



Convenience Advertising

Convenience Advertising Ltd.
X-Smoker Programme Evaluation

for

The Health Funding Authority



Blue Lotus Research

December 1999

9912046

SUMMARY

During the period from October 12 to the 29th, 1999, four interviewers from Blue Lotus Research spoke with a total of 870 3rd and 4th form students in six Wellington area schools. The survey tested students' recall of and receptivity to Convenience Advertising, Ltd.'s X-Smoker poster series placed in high school toilets.

226 smoking students completed an interview. The samples were biased in favour of Maori and Pacific Islands students, and as a result 35 percent of respondents were Maori and 19 percent were from the Pacific Islands.

Findings

The findings from the 1999 research were less conclusive than those of 1998. In the light of additional information about behaviour fluctuation among teenagers, 1999 conclusions are less clear cut than 1998 pilot conclusions.

- ❖ The posters were widely recognised. Almost all respondents had seen one, and three quarters had seen one or more of the new poster series, numbers 4 through 7
- ❖ Larger proportions of students do not like the posters this year. It was not possible to establish whether this was a difference in reaction to the new set, or a reaction to the length of time they had been in evidence
- ❖ Boys liked the way the posters looked more than girls, third form students liked them better than fourth form students. Maori and Pacific Islands students still reacted more favourably than Pakeha students, but in smaller proportions than last year
- ❖ As they did in 1998, smokers changed or attempted to change their behaviour in large numbers during the period under review.
- ❖ 36% of smokers reported either being influenced at least a little to change their smoking or feeling encouraged by the posters, down from 47% in 1998
- ❖ The posters probably help increase already large proportions of smokers intending to stop and probably help translate intention into action for some. They may be helping to promote an observed increase in smoking pattern change, including attempts to stop.
- ❖ Just under half of respondents thought the toilets are a better place than others to put up posters, while 21% thought them a worse place. Twenty respondents thought they should go up around the school as well.
- ❖ In two focus groups, 16 second form students were queried for their responses to the posters. Participants who smoke rejected the posters.
- ❖ Students wanted more information and assistance with becoming and remaining smokefree.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Targeting

- ◆ *Continue targeting third and fourth forms with specific improvements mentioned below. Once a successful style has been found, test the new campaign's appeal with second form students*
- ◆ *Target the programme more narrowly, to low decile schools only. This will target the largest number of young smokers while allowing for a more accurately 'narrow-cast' approach to characters, their language and personalities.*

Style

- ◆ *Update the characters and format to imitate a contemporary comic book rather than a Marvel theme.*
- ◆ *Look into using computer graphics technology for combining photographic material with cartoons.*
- ◆ *Test a photorealistic, richly coloured, sparsely worded, watercolour style.*
- ◆ *Consider developing unique characters and interesting storylines, while keeping the messages simple and easy to interpret.*

Presentation

- ◆ *Continue placing posters in toilets*
- ◆ *Continue regular visits to replace missing posters*
- ◆ *Place the posters in at least a few high-visibility locations around the school. This will help capture those who don't visit the toilets, reassure those who are suspicious of the campaign, and ensure that there are always at least a few posters on display.*
- ◆ *Secure the posters after a week or visit schools more frequently, to ensure sufficient display time.*
- ◆ *Enlarge the posters to A3 size.*
- ◆ *Run the programme for one, or two years at most in any given school.*

Help addicted smokers

- ◆ *Encouragement for behaviour change should continue as the posters' primary objective.*
- ◆ *To be effective in assisting regular smokers who want to stop, the campaign should be accompanied by appropriate cessation interventions.*
- ◆ *Examine the content of health curricula for more, and more detailed, facts on the health effects of smoking, the process of developing an addiction, and concrete education and assistance with stopping smoking*

Overall recommendations

- ◆ *Evaluate this programme's achievements in the light of other programmes in a similar price range (for example cessation or education programmes).*
- ◆ *If it is decided to continue the X-Smoker programme, minimise the risk of stigmatising the X-Smoker idea or not smoking in general as 'uncool' and maximise its effect by changing the design along the lines previously mentioned.*
- ◆ *Research to discover if repeated successful change attempts deepen the belief among young smokers that they can quit whenever they want or if repeated unsuccessful change attempts create a sense of defeat among young smokers.*

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INTRODUCTION

Following a successful pilot in 1998, the Health Funding Authority has purchased a Smokefree lifestyle promotion service for twenty-five high schools in Wellington, Wairarapa, Wanganui and the Manawatu. The service, designed by Convenience Advertising Ltd., uses a “narrow-casting” approach to deliver a tailored message to a narrowly defined, captive audience in “locus of risk situations.”

The posters are designed to target third and fourth form secondary school students using a comic book format to encourage young people to become “X-Smokers.” The pilot comprised a series of three posters, but four additions to the series underwent redesign as a result of the initial evaluation¹ and subsequent focus group testing with young people. The final result is a series of seven posters, which are placed and replaced cyclically in the school toilets. The pilot was conducted throughout terms two and three of the 1998 secondary school year; the full programme proceeded from then on in the eighteen existing schools. Seven new schools were added in the second term of 1999.

The project consists of posters (see Appendix I) targeting third and fourth form high school students. The campaign uses a comic book style with a superhero/heroine protagonist to encourage young people to become or continue as an ex-smoker. The posters were placed in the toilets of the pilot schools, which allowed for targeting of the message (male/female and age range) and a private venue for the target audience to consider the ‘sensitive’ public health message the posters contained.

Blue Lotus Research conducted the independent evaluations of the pilot and year one of the programme.

¹ Blue Lotus Research 1998. *Convenience Advertising Ltd. X-Smoker Pilot Evaluation.*

Background

International and local research suggests that the greatest increase in tobacco use, especially regular use, occurs around the ages of 13 to 15.² Research also shows that children from ages 10 to 15 who are beginning to smoke or are ex-smokers have a very high risk of becoming committed smokers, and that the later teenagers begin to smoke, the more likely they are to stop as young adults. ASH's regular survey of fourth form New Zealanders found 27% smoking once or more per month and another 27% 'previously smoked.'³ A 1998 nation-wide survey of 40 mid- to low-socio-economic ranked secondary schools revealed 23% of third and fourth form students were currently smoking and another 21% 'used to smoke.'⁴

Common strategies to limit smoking among young people seek to delay the onset of smoking for as long as possible, to discourage them from taking up smoking at all, to discourage irregular smokers from becoming committed ones, and to help regular smokers to stop or cut back. It is the latter two objectives that the Convenience Advertising Service has as its goal.

