Firstly, social media should be deconstructed from a poststructural perspective to illuminate the unique ways that discourses are reproduced, resisted, and developed through this form of communication. Every participant mentioned social media through their stories, mostly in relation to learning new slang and discovering how people drink. While poststructuralism recognizes that language is limiting due to the finite number of ways to label things in our world, influential social media accounts have the unique opportunity to introduce "colloquialisms" and "dialects" into language, according to the participants. The stories told by participants demonstrate that discourses manifest differently on social media than in person-to-person interactions, which would be valuable to research.

Secondly, this thesis demonstrated the need for further research on the implications of enforcing rules in a social context such as the university residence. Previous research utilized language such as 'motivations', 'consequences', and 'deviance' when discussing alcohol consumption among young adults. By using this language, the dichotomy of 'right' versus 'wrong' is strengthened. This binary structure is problematic, as it is varies based on power relations and reduces individuals to categories of good or bad without recognizing the social contexts that they exist within. When rules are implemented in a social context like the university residence, which is the primary living situation for these young adults, there are opportunities for categorizing people as 'right' or 'wrong' based on their adherence to and/or navigation of the rules. Future research should continue to deconstruct these binary structures, question the ways we use rules to discipline individuals, and highlight the ways that rules designed for the safety of society creates dangerous spaces for people who have been marginalized based on power structures.

Thirdly, the last implication for future research that I would like to highlight is the opportunity to better understand the transition from high school to the next life stage, such as postsecondary education. This thesis demonstrated that the changes in social supports and discourses lead first-year students to rely on other first-year students to learn the new norms. Participants talked about observing the other students on their floor to learn how to drink in socially acceptable ways, furthering discourses of drinking among university students without questioning why they are deciding to drink. This social influence is consistent with previous research on drinking among young adults, but the unique social context of transitioning to university has not been extensively researched. One participant described this transition by saying "in high school you have to ask to go the bathroom, right? And then literally the minute

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you come to university you don't have to ask to go the bathroom ever", demonstrating the need

for further research into this life transition and disruption of previous social norms.

5.6.2 Implications for Practice

The findings of this research provide many implications for practice. The implications for

practice are like the implications for research, as this thesis demonstrated the need for people to

think differently about drinking in residence through questioning the ways that discourses

influence first-year students' decision to drink. Throughout all the stories, insights, and

perspectives shared during the interviews, participants expressed that they had never questioned

their decision to drink, but simply drank because it is what everyone else expected of them. The

findings of this research highlight the need for us to better support first-year students during their

transition into university as they navigate discourses of drinking. Two main implications for

practice based on the findings of this research are outlined below.

The first implication for practice based on the findings of this research has to do with the

ways that rules are designed and enforced by policymakers in residence. Throughout the

interviews, participants described the rules by telling stories about how to avoid getting caught

breaking them. The participants shared an understanding of the rules being in place for their

safety, creating an illusion that drinking in excess in residence was safe because there are

supports in place to help them. When asked about the penalties for breaking rules, the

participants felt as if most of the outcomes were too insignificant to warrant a change from them.

The participants understood drinking as a normalized part of their lives as first-year students

living in residence, expressing that stricter rules would only encourage them to find innovative

ways to drink without getting caught. Rather than deterring students from drinking, the rules

provide space for students to creatively push the boundaries while drinking, all the while feeling

safe because they believe such rules are in place to protect them. At the same time, rules establish barriers by determining what is 'right' versus 'wrong'. For the safety of first-year students, I recommend that the rules in residence are designed and enforced in ways that will not generate feelings of guilt or shame for those that 'break' them. Rules should be used as an opportunity to educate students instead of an opportunity to punish them, as first-year students that drink are performing the role of a university student that has been established by the discourse.

By changing rules from a matter of 'right' versus 'wrong', space will be created to provide opportunities for students to reflect and learn about the role of alcohol in their lives. The second implication for practice is fostering more opportunities for education and critical thinking to allow first-year students to make informed decisions about drinking. The participants were able to describe the reasons why they do and do not like drinking, situations where they would and would not drink, and the ways that they learned about drinking at university. Many participants expressed differing beliefs and understandings surrounding alcohol, such as the need to drink water between every alcoholic drink, the importance of a greasy breakfast to get over a hangover, and gendered views of certain drinks, such as "beer for boys and wine for girls". Although the participants shared a vast amount of knowledge about drinking and told stories about how those understandings play out during a night of drinking, no one had previously thought about why university students drink. "Why drinking? Why not 'All right everybody on Saturday night let's go play chess?'" was the reaction of one participant while she reflected on her understanding of the role of drinking in residence. Based on the findings of this research, I recommend that space is made for students to reflect on the role of drinking in their experiences as a university student. By encouraging people to question why they expect to drink every