Main recommendations arising from the 1998 pilot evaluation were:

- ◆ Continue the poster campaign, targeting forms 3 and 4, with the objective of discouraging irregular smokers from becoming committed smokers.
- ◆ Continue placing posters in school toilets, adding other high exposure locations where appropriate.
- ◆ Continue fortnightly visits to replace missing posters.
- ◆ Encouragement should be the posters' main objective.
- ◆ Update the cartoon characters and format to imitate a contemporary comic book.
- ◆ Stay true to comic style conventions. Text should be bold enough to stand out and designed in harmony with the comic book form: short statements presented as part of the speech, thought or action narrative.
- ◆ Detailed information on the health effects of smoking should be provided in an alternative format, possibly a companion campaign.
- ◆ Continue with the X-Smoker branding efforts while continuing other efforts aimed at making smokefree and the non-smoking lifestyle 'the cool way to be.'

² W.R. Stanton, P.A. Silva and T.P.S Oei, *The Origins and Development of Addictive Behaviour*. Multidisciplinary Health and Development Research Unit, University of Otago Medical School, Dunedin.

³ ASH, *Cigarette smoking in fourth-form students in New Zealand, 1992-98*.

⁴ Business Research Centre, *Smokefree Schools Programme, Monitor 2*. For the Health Sponsorship Council, 1998.

- ◆ Conduct qualitative research where appropriate to monitor young peoples' responses as their awareness of the new brand grows.
- ◆ Consider adapting the campaign to include some intermediate schools. Draft designs should be pre-tested in discussion groups with intermediate students.
- ◆ To be effective in assisting regular smokers who want to stop, the campaign should be accompanied by appropriate interventions designed to identify them and assist them to develop the skills required.
- ◆ Conduct follow-up research to discover if repeated successful change attempts deepen the belief among young smokers that they can quit whenever they want or if repeated unsuccessful change attempts create a sense of defeat among young smokers.

Programme and evaluation objectives

The target audience consisted of third or fourth form students who smoke. One theoretical approach informing the project was the 'stages-of-change' model of Prochaska and DiClemente.⁵ This approach suggests that people go through four to five stages in a dynamic cycle of change: *Precontemplation* (has not thought of changing), *Contemplation* (thinking of change) *Action* (change), and *Maintenance* (sustained behaviour change). These stages may be followed by *Relapse* of the unwanted behaviour.

Another theoretical perspective for the project has been developed by Convenience Advertising from reviews of the literature and their own research with young people. It is based on the observation that societal views of smoking are highly polarised (pro- and anti-) and that young people are called upon to choose between competing identities, that of smoker or of non-smoker, each with its own drawbacks. X-Smoker is a branding concept that allows a third choice, avoiding these two extremes. It also encourages non-smoking behaviour while acknowledging the reality of young peoples' smoking. The approach also assumes a harm-reduction stance, that is, it is better to reduce smoking when quitting is not necessarily an option. In designing the X-Smoker project, Convenience Advertising Ltd. combined these principles with the use of supportive rather than shocking or punitive messages, and with their own experience demonstrating that toilets can provide a private setting for the successful delivery of 'sensitive' public health messages.⁶

⁵ J. O. Prochaska and C. C. DiClemente, "Stages and processes of self-change in smoking: Toward an integrative model of change." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*. 1983, Vol 51, pp 390-395.

⁶ CRESA, *Evaluation of the Convenience Advertising Safe Sex and Alcohol Use Campaign*, May 1996.

The design objectives for the posters are:

1. Creating an interest in young people already smoking to cut down and/or to quit smoking,
2. Creating a belief in young people interested in cutting down and/or quitting that they are able to do so, and
3. Providing encouragement and a sense of support for young people interested in cutting down and/or stopping smoking.

The success of the project in meeting these goals was measured in the evaluation.

The evaluation also sought indicative responses to the research questions:

Is a narrow-casting (in this case, posters positioned in high school toilets) approach an appropriate and effective method of conveying Smokefree messages to the target audience in the school setting?

Do Smokefree messages conveyed through a narrow-casting approach have an impact on young people's smoking behaviour?

Blue Lotus Research evaluated the service by conducting structured face-to-face interviews of third and fourth form smokers in six of the pilot schools. These were supplemented by two focus groups of second form students, following a pilot evaluation recommendation.

The schools were visited roughly every two weeks throughout the project to ensure the posters remained in place and 'looked smart.' The first pilot visit revealed that almost half of the posters had been removed by students, though the 'rate' of removal varied among schools from none at all to 100 percent. Following the discovery that many students collect the posters, the decision was made to allow some time after each new arrival for posters to be 'collected' before serious methods were employed to secure them to the wall. As expected, quite high attrition continued throughout 1999.

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Smokers

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effects on the target audience by conducting
questionnaire (see Appendix II), with 870 third
among the six schools, three (Kuranui,
second year of the programme.

Girls had been identified as particular populations
A recent inquiry⁷ has confirmed their high and
The pilot seemed to demonstrate the posters held more
students. The sampling approach therefore aimed to
reach at least 12%, preferably 35% Maori and Pacific

tures of

recruitment from among the 25 participating schools.

ults
as a

recruitment in relatively high proportion

recruitment throughout the region, a Palmerston North school
, only a few students were made available for interviews
needed to require parents' permission, and the school was

recruitment guidance counsellors or health coordinators at participating
schools with the largest proportions of Maori and/or Pacific Islands

and McCool in *The Cancer Society's 1997 Smoking Survey* reported an
increase among fourth form Maori girls from 34% in 1991 to 49%. ASH 1998 figures
showed 38% and 20% of Maori and Pacific Island 4th form boys, and 38% and 20% of Maori and Pacific
Island girls daily in 1998. This was far higher than European smoking rates in the
1990s (13% among girls).

students for interviewing. The length of time interviewing (one day or two days) was set in relation to the size of the 3rd and 4th form rolls.