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weekend in residence, the discourse of university student drinking can start to be disrupted. Rather than telling students multiple times during their first day in residence to not drink, we need to support students by educating them about drinking in ways that are easily accessible. The use of poststructural thought throughout this research demonstrated that students do not view their heavy alcohol consumption as binge-drinking, as power structures have established discourses of binge-drinking around alcoholism that are viewed as detrimental and negative. By redeploying the language we use to implement rules, we can provide opportunities for education around drinking so that students can make more informed decisions around alcohol.

5.7 Rethinking Drinking with Poststructuralism

I was initially attracted to poststructuralism because of the ways that it encourages us to question what we know, and how we know what we know by troubling the 'common-sense' understandings that exist because of power structures and linguistics (Schwandt, 2015). Instead of thinking within the power structures that have contributed to social injustices, poststructural thought requires us to step outside of our previous ways of knowing to ask new questions (Berbary, 2017). While this theory provides space to critique humanist ways of understanding, it is important to recognize that it would not exist without humanist thought to critique. It was equally important for me to recognize that this research occurred within a humanist context and used poststructuralism to guide both the narratives and discussion. Therefore, this research used tenets of poststructural thought within a humanist context, instead of fully breaking free from humanist ways of understanding. Although this approach is unconventional, it allowed me to highlight and deconstruct discourses within a humanist context.

5.8 Summary

Drinking is a popular social activity among first-year students that live in university residences. By questioning the role of alcohol in the experiences of first-year students, we have begun deconstructing the discourses of drinking that exist within the university residence context. The most significant discourse is that drinking in residence is 'safe'. Residence is perceived as a safe place to drink because there are rules designed to maintain safety, you are surrounded by friends who will help you, and you are at home in the building and easily able to return to your room to recover. These discourses of safety are disseminated through social media, the residence rules, and friends and family, with each source of communication uniquely reproducing the discourse of drinking in residence as safe. The participants had not previously questioned why drinking is an expected part of the 'university student experience', highlighting the need for further research that deconstructs the discourses of drinking without placing individual blame on students for 'deviance'. The narratives and discussions presented in this thesis highlight the need to support students during their transition to university. Rather than focusing on 'right' versus 'wrong' behaviour in residence, we can provide educational opportunities that encourage first-year students to make informed decisions about drinking.

5.9 "Post" Researcher Reflection

This reflection outlines how my understandings have changed throughout this process, highlighting areas for exploration and growth as I move forward with this work. During the early months of my master's degree I decided to research something related to university student culture but felt like I could not fit my way of thinking into the theories that had been introduced. Instead of taking the hint that I needed to explore constructionist/constructivist theories in more depth, I hurled my humanist self into the realm of poststructuralism. With each reading, I was

excited to find new ways to articulate how I have been thinking about my work, brushing over some incongruencies to avoid feeling overwhelmed by theoretical and methodological tensions. I wanted to conduct poststructural research to resist notions of quality based on postpositivistic paradigms.

The ~~factors that led to~~ tensions I experienced trying to resist academic discourses but feeling as though I must first prove myself as a novice researcher, ~~resulted in~~ show up throughout this thesis through my writing. As I (hopefully) know now, poststructuralism is highly linguistic and sometimes I inconsistently used inappropriate words, creating a disconnect between the concepts and approaches to thinking I aimed to develop based on the literature. In doing so, I fell into a writing style that sometimes seems more postpositivist than poststructural, contradicting the very essence of poststructural theory while leaving some ideas undeveloped. Moving forward towards publication and the dissemination of these findings, I will be more cautious in the use of language that limits the approach to thinking. Despite some incongruent use of poststructuralism led to some underdeveloped ideas, I believe that the findings of this research are very valuable and my approach remains inspired by poststructural thinking necessary to reconstruct the interview data into the short stories that can help us all start thinking differently about drinking.

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Appendix A.

Interview Guide

Reiteration of consent form: *Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study about the discourses of binge-drinking among first-year students at university. I encourage you to take your time answering the questions, change the topic if something else comes to mind, and ask me any questions that arise throughout the interview. Your participation is confidential, meaning that your name and any identifying characteristics will be changed. You make revoke your consent to the research study at any point, which means that you can stop the interview and/or request that your data is destroyed afterwards.*

General questions:

- Where are you from?
- What are you majoring in?
- Why did you choose the University of Waterloo?
- What has your time here been like so far?
- Was it easy to make friends when you arrived?
    - Do you feel like you have a good friend group now?
- If you could describe yourself as any type of drink what would you be and why?