Overall, 26% of the sample population interviewed were smoking in July 1999, but the prevalence of smoking found from school to school varied greatly. This is due to a number of factors including known differences in smoking rates among socioeconomic and age brackets, the unique culture of each school, the intentional ethnic and gender bias of the interview samples, the fact that some form classes may have been streamed, the face-to-face interviewing method, the relative privacy of the interview rooms, and so on. Because the research was not designed to measure smoking rates, it should not be used to draw conclusions about actual rates of smoking in each school.

Survey population characteristics

The sample smoking population of 226 smokers is almost certain to reflect the cultures of each of the six schools from which it was drawn. The sample itself was not drawn according to a rigorous random sampling method and was intentionally biased to overrepresent Maori and Pacific Islands students. For these reasons, the survey results should not be read as representative of a larger group. They should be seen instead as a snapshot of the views of 226 smoking Wellington area 3rd and 4th form students.

SAMPLE POPULATION

rs visited six participating schools. There they spoke with a total of 870
g 226 students who were smoking at the beginning of term three (July 12).
smokers who did not recall seeing the posters were not interviewed.

om (17%) Wellington central
were from a Wellington suburb
) were from Porirua
) were from Lower Hutt
) were from the Wairarapa
(14%) were from Wainuiomata

Gender

concerted effort was made to interview more girls because of their higher smoking rates.
as a result of both factors, there were 72 (31%) boys and 154 (69%) girls.

Form

94 (43%) of respondents were in Form 3
132 (57%) were in Form 4

Age

38 (17%) were 13 years old
124 (55%) were 14 years old
64 (28%) were 15 years old

Ethnicity

Only two students declined to identify an ethnic group. Twenty-seven identified as a member of multiple ethnic groups.

79 (35%) identified as Maori or part Maori
43 (19%) identified as Pacific Islands or part Pacific Islands
100 (44%) identified primarily as Pakeha or European
5 (2%) identified as Asian or part Asian
6 (3%) identified with another group

Smoking Behaviour

Though these figures cannot be said to demonstrate any trends, both smoking frequency and levels were up from 1998. Ninety-four percent of the smokers were smoking regularly. 142, or 63% were daily smokers, while 31% smoked at least each week. Only thirteen of the students smoked 'very irregularly' or monthly but regularly. Daily smokers smoked a median of 5 cigarettes per day, while weekly smokers were smoking a median of 13 per week.

46% of Pakeha / European smokers smoked daily while 77% and 81% of Maori and Pacific Islands smokers respectively did so. Maori girls reported daily smoking at a rate of 82%, Pacific Islands girls at 73% and Pakeha/ European girls at 43%. Numbers of boys were too small to cite percentage habits by ethnic group, but overall boys were somewhat more likely to smoke daily than girls (67% versus 61%), in contrast to findings from 1998.

	Gender	Roll (99)	% Maori	% Pacific Islands	% Asian	SES Decile	Years	Participated in 1998
Wellington Girls College	F	1135	7.3	3.1	12.5	10	Yr 9 - 15	Yes
Newlands College	M/F	820	11.2	5.1	13.4	9	Yr 9 - 15	
Kuranui College	M/F	579	21.9	2.9	1.3	4	Yr 9 - 15	Yes
Naenae College	M/F	1132	23.3	15.9	10.7	3	Yr 9 - 15	
Parkway College	M/F	450	22.9	13	3.6	3	Yr 9 - 15	
Porirua College	M/F	432	17.9	72.5	.4	1	Yr 9 - 15	Yes

socioeconomic & ethnic data provided by Ministry of Education, July 1998

Sample Demographics

	Smokers* interviewed	Percent of smokers interviewed				Intw Days	Numbers seen
		% Maori	% Pacific Islands	% European	% Asian, Other, NR		
Wellington Girls College	40	15	3	75	8	4	211
Newlands College	18	28	6	61	6	4	211
Kuranui College	52	53	2	43	2	2	125
Naenae College	57	43	20	31	6	4	173
Parkway College	30	33	10	53	3	2	80
Porirua College	29	13	83	0	3	2	70

* Does not include smokers who had not seen the posters

Interviews

As the final poster did not go up until 30 August and a school break takes place from 17 September to 3 October, interviews were scheduled for term four – delayed for one week after the break finished, in order to refresh students' memories. They took place from October 12 to Oct 22, and again on October 28-29 in one late addition school.

Four experienced interviewers, aged 18 to 22, conducted the research. The interviewers attended a training session where they were instructed to present themselves to the students as allies, to structure the interview as a conversation, be prepared to listen to the students in confidence and to refrain from moralising. Interviewers were each required to sign a confidentiality statement that emphasised the importance of honouring students' privacy.

Interviewers visited the schools in pairs. Interviewers were targeted to their respondents; i.e. male interviewers normally worked with boys, female interviewers with girls, and the two Maori and Pacific Islands interviewers visited the schools with higher proportions of these groups.

In the interest of time, the interviews focused on the new posters, 4 through 7. After judging the students' recognition of the first three posters, interviewers normally set posters 1, 2 and 3 aside. Students' responses to most of the survey questions should therefore be seen as reflections of their views on the new series.

The interviews, designed as questionnaires, (see Appendix II) were pre- and peer- tested. They were conducted out of the earshot or view of staff, often in a private interview room or small office, once in a classroom. Students were told the purpose of the interview ("to improve projects to help young people not smoke,") assured of confidentiality, and requested to participate. No one declined. A brief qualifying interview identified smokers, defined as those students who smoked in early July 1999, at the beginning of term 3, when the project really got underway in the new schools. Once identified, smokers were always interviewed. Non-smokers' views were sometimes canvassed to show respect for their time and opinions.

FINDINGS

Reaching the target audience

Smokers were asked if they recognised the posters and tested for unprompted recall of messages and images.

Recognition

Interviews were not conducted with students who did not recall seeing any of the posters. Of 231 attempted interviews, there were five such aborted interviews, yielding a 98 percent rate of poster recognition among smokers.

Posters 1,2 and 3, the longest running posters, were most frequently recalled: 198 or 88% of participants remembered them. The rate of recognition for posters 4 through 7 was 75% - that is, 170 respondents remembered seeing one or more of these four posters.