Tell me how you spend your leisure time outside of your studies

- How has your leisure changed since you started university?
- How do you make decisions about your leisure time? Does anything influence your decision?
    - Friends, family, stereotypes, personal improvement, etc.

Tell me about a time that leisure helped you fit in at university

- How do you define leisure?

Tell me about the residence that you live in

- Can you tell me about a time that you felt really connected to your neighbours/floormates/etc.?
    - What were you doing?
    - Who initiated that activity?
    - Was that experience a one-time thing, or does it occur often?
- Before starting university, what did you think it would be like to live in residence?
    - Can you tell me about a time that your perceptions were correct? Or incorrect?

Tell me about a positive experience you have had with drinking since starting university

- Who else was there?
- Where did this occur?

- o Probe for the role of the residence building – did it occur in residence, did it start in residence then move, was it another residence, was it purposefully away from residence
- When did this occur?
- How did you make the decision to drink?
  - o Who influenced your decision to drink?
- Why did you decide to drink?
- Why was this experience positive?
  - o What benefits did you get from drinking?
    - ▪ Do you think that people drink to fit in?
  - o What were the risks of drinking?
    - ▪ How do the benefits outweigh the risks?

Tell me about a negative experience you have had with drinking since starting university

- Who else was there?
- Where did this occur?
  - o Probe for the role of the residence building – did it occur in residence, did it start in residence then move, was it another residence, was it purposefully away from residence
- When did this occur?
- How did you make the decision to drink?
  - o Who influenced your decision to drink?
- Why did you decide to drink?
- Has this negative experience influenced your decisions around drinking since it happened?

Tell me about a time that you learned about binge-drinking being a part of the university student experience….

- Can you describe any stereotypes of university students?
  - o Where have these stereotypes been communicated?
    - ▪ Popular culture, social media, friends/family, personal connections or mass media
  - o Can you tell me about a time that these stereotypes influenced your decision to drink?
    - ▪ Expectations of others/yourself, invisible pressures, decisions being made by someone else
- Do you think that drinking is part of the student experience? Why or why not?
  - o Have your perceptions changed since starting university? How so? When did this change occur?

Language

- Does the term binge-drinking describe your experiences? Why or why not?

- Do you think drinking counts as a leisure activity? Why or why not?
  - Describe the relationship between leisure and drinking?
  - Why do you think university students engage in drinking?

Urgent help and emergency contacts

Resource developed by University of Waterloo, Campus Wellness

On-campus contacts

UW Police - 519-888-4567 ext. 22222
For emergency services on campus 24/7.

Counselling Services - 519-888-4567 ext. 32655
Offers same-day appointments for emergencies and can be found in the Needles Hall addition on the 2nd Floor.

Health Services - Student Medical Clinic - 519-888-4096
Offers walk-in appointments for urgent concerns and can be found in the Health Services building.

After-hours contacts

Grand River Hospital - 519-749-4300

St. Mary's Hospital - 519-744-3311

Good2Talk - 1-866-925-5454

Here 24/7 - 1-844-437-3247

Crisis Services Canada - 1-833-456-4566 or by text 45645

Kitchener-Waterloo Sexual Assault Support Centre - 519-741-8633

Telecare Cambridge Distress Line - 519-658-5455

Huron Perth Helpline (Stratford) - 1-888-829-7484

Stratford General Hospital - 519-272-8210

Appendix B

Consent letter and form

Title of the study: Re-thinking drinking: an exploration of the discourses surrounding binge-drinking among university students

Faculty Supervisor: Corey Johnson, PhD, Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo. Phone: 519-888-4567 x 32716, Email: corey.johnson@uwaterloo.ca

Student Investigator: Elizabeth Farrar, MA Candidate, Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo. Phone: 416-996-8752, Email: elfarrar@uwaterloo.ca

To help you make an informed decision regarding your participation, this letter will explain what the student is about, the possible risks and benefits, and your rights as a research participant. If you do not understand something in the letter, please ask one of the investigators prior to consenting to the study. You will be provided with a copy of the information and consent form if you choose to participate in the study.

What is the study about?