125 or 55% of participants had seen *Trapped*, poster 4. *Help*, poster 5, was identified by 83 (37%). More students, 98 (43%) recalled *Evil Forces*, poster 6. The last poster, 7, titled *Walking away*, had only been in evidence for a short while (not at all in some schools) and was recognised by only 24 participants (11%).

Final poster exposure and prompted recognition among students who recalled seeing one or more posters

	Final exposure (numbers of posters up)	Numbers recognising (smokers)	rate (n=226)
Posters one, two, three	56	198	88%
Poster four	50	125	55%
Poster five	27	83	37%
Poster six	27	98	43%
Poster seven	11	24	11%

Message recall

The posters were intended to deliver their messages through repeat viewing, as students returned to the toilets and reread the posters or noticed different aspects each time. The evaluation tested students' unprompted recollection.

The students were asked, "Can you remember what's on the posters? Tell me everything you can remember." As the focus had shifted in the second year away from written information and toward pictorial representation, respondents were prompted a second time with "What are they trying to say?"

Message Recall

Message	Number recalled (n=226)	Percentage 1999	Smokers 1998 (n=271)
<i>You should stop/cut down smoking/ Auahi kore</i>	120	53%	46%
<i>X-Smoker</i>	46	20%	40%
<i>Quitline</i>	5	2%	na
<i>It's hard but you can stop/cut down smoking/break your addiction</i>	51	23%	na
<i>Help eachother</i>	15	7%	na
<i>Smoking/tobacco/nicotine is (hidden but) bad for you/evil</i>	46	20%	na
<i>Addiction is unpleasant</i>	31	14%	na
<i>Tell/warn smokers how bad it is</i>	54	24%	na
<i>You can get control/walk away for good</i>	15	7%	na
<i>Reasons for stopping smoking</i>	43	19%	15%
<i>Specific effects of nicotine, tar or carbon monoxide</i>	23	10%	25%
<i>Smoking makes you unfit/stopping improves health, fitness, sports performance</i>	19	8%	11%

This year interviewers struggled to elicit responses to this question. One interviewer, who had also participated in 1998, felt there was a substantial reduction in recall this year. Nevertheless the results should be seen in context - the highest recognition level any of the four new posters gained was 55%. There was a slightly higher level of awareness of the campaign's purpose (*you should stop/cut down smoking / Auahi kore*) this year than last among smokers (from 46% to 52%). However recall of the phrase *X-Smoker* was down significantly (40% to 20%) and the National Quitline, though mentioned on four of the

posters, went almost unnoticed (2%). This was in spite of alterations in design based on findings from the pilot eliminating ancillary text and shifting messages into speech and thought bubbles.

While it is good to have an alternative identity to 'smoker,' and 'nonsmoker', young people are unlikely to identify with the X-Smoker characters if they never identified as 'smokers' (see Focus Group discussion). It may be worth exploring this with members of the 3rd and 4th form.

Two of the best-remembered messages, *Tell/warn smokers how bad it is* and *Smoking/tobacco/nicotine is (hidden but) bad for you/evil* were delivered on one poster, poster six. This was the poster with the lung monsters, which interviewers noted the students particularly liked. This poster was also recognised by more respondents than posters five or seven (see previous table) and was also cited most often in answer to the question *did they encourage you at all?* This is in line with the pilot's finding that students wanted more graphic depictions of the damage cigarettes do on the inside.

Interviewers found a disappointingly low recollection of the graphic images. Only 82, or 36% of respondents were able to describe some graphic element or elements of the posters. (Last year 54 percent remembered some visual aspect of the posters). Most frequently mentioned were the *girl or lady* (29), *boy, man or guy* (28), *monster or cloud* (31), *dog* (21), *puppet or puppetmaster* (16). Many of these respondents described activity such as trying to stop smoking, the heroes helping each other, being lured or trapped and wanting to break out. (see Appendix II)

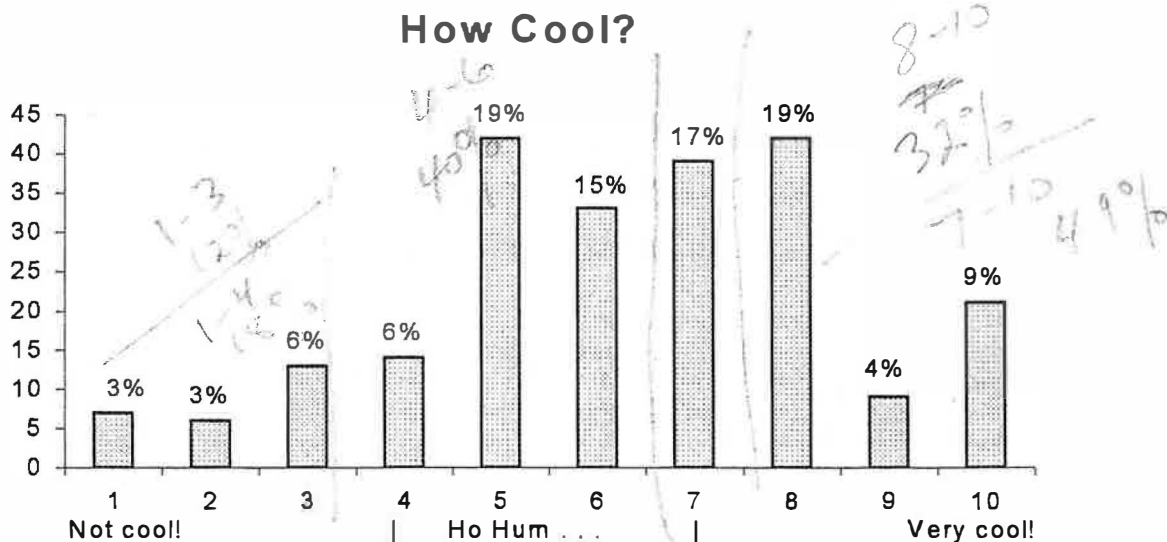
Students sometimes complained that the posters were no longer in evidence, while interviewers observed that they were hard to see, mounted too low on the wall (even for students) or the toilets too unpleasant to hang around in.

Acceptability and attractiveness

Respondents were asked questions designed to determine to what extent the posters were appropriate and attractive.