You are invited to participate in a research study about the discourses of binge-drinking among first-year university students that live in an on-campus residence. The purpose of this study is to explore whether social norms exist surrounding binge-drinking among university students, and if living in an on-campus residence influences this perception. Past research has shown that university students influence each other when making decisions around alcohol consumption and that living in an on-campus residence increases the frequency of binge-drinking for students. However, there has been very little research done in this area from a leisure perspective. It is important to research binge-drinking from a leisure perspective in order to learn how first-year university students are spending their free time.

This study is being undertaken as a part of my (Elizabeth Farrar) MA research. I plan on creating short stories based on the narratives that are shared with me by first-year university students that live in residence.

I.   Your responsibilities as a participant

What does participation involve?

Participation in the study will consist of attending one interview. The interview is expected to last 60-90 minutes. The interview will be held on the University of Waterloo campus at a time and date that is convenient for you. The interview will begin with demographic questions, and then I will facilitate a conversation about alcohol and the student experience. The discussions will be focused around alcohol and the student experience, alcohol and living in residence, and alcohol and leisure. The interview will be semi-structured, meaning that questions have been developed to guide the discussion, but it will have a conversational nature. The types of guiding questions that I will ask include: tell me how you first learned about drinking at university and have your perceptions changed since starting university; tell me how your leisure has changed since you started university; what do you think is the relationship between leisure and drinking?

The interview will be audio-recorded to ensure an accurate transcript of the interview. With your permission, anonymous quotations may be used in publications and/or presentation.

Who may participate in the study?

In order to participate in the study, you must be at least 17 years of age, currently in your first year at the University of Waterloo and live in an on-campus residence.

II.   Your rights as a participant

Is participation in the study voluntary?

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may decide to leave the study at any time by communicating this to the researcher. You may decline to answer any question(s) you [refer not to answer by requesting to skip the question. You can request your data be removed from the study up until July 1st, 2019 as it is not possible to withdraw your data once the final thesis has been submitted.

Will I receive anything for participating in the study?

To thank you for your time you will receive a $20 gift card to retail services at the University of Waterloo. If you leave the study during the interview you will still receive the gift card. The amount received is taxable. It is your responsibility to report this amount for income tax purposes.

What are the possible benefits of the study?

Participation in the study may benefit you by encouraging you to think critically about binge-drinking and alternative ways to spend your leisure time. This study will benefit the academic community/society in the following ways: further knowledge about the prevalence of binge-drinking among university students and a new perspective on binge-drinking as leisure. This study will hopefully be published in leisure journals and shared with policymakers at the University of Waterloo.

What are the risks associated with the study?

This interview may end up discussing topics that may be sensitive to some participants. We will attempt to minimize this risk by not asking questions that are specifically about sensitive topics, but if a sensitive topic is brought up in the interview the researcher will refer the participant to the appropriate campus resources. If the researcher thinks that a participant is at an increased emotional risk after the interview the researcher will escort the participant to counselling services.

Will my identity be known?

The research team will know which data is from your participation. Your identity will be confidential in any publications and presentations. Your name and any names mentioned in the interview, the name of your program, and the name of your residence building will be changed upon transcription of the audio recordings. Identifying demographic characteristics will be used in the analysis process but will remain confidential.

Will my information be kept confidential?

The information you share will be kept confidential. Identifying information will be removed from the transcripts and the audio recordings will be deleted after I defend my thesis (summer 2019). The transcripts and other electronic data will be retained for a minimum of 1 year, after which they will be destroyed. Electronic data will be stored in an encrypted folder on my password-protected laptop. Any hard copies that contain identifying information will be securely stored in a locked filing cabinet for a minimum of 1 year, after which they will be shredded. Only the research team will have access to study data. No identifying information will be used in my thesis or any presentations or publications based on this research.

III.   Questions, comments, or concerns
Has the study received ethics clearance?

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#XXXXX). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 519-888-4567 x 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

Who should I contact if I have questions regarding my participation in the study?

If you had any questions regarding this study or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact Elizabeth Farrar at 416-996-8752 or by email at elfarrar@uwaterloo.ca.

Elizabeth Farrar, MA Candidate

Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies

University of Waterloo

416-996-8752

Corey Johnson, PhD

Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies

University of Waterloo

519-888-4567 x32716

Consent Form

By providing your consent, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

Title of the study: Rethinking drinking: an exploration of the discourses surrounding binge-drinking among university students

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study conducted by Elizabeth Farrar, under the supervision of Dr. Corey Johnson, Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask questions related to the study and have received satisfactory answers to my questions and any additional details.