How cool

The posters were rated from one to ten by the respondents, where one was 'really not cool' and ten was 'very cool.' A visual aid used colours to group scores 1 to 4 as 'not cool!', 4 to 7 as 'ho hum,' and 7 to 10 as 'very cool!' (The colours cut through the middle of 4 and 7.)



This year the response was more solidly 'ho hum,' though a larger proportion still thought the posters were cool than thought they were 'not cool.' The average for all responses was 6.3⁸, down from last year's average of 6.7. Pacific Islands students thought the posters slightly cooler overall – their average assessment was 7.2, Maori students gave the posters an average of 6.46 and European / Pakeha students put them at 5.9. Boys rated them at 6.6, compared with girls at 6.2. Third formers gave the posters a rating of 6.4; fourth formers assessed them at 6.2.

⁸ The median response was 6

Like the look, comic book style

Respondents were offered a five-point Likert scale to use in response to a series of statements. The scale, *Definitely yes!*, *Yes*, *Neutral*, *No*, and *Absolutely not!*, was displayed on a visual aid and students were asked to point at the card to indicate their responses. For summary purposes, the phrase 'agreed' is used to describe those who chose *Definitely yes* and *Yes*; 'disagreed' for those who selected *No* and *Absolutely not*.

Among all six Likert scale questions (see survey in Appendix II), response to the two having to do with attractiveness was most polarised, with only 7 and 8% answering 'no opinion.'

76%
 Seventy six percent of respondents agreed *I like the way the posters look*. Boys liked the look more than girls and disliked it less than girls. (see table below) Fourth formers were slightly more likely to disagree. 174, or 77% of respondents agreed *The comic book style is a good idea*. 82% of third formers and 73% of fourth form students agreed with this statement. It also seems boys like the comic book format better than girls. Ethnic group membership made little difference to these questions.

I like the way the posters look

Percentages **A = Agreed** **D = Disagreed**

FORM	A	D	GENDER	A	D	ETHNIC GRP	A	D
Third	79	12	Boys	85	10	Maori	78	12
Fourth	75	18	Girls	73	18	Pacific Island	70	21
						Pakeha/Eur	78	13

The comic book style is a good idea

percentages

FORM	A	D	GENDER	A	D	ETHNIC GRP	A	D
Third	82	14	Boys	88	11	Maori	76	15
Fourth	73	18	Girls	72	19	Pacific Island	82	16
						Pakeha/Eur	77	16

The most noticeable change from 1998 is the increase in disapproval of both the look and the comic book style among members of the fourth form (from 7 and 8% to 18 and 18%

respectively), among girls, (from 8 and 10% to 18 and 19%), and among Pacific Islands students from 7 and 5% to 21 and 16%.

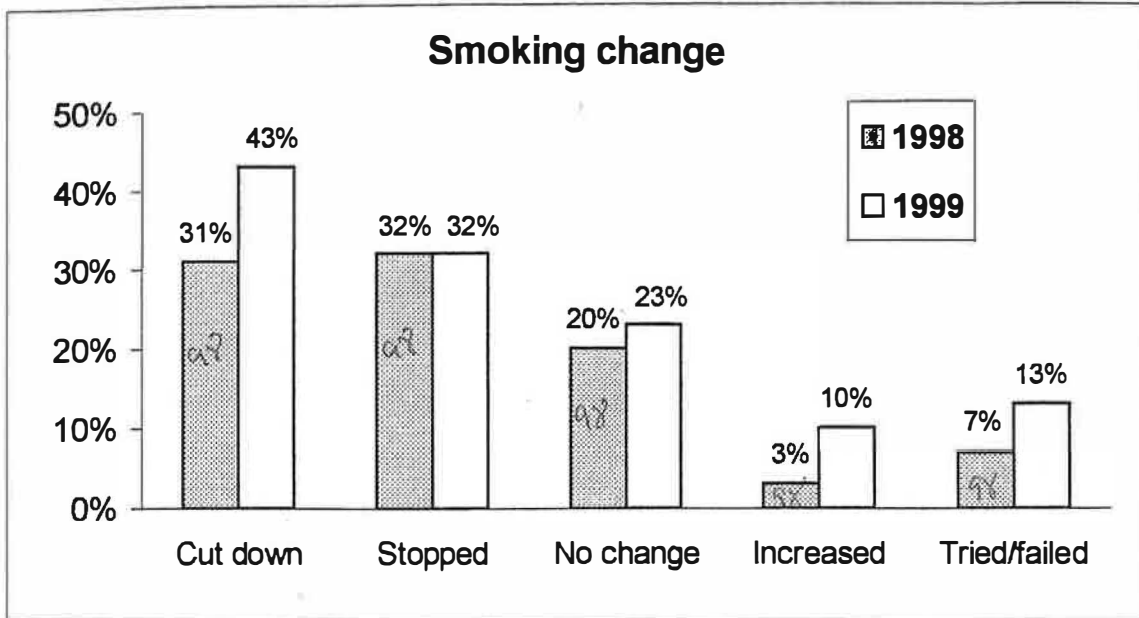
Agreement with these statements also increased for some groups: third formers, boys and girls were all more likely to approve of the comic book style - up from 72, 71 and 66% respectively.

Behaviour change

Students were asked *have you changed or tried to change your smoking since the beginning of term 3?* Once again a very high proportion answered 'yes'. This is probably related to the high level of experimentation and changeable behaviour among smokers of this age. The 1998 *Smokefree Schools Programme Monitor* found that, among mid to low socioeconomic-ranked schools, 28 percent of 3rd and 4th form smokers were currently trying to give up, and a further 32 percent reported wanted to give up in the immediate future.⁹

173, or 77% of the 226 smokers reported changing or trying to change their smoking. Overall, 134, or 59% of students interviewed had **either** stopped, cut down, or done both. It was common for smokers to change their smoking pattern repeatedly. Many students reported doing several things during the four months in question such as stopping, lapsing, and later cutting down.

⁹ Business Research Centre 1998.



The figures are presented as percentages of the smoking students interviewed. Though it is true that a higher level of change, especially in cutting down smoking, was observed in 1999, the two years are not strictly comparable. In 1998 interviewers reported only the most dramatic change reported for the period under review, while in 1999 all changes to smoking patterns were recorded. This is why 1999 percentages add up to more than 100.

In addition to the categories in the chart, a large number of students reported doing other things such as attending a school-based cessation programme, ringing the quitline, talking with friends and family and so forth.

Changed or tried to change behaviour

percentages

FORM	Change	GENDER	Change	ETHNIC GRP	Change
Third	79	Boys	74	Maori	81
Fourth	73	Girls	77	Pacific Island	79
				Pakeha/Eur	71

Pakeha boys were at the low end of the range - 63% of them changed or attempted change, compared with 82% of Maori girls.

where did they find out about the number?

Stopped, cut down on smoking

Percentages of students within each category

FORM	St	CD	GENDER	St	CD	ETHNIC GRP	St	CD
Third	34	39	Boys	22	42	Maori	33	46
Fourth	33	50	Girls	39	47	Pacific Island	42	51
						Pakeha/Eur	31	40

Seventy two, or 32% of the "smokers," said they had stopped smoking since early July. This mirrors the proportions found the previous year. The average length of time stopped was 30 days, and approximately twenty students were still not smoking. Equal proportions of 3rd and 4th form students did so, but 39% of girls reported stopping as opposed to 22% of boys. Pacific Islands respondents were most likely to have stopped and to have cut down.

Ninety eight (43%) had cut down on their smoking, from a median of 28 cigarettes per week to 10. Seventy-seven of these said they were still smoking at the lower rate.

This can be compared with Business Research Centre figures showing 37% of Maori 3rd and 4th form smokers currently trying to give up and 30% wanting to give up in the immediate future, while 25% of European smokers were currently trying to give up and 31% planning to give up in the immediate future.¹⁰

High rates of quitting, cutting back and expressing intentions of quitting have been observed in both years of the trial, and are corroborated by the *Smokefree Schools Monitor*. This phenomenon probably reflects a number of factors: the high level of change and flux in the activities of young teens, a knowledge (if not a full understanding) that one 'should' give up smoking, a tendency to see smoking as an activity rather than an addiction ('tomorrow I'll stop'), and for some, a determination to change addictive patterns or change habits before they become addictive. In this light it is interesting to view the current research as an adjunct to the *Smokefree Schools* data; that is, the BRC survey

¹⁰ Business Research Centre, 1998. Pacific Islands student numbers were too small to draw conclusions at this level.

snapshot of respondents' intentions; to this survey respondents gave an account of their intentions over a three to four month period.

None of the students, or 13%, reported trying to cut down or stop but not succeeding, and 12 (10%) reported their smoking had increased from a median of 20 to 35 cigarettes per week. Nineteen of these students were still smoking at the increased rate.

In addition to these, eighteen respondents said they or a friend had called the Quitline, although not always because of the posters. (A highly visible television campaign advertising the Quitline took place during the research period.) Twelve had received the Quit Book and two had gone on to speak with an advisor. Forty-three students said they had talked with someone – usually family or friends, sometimes a guidance counsellor. (Some of the schools run cessation counselling or group programmes).

Seventeen students made other observations about trying not to smoke, such as not hanging around with smokers or declining offers of cigarettes, attending a cessation programme at school, being supported or pressured by friends or family, age restrictions, cost, health effects or religion making it harder to continue smoking, and so on. The recent sudden deaths of four students in one of the schools was cited as a factor in failed attempts or reduced incentive to cut down. (see Appendix III).

Encouragement and support

A main goal of the programme is to make students feel encouraged to stop or cut down on their smoking and to support them in their decision. The posters conveyed this in a number of ways. Poster two shows a protagonist flying out of the grip of a nicotine monster, and poster seven shows the hero and heroine walking happily away from the dejected monster. The phrases “Become an X-Smoker! Auahi kore!” “You can do it,” “You’re not trapped,” “Breaking free,” and “Walking away” are repeated in large print or speech bubbles.

Though words of encouragement are less prominent among posters 4 through 7, the hero and heroine begin to appear together and work as a team to break away from the addiction. A dog is present throughout the series, helping them in their struggle against the nicotine monster.

encouragement for behaviour change

changed or tried to change their smoking behaviour. Twenty-six of
at the posters had or probably had some influence on their decision.
41% in 1998. Sixty two, or 36%, felt the posters probably or definitely
their decision.

Seventy-four, or a third of those responding overall, felt encouraged to cut back on
smoking by the posters (question 9). Eighty-two, or about 36% of the smokers, either felt
encouraged or felt the posters influenced them in changing. This compares with 127, or
47% of the smokers in 1998.

Students were sometimes able to identify which aspects of the posters made them feel
encouraged. Some of their observations are recorded below (comments are reproduced in
full in Appendix III).

1 Seven students identified poster one as encouraging. One said of it, "smoking is really
yucky and takes over your body."

2 Poster two attracted eleven mentions. "Breaking free from addiction hit home"...
"picture and words got message through."

3 Seven students said poster three was encouraging: "the picture shows you there is
another way out instead of smoking."

4 Ten students mentioned the message of poster four: "The monster"... "Control, see
what smoking does to you, addiction"... "the nicotine is controlling -encouraging"
..."writing got message through"... "pictures are eye catching, made her think about her
smoking habits"

5 Poster five was identified by eight students. "Addiction pulling the character in" ...
"Shows you how to get away" ... "Trying to help a mate not smoke"... "it's just bad for
you"... "The monster"

6 Poster six was most frequently mentioned by far. Twenty-five respondents identified it,
because of "the idea of 'yuck' in the lungs," "the inside of the body is disgusting." "Every
smoke causes damage, she didn't want dirty lungs so stopped"... "Disease, germs,
addiction, sick in your lungs, slows you down"... "shows that smoking is killing you on
the inside"

7 Four respondents mentioned poster seven. "kind of (encouraging)"... "graphics were quite powerful"

General comments about the posters included:

Persuade you there is a chance you don't have to smoke. Encouraging.

The girl can do it, which is encouraging.

Shows you can break free

Really good message in them, easy to understand

Pictures easy to understand, gives hope that she can cut down

Asked if *The posters made me think maybe I should stop or cut down smoking,*

113 smokers (50%) definitely agreed or agreed with this statement. 80 (35%) did not agree, and 14% were neutral. This reflects the same affirmative proportion but a larger negative response than in 1998, when only 20% did not agree.