I was informed that participation in the study is voluntary and that I can withdraw this consent by informing the researcher.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE# XXXXX). If you have questions for the committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

For all other questions contact Elizabeth Farrar at elfarrar@uwaterloo.ca.

☐ I agree with my interview being audio recorded to ensure accurate transcription and analysis.

☐ I agree with the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes from this research.

I agree of my own free will to participate in the study.

Participant's name: _____ Date: _____

Participant's signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher's/Witness' signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix C

Recruitment email for staff

Hello,

My name is Elizabeth "Betsy" Farrar and I am a master's student working under the supervision of Dr. Corey Johnson in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo. I am contacting you because I am recruiting first-year undergraduate students that live in an on-campus residence for my thesis research. My thesis research is exploring the discourses surrounding binge-drinking among students that live in a university residence. I hope that you can help me with the recruitment process.

Participation in this study involves participating in a one-on-one interview that I will conduct. The interview will be facilitated like a conversation, where I hope to learn about first-year students' perspectives on social norms and stereotypes of university students and binge-drinking. With each student's permission, the interview will be audio recorded to ensure accurate transcription and analysis of the interview. Participation in this study would take approximately 1 hour of their time. In appreciation of their time commitment, they will receive a gift card for $25 to the University of Waterloo's Retail Services. I would like to assure you that the study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee.

Would you be interested in sending the attached email to the students that live in your residence(s)? In addition, would you be able to distribute the attached recruitment poster for display throughout the building(s)? If so, I can drop off copies of it at your convenience. I have also attached the consent letter and form that can be sent with the recruitment email to students so that they can use it to help guide their decision.

Please let me know if you have any questions. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Betsy Farrar

MA Candidate, Recreation and Leisure Studies
University of Waterloo
elfarrar@uwaterloo.ca
416-996-8752

Appendix D

Recruitment email for students

Hello,

My name is Elizabeth "Betsy" Farrar and I am a master's student working under the supervision of Dr. Corey Johnson in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo. I am contacting you because I am recruiting first-year undergraduate students that live in an on-campus residence for my thesis research. My thesis research is exploring the discourses surrounding binge-drinking among students that live in a university residence.

Participation in this study involves participating in a one-on-one interview that I will conduct. The interview will be facilitated like a conversation, where I hope to learn about your perspectives on social norms and stereotypes of university students and binge-drinking. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to ensure accurate transcription and analysis of the interview. Participation in this study would take approximately 1 hour of your time. In appreciation of your time commitment, you will receive a gift card for $25 to the University of Waterloo's Retail Services. I would like to assure you that the study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee.

However, the final decision about participation is yours. I have attached the consent information letter and form and I encourage you to review this information.

If you are interested in participating, please contact me at elfarrar@uwaterloo.ca and tell me when you are available to participate in the interview. I will then send a confirmation email indicating the time of your interview and provide you with further information concerning the location of the study. If you have to cancel your interview, please email me at elfarrar@uwaterloo.ca.

Sincerely,

Betsy Farrar

MA Candidate, Recreation and Leisure Studies
University of Waterloo
elfarrar@uwaterloo.ca
416-996-8752

Appendix E

Appreciation Letter

I would like to thank you for your participation in this study entitled Re-thinking drinking: an exploration of the discourses surrounding binge-drinking among university students. As a reminder, the purpose of this study is to listen to the experiences that first-year students have with drinking while questioning how discourses influence the decisions students make. The data collected from the interviews will contribute to a better understanding of why students live in residence decided to drink or not.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#40430). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

For all other questions contact Elizabeth Farrar at elfarrar@uwaterloo.ca.

Please remember that any data pertaining to you as an individual participant will be kept confidential. Once all the data are collected and analyzed for this thesis project, I plan on sharing this information with the research community through seminars, conferences, presentations, and journal articles. If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study or would like a summary of the results, please provide your email address, and when the study is completed, anticipated by August 2019, I will send you the information. In the meantime, if you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact me by email or telephone as noted below.