The posters made me think maybe I should stop or cut down smoking

percentages

FORM	A	D	GENDER	A	D	ETHNIC GRP	A	D
Third	53	27	Boys	60	27	Maori	50	34
Fourth	47	41	Girls	45	39	Pacific Island	54	26
						Pakeha/Eur	44	42

129 smokers (57%) said *The posters helped me believe I could stop or cut down on my smoking,* while 63 (28%) said they did not. 15% were neutral. Once again, the proportion disagreeing has risen, while those feeling neutral have reduced in number.

The posters helped me believe I could stop or cut down smoking

percentages

FORM	A	D	GENDER	A	D	ETHNIC GRP	A	D
Third	65	22	Boys	56	27	Maori	63	25
Fourth	51	31	Girls	57	28	Pacific Island	58	16
						Pakeha/Eur	50	37

The total number of smokers answering Definitely yes! or Yes to **one or both** of these two questions was 161, or 71% of all smokers interviewed. This duplicates 1998 findings, when it was 72%.

The third-person statement *The posters would encourage a smoker to think about stopping or cutting down smoking* was posed. 135 smokers (60%) agreed, while 57 (25%) disagreed. There was a higher level of agreement than was found in 1998 (50%).

The posters would encourage a smoker to think about stopping or cutting down smoking

percentages

FORM	A	D	GENDER	A	D	ETHNIC GRP	A	D
Third	61	22	Boys	71	14	Maori	62	28
Fourth	59	28	Girls	55	30	Pacific Island	72	16
						Pakeha/Eur	50	30

Finally, the statement *I would like to become an X-Smoker* was put to the 226 respondents. 139, or 62% of smokers said *Definitely Yes!* or *Yes*, while 27 said *No*, or *Absolutely Not!* These overall figures are very similar to those of 1998, though smaller proportions of Maori and European students and fourth form students agreed with the statement this year.

I would like to become an X-Smoker

percentages

FORM	A	D	GENDER	A	D	ETHNIC GRP	A	D
Third	51	14	Boys	65	10	Maori	57	19
Fourth	69	11	Girls	59	13	Pacific Island	63	9
						Pakeha/Eur	59	10

Delivery

Additional iv
About

Are the school toilets a good setting for conveying Smokefree n

This year respondents were asked *What do you think about putting posters in school toilets: Is it better than in other places, worse, or the same?* 105 or 47% thought it a better place while 47 (21%) thought toilets were worse. Several students see the toilets as the same as any other place. Fifty five percent of European/Pakeha students thought it was a better place while just 39% of Maori and 37% of Pacific Islands students thought so. These latter groups also thought it a worse place in relatively large proportion (24% and 33%).

Are the toilets a better (B) or worse (W) place than others

percentages

FORM	B	W	GENDER	B	W	ETHNIC GRP	B	W
Third	49	18	Boys	57	14	Maori	39	24
Fourth	45	23	Girls	42	24	Pacific Island	37	33
						Pakeha/Eur	55	16

Students were asked why they thought so. Those who thought the toilets a better place seemed to believe that more people read the posters because of their placement. They mentioned three major factors: most people smoke in the toilets, 'you have to look at them' and can't just walk past, and there is nothing else to look at.

Those who thought the toilets a 'worse' place to put posters tended to think so because they get stolen, burnt or graffitied, because people still smoke there, or in a few cases, because people don't have time to look at them inside the toilets – this seemed to apply to girls in particular. A few people thought they should be in the corridor outside the toilets instead.

Twenty students thought it would be good to put them up around the school. Two students mentioned privacy as a benefit. One respondent said they made her want to smoke.

Information

A half of respondents wanted more information or assistance with giving up or cutting down. Their comments are reproduced in full in Appendix III. Students sometimes suggested the content of information they would like and forms it could take. Many asked for factual information such as 'all the dangers,' 'all the ways to quit,' 'something that takes away the *want* to smoke,' and '*why* we get addicted.' As was the case last year, many of the smokers asked for concrete tips or help in *how* to quit smoking through programmes, classes, resources or individual support. Many also wanted realism, 'not cartoons but statistics' and more graphic visual illustration of the harm smoking causes. They may know what smoking is supposed to do, but there is a gap between this and a *belief* that it will cause these results in their own bodies. Nevertheless, there is a strong sense that they want to be persuaded to stop, that many are open to persuasion but don't know how to convince themselves, nor what to do next (to break their addiction.)

A large number of students asked for an 'education programme' to cover more health effects and addiction information in the health curriculum. Disproportionate numbers from certain schools made this comment, seeming to indicate that these issues are addressed in different measure from school to school. Leaflets/pamphlets and posters were also suggested. A few asked for guest speakers on the 'harms of smoking' and others wanted someone to talk with privately. Several students wished they could find a way to avoid the temptation of others smoking around them.

Students' suggestions

Students were asked if they could suggest improvements to the posters and invited to make any comment, and four out of five did so. A complete list of the responses may be found in Appendix III. Twenty four respondents said 'keep them the same' or 'good as is,' but thirteen people said the posters were 'babyish,' 'geeky' or insulting. A few respondents also used the adjectives 'corny' or 'cheesy.'

Over 46 respondents asked for more realism. Of them, 21 wanted to see real people as characters or a realistic style of presentation. Several among them suggested a 'half and half' approach, with some cartoon and some photographs. A further 21 wanted graphic,

shocking or disgusting material – black lungs, ‘what happens on the inside.’ Once again the poster depicting tar all over the face and hair of an attractive young woman (put out by the Australian Medical Association) was mentioned. The National Quitline TV ad campaign was repeatedly cited as an example of effective realistic, disgusting - and motivating - imaging. This campaign features a pile of fat being squeezed from a dead smoker’s aorta and a pair of lungs rapidly disintegrating using computerised special effects.

Typical statements were:

Show real lungs of crusty smoker

Better pictures – not cartoons

Use real life, not cartoons - it's too fake

They look too kiddy – make people real

Do things like the TV ads – gross stuff in arteries, these posters aren't reality.

Have realistic things

Though at least twelve respondents thought the cartoon style should be kept, there was a sense that cartoons do not credibly address the seriousness of nicotine addiction and the difficulty of giving up:

They're babyish, people look at them and laugh, have solid facts. Number six is OK. Show people who will help you stop, not superman or a cartoon girl. Show real scary pictures of the insides of a 30 year old smoker...