Elizabeth Farrar

University of Waterloo

Recreation and Leisure Studies

elfarrar@uwaterloo.ca

Appendix F

Urgent help and emergency contacts

Information provided by University of Waterloo, Campus Wellness

https://uwaterloo.ca/campus-wellness/urgent-help-and-emergency-contacts

On-campus contacts

Resource	Service	Phone Number	Location
UW Police	24/7 emergency services	519-888-4567 ext. 22222	Police Services Building
Counselling Services	Same-day appointments for emergencies	519-888-4567 ext. 32655	Needles Hall, 2nd floor of the new addition
Health Services	Walk-in appointments for urgent concerns	519-888-4096	Health Services Building

After-hours community contacts

Resource	Phone Number
Grand River Hospital	519-749-4300
St. Mary's Hospital	519-744-3311
Good2Talk	1-866-925-5454
Here 24/7	1-844-437-3247
Crisis Services Canada	1-833-456-4566 or by text 45645
Kitchener-Waterloo Sexual Assault Support Center	519-741-8633

Appendix G

Interview 1 Narrative Elements

Major party in CLV:

Characters

- First-year CS major, male, white
- Friends
- Roommates
- Guy who chugged a whole bottle of Ciroc
- A bunch of people
- Guy who walked under leaking ceiling
- House owners
- Group of girls

Settings

- CLV house party – one of four happening at the same time. This one was 5 houses down from the dons' house
- House packed to the point where you couldn't move through main living area without getting shoved – people filing through narrow hallways
- First weekend that everyone was moved in during the winter – everyone crowding into house rather than spilling outside because it was cold out
- People smoking in the kitchen
- Dark, hard to see people
- Strobe lights
- Music
- All you can see is heads bobbing around

Plot

Actions

- Put mixed drink into some sort of bottle beforehand so that you know it is your drink, it is enclosed, and you can set yourself a limit for the night
- Go to party with friends/roommates
- Walk in, see everyone's shoes off at the front door. Decide to leave shoes on
- Everyone forcing themselves into the house because it was cold
- People smoking in the kitchen
- People hanging out everywhere, even stairs
- Big guy chugs a full bottle of vodka – other people crowd around in a circle and cheer/film

- Music cut out, everyone yells to turn it back on. Also yell to change the song if they don't like it
- Friend dropped squirt bottle of alcohol, Alex and friend spent 15 minutes looking for it through the crowd
- Walk under ceiling leaking water, outstretched arms, letting water fall on face
- House owners yell fuck, run upstairs, discover overflowing toilet
- Owners kicked everyone out
- Water still leaking an hour and a half later
- Alex was leaving with his friends when a girl came up to them upset about losing an expensive jacket
- The girl's friends and his friends hung around until she found it
- They all walked to other residences together and went for bubble tea
- Exchanged social medias

Turning points

- I don't know what happened to him – guy who chugged vodka
- Got to meet people that he wouldn't have otherwise met

Changes/discoveries

Drinking more than usual:

Characters

- First-year CS major, male, white
- Family – grandparents, parents, brothers

Settings

- Family's cottage at thanksgiving

Plot

Actions

- Drinking with family, reaches normal tolerance level
- Brother convinces him to get black out drunk
- Parents didn't care
- Woke up and threw up
- In the car on the six-hour ride home, asks to stop at Tim Hortons, runs in and throws up in there

Turning points

- Worst experience he's ever had having to sit up in the car for the ride home instead of being able to chill for the day
- Knows his limits and doesn't drink that much anymore
- Decided to drink with family after first time drinking with friends

Changes/discoveries

- Wouldn't have done this if it wasn't with family
- Decision making processes aren't great when drinking
- Doesn't drink as much and can't drink the same thing anymore because it reminds him of feeling sick

First time drinking:

Characters

- Group of friends from grade nine who had stopped being friends because of drama but then reunited for this
- Female friend that has more experience drinking

Settings

Plot

- Remembered that one of the members had said that when they are graduating, they should all go camping together

Actions

- Alex called everyone to invite them camping
- Asked friend who has drank before to keep him at a good pace
- Other friends told him to drink more, he refused

Turning points

- Decided during the planning process that he was going to drink to figure out his tolerance because he might get into social situations that involve drinking, such as a business meeting and he needs to know his limit first
- "I trust her, I'm putting my life in her hands"
- Accidentally breathed whiskey into his lungs, felt horrible, chest so tight that he couldn't breathe

Changes/discoveries

- Decided that he won't drink as much at university because he wants to be with a good group of friends when he does. Doesn't trust it otherwise
- Doesn't chug after accidentally getting whiskey in lungs

Living in residence:

Characters

- One friend in residence that tells him about any parties
- Don
- Party goers
- Campus police
- Fourth year brother
- Neighbours that you don't know

Settings

- CLV
- Parking lot behind houses
- People standing around smoking outside of the backdoor
- Crowd of people around the door
- People smoking in the kitchen
- Party in September – two neighbouring houses
- One had beer pong one had smoking
- Square tables in CLV
- Basement of his townhouse when he is hosting

Plot

- Went to party the first weekend everyone moved in in September
- First meeting in residence the day everyone moved in
- Buys alcohol for friends to split and then everyone e-transfers

Actions

- Walking through the roads/parking lots back to his townhouse, hears parties happening in the complex
- Hears about small house parties for people's birthdays that are invite only
- Does not hear about parties at other universities
- Sees people wandering aimlessly around CLV trying to find where they are going and they move in hordes searching for the parties
- Hears about parties in REV, arrives, waits outside until someone unlocks the doors and squeezes in before it locks again
- People sitting at the front door of invite-only parties denying entry to people that aren't invited
- People trying front and back doors to get into a party
- Person guarding front door eventually leaves and people start entering
- Alex talks to don about parties that have happened, such as one that had to get shut down because two people got into a fist fight

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- Dons intervene when necessary
- Dons call cops when it is out of their control
- Cops do one drive by in their car without even getting out, flash their lights
- Party goers leave party quickly in all directions
- Brother goes to one of the parties and no one bats an eye even though he looks several years older than everyone else
- Brother who lived in REV told him they would make bird calls when the dons were coming and everyone would hide everything as fast as possible
- Party during first week of September, cops drive behind house, someone yells run
- First meeting on first day – Alex volunteers to be the unconscious person in the demonstration
- Goes to community meetings with don
- Developed relationship with don, pranks her
- Someone who drank too much made a sexual advance on him, he said no you don't want to do this and it took a lot for them to stop
- Some people become impulsive, some people lay down and die
- If he is hosting the party he cleans the basement, make sure he has enough things for people to drink
- Makes sure he doesn't eat too much in case he is sick, but eats enough
- Spends the next day recovering, making sure that there is nothing important scheduled for the next day because he is groggy
- Shares alcohol with people if it is only a shot or two, that way if someone can't afford it they can participate
- If he can't afford it at that time he just says no

Turning points

- Turning down an invite to study for midterms
- I don't hear about the parties, I just see them
- Slowly walked out of party after everyone ran out when cops arrived, did not feel threatened by them
- They're not going to single anyone out, just there to frighten everyone
- In a conversation with his don she said that she doesn't mind if people drink, but she does have to intervene when it gets out of control. This contradicts the strict meeting she held on the first day when everyone moved in
- Introduced to drinking in residence when don was talking about the rules on the first day
- Picked up on how the school avoids the use of the word frosh
- Seeing condoms available in different locations on campus made him think about what goes down among students
- People laughing and whispering amongst themselves during orientation week presentations

Changes/discoveries

- Dons in CLV don't intervene and let parties play out unless there is something bad happening that they are aware of
- "Cops are just better"

- Thinks that being more chill from the beginning would be better because then people would learn to drink safely and not just sneak off elsewhere to go do it
- People say they don't want to drink water because it will ruin their buzz
- Drinks less at big parties but in small intimate groups everyone wants everyone else to be drinking. More pressure to drink with close friends than there is when you're at a party of random people

Before university:

- Mother told him about parties from when she went to university
- Brother telling him a lot about parties
- Saw partying in university on TV in American shows and movies, as well as the media
- Classmates in high school starting to talk in grade 10 or 11 about university parties that they have heard about
- Grade 12 when everyone is applying to university and getting accepted they were talking about which school to go to based on their parties, but he wanted to go to a good school even though his brother told him Waterloo has no parties
- Went to Mexico and they offered him beer and he took a sip and was miserable from how awful it tasted to him
- Parents offered him a sip of alcohol when he was younger and he found it disgusting, thought he would never drink after that

Story from brother:

Characters

- Brother
- Brother's friends
- Main dude
- Campus police
- Dude's parents
- Group facilitator
- Group participants

Settings

- Campus

Plot

- Main dude's first time drinking, he had never drank before university
- Parties kept getting shut down, so they were walking from residence to residence to find another party
- Friends weren't paying attention and the main dude got separated
- Police find him curled up on a bench
- Main dude is taken to hospital, stomach is pumped
- He was sent to some sort of Alcoholics Anonymous group for a month
- Group facilitator asked him to share his stories about alcohol and he only had the one time
- Alex's brother had to deal with the parents of the main dude
- Told the parents he had a bit too much to drink, knew that they were very strict

Actions

Turning points

Changes/discoveries

- Realized how safe you have to be about drinking
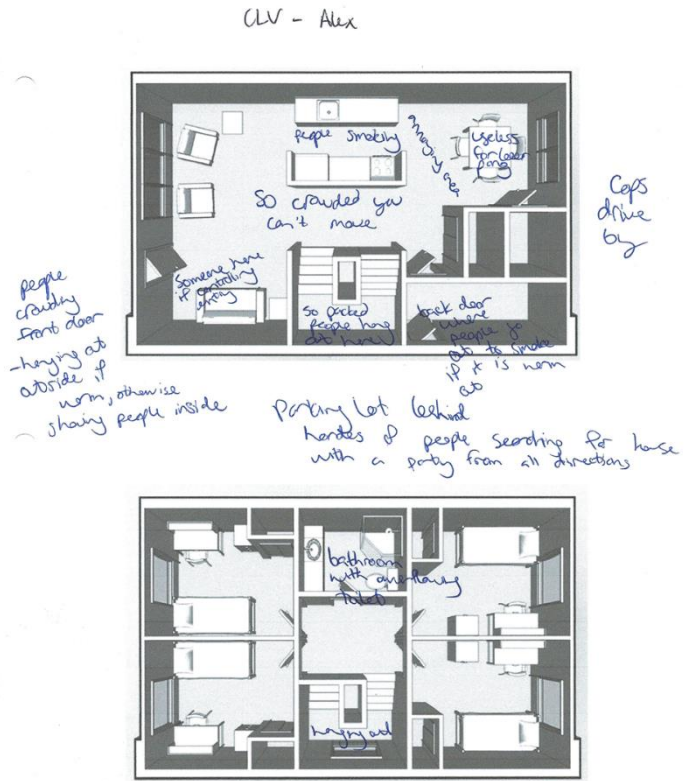
Analysis Memo

1) What discourses of drinking are enabled within the university residence amongst first year students?

Chugging   Slang as a barrier   drinking
                                                                                                                    contained
Experimenting   consent/who's owed   *Entitled to drink*
establishing tolerance
pushing tolerance   *pressure* - but not pressure, but pressure
hang rxn   *Freedom*
being more open to meeting people - meeting people you otherwise
                                                                                                wouldn't meet
meeting people of opposite gender for hookups   *Confidence*
destress   Hometown   *dead*
Friday/end of the week = deserving break
SAFE   only knowing people   *ways to*
                                who drink/don't   Sex   *effectively drink*
30 seconds of fame   drink = don't exist   -spacing
                                                                                    eating
Consequence free   *Gender*   not liking the taste
Nauseating
going to happen regardless of rules - one party gets shut down
another one happens
beer for boys   Intersectionality   rules as something to
coolers/wine for girls   stereotypes   break/keeping quiet makes
alcohol is *accessible* - find 19 year olds   it louder
Campus police aren't intimidating
Campus police are intimidating   *Recovery*
dons as friends/not caring if you drink
ownership over residence *space*
having to look out for drunk female friends - guys not concerned for
personal safety
drinking is a priority over other people's comfort in residence

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Thoughts + feels

Initial read through April 22

- WTF is discourse? What if I miss something major because it doesn't stand out to me?
- How deep can I dig when picking apart these things before it is too much of a stretch because it isn't clearly laid out in the transcript. I guess that is when I can draw on my own reflexivity to bring my experiences into it
- I hope I am doing this correctly by doing a brief read of all transcripts, then the next step for all, etc. rather then analyzing an entire transcript before moving onto the next one
- I feel like I'm not very good at meaning
- My transcribing was really shitty and needs a lot of corrections

Reading for narrative April 23
- I feel like there are so many flat stories in the first interview and they're kinda told out of order so I am not sure of how to interpret them but I am still just reading and gathering ideas not interpreting yet
- I'm finding it hard to work on narrative elements in the second one because it is so choppy and brief and I am nervous that more will be like this

April 24
- I can definitely tell where I did not ask the participants enough stories and I'm nervous more will be like that. Very different experiences pulling apart narratives from the first interview to the other ones
- Also not knowing when to count something as a story versus leaving it until later and coming back to it
- I think I might focus on specific things that happened, leave general experiences and descriptions of places until later go back when restorying for details on how things were said

May 17

- Rewrote a typical friday night from 2 more perspectives (dan and non-drinkers)

  - I feel like I am reporting on experiences but I'm not sure how well I am deconstructing/talking about discourse
  - Sent narratives off but I wonder if there's more to do like ready for what hasn't been said
  - I wonder how to write my discussion chapter → write answers to RQs?