The posters look like they are aimed at kids – too corny. Don't use the monster – make them more realistic. Show the pressures of smoking.

Have real pictures of people with things cut out of them – comics aren't believable

Though the idea of using comic book style was always to encourage, not shock, these comments raise the question of whether kids even take them seriously enough to derive a sense of support.

Nine students repeated their desire for more ‘facts’ on the effects of smoking, how to stop, or in one case, the list of chemicals within cigarettes. Again this year students suggested making the posters both bigger (11) and brighter / more colourful (6) to enhance their noticeability. Several people said kids don't pay any attention to the posters.

except
p.16
77%
said
comic
bk
style
a good
idea.

Second Form Focus Group results

One pilot finding was that the posters, while clearly inappropriate for sixth form students, might be adapted to meet the needs of intermediate students, many of whom fit the target description of "irregular smoker." It may not be realistic to hope to intervene in the early stages of experimentation, but there is a possibility that intermediate schools with higher smoking rates, and particularly those with relatively high numbers of Maori girls, would see an improvement. Following the recommendation, focus groups were conducted with second form students in two participating schools with intermediate levels.

One group of eight students was held at a small, tenth decile Catholic girls school in Lower Hutt. None of these students (all European) smoked, and in fact they hardly knew anyone who smoked. In contrast, of the group of seven girls, one boy at a decile two Porirua school, five smoke currently and three had given up. This group comprised six Pacific Islands, four Maori students (two chose both). In comments below, the first group above is referred to as Group A, the second as Group B, and observations without a specification apply to both groups.

Recall

All the students remembered seeing the posters in the toilets. Participants variously remembered the 'bogy monster, the big blob, the puppet/ puppetmaster, tar monster, dog, superman, girl, X-Smoker, slimy stuff, that green thing, Nicotine, the Helpline, 'stop smoking', 'that geeky kid,' and that 'it damages your lungs.' Two students made the point that (at the time) there are no posters up, as they have been ripped down and destroyed, put in lockers or taken home.

Reactions

Respondents, particularly those from Group B, were quite uninterested in the posters. Their responses ranged from indifference to active distaste.

No opinion. Nothing. Just nerdy pictures

It's not for smokers. It's not convincing enough

I think they're stupid

*I don't like them, I don't know why
They're dumb pictures*

Students generally felt that the message was unclear or there was no strong message.

Doesn't mean much

Doesn't give me any messages

They don't give us a message – the writing sort of does but we don't read it as much

'it's better than big don't smoke signs, because it's funny, so you do read it, but it doesn't have any real impact.'

I thought they were just there for decoration!

Use the other message: you'll be cool if you don't smoke...you'll look good if you don't smoke

All the respondents, like their interviewee counterparts, made a clarion call for realism.

It doesn't show the reality of it, just a big nicotine bogey monster and you can never really believe that some bogey man is going to come and go 'I've got you' – you know that ad where they squeeze out the little organ? You'd more kind of believe; if you just showed a picture of that it'd remind them of the ad...

Lungs would work, and the facts. I don't know how you can compare but to show how you're not fitter when you smoke

They just look like cartoon thingies, not convincing.

This person isn't real so why should we look at it... real pictures, humans, not cartoons

Like the interview subjects, most group participants preferred poster six to the rest:

[Poster six is more effective because] it's what's happening inside your body, but needs real lungs

Because it's not giving you the impression it's easy to give up, it's showing you what will happen.

Because you can see what's happening, and because you can see it's happening to your whole insides, because they say it's your lungs but isn't it stuffing up the whole of you?

One student said the posters made her want to have a smoke.

It's like telling you to stop but it sort of reminds you

Design

Both groups gave the posters a 'cool' rating of 4 on average. Some students saw them as seriously 'uncool,' others thought they were neither cool nor uncool, but distinctly neutral.

The change in modes of entertainment young people prefer has had a profound effect on the students we spoke to. Comic books, and perhaps books in general, are not part of their experience. They seem unwilling or unable to relate to drawings of humans or talking animals, to read, even in comic book format, or to absorb figurative or allegorical messages. The reference points seem to be television, movies and video, in which humans take part in acting out stories. The smokers were shown a range of seven comic drawing styles, including colour and black-and-white, traditional Marvel action style, faerie drawings, Betty and Veronica-style suburban storytelling, and several contemporary, 90's narratives. Their reaction was remarkable disinterest. Asked if they read comics, only one said 'yes'. Asked if they would read these, the resounding answer was 'no'.

Only two formats aroused some interest: A heavy, underground style (see example) with few words and a very dark feel attracted a low-key interest, with some calling for colour. The one which inspired an immediate chorus of "yes, yes, that one!" was a dreamy, photorealistic watercolour (see example). The character's faces are painted with precision, but there is a distinct sci-fi feeling to the strip and it is rich with colours on a dark background.

Students talked about cartoons and comics as a medium that stretched credibility:

Like the cartoons on TV they blow up and then they live again...

And as a medium more suited to the very young:

I think the cartoons would have more impact on younger people, who, like certain cartoons are their big hero, and you'd do whatever they said to do, like my brother who's 7, but when you get older you don't believe in those sorts of things, you make your own decisions and things like that isn't going to help you.

Asked if they would encourage someone to give up smoking, Group A said 'no' because:

It's a cartoon and not realistic. Something to look at for fun, not something to make an impact on you. Instead of a bogey guy, have two people – lungs, healthy and smoker's because you don't want to ruin your body

I agree with that, and because it's not very realistic if it's a cartoon. You watch cartoons on TV and they're like funny but not very realistic...

THE WINNER...

HERE IS...
WELL?

ARE YOU *AWARE*, MS.
MERK, THAT DR.
GOTTWAY IS *DEAD*?

WELL? THIS IS *GRAYPLACE*.
I FIND IT... *NECESSARY*.
I'M PARTICULARLY *SENSITIVE*
TO *STIMULI*.

THAT HER ENTIRE RESEARCH
FACILITY HAS BEEN *PHOTON-*
ICALLY OBLITERATED?

I NEEDED A PLACE WHERE
I COULD *AVOID* IT...

QUIET. *COLORS*...
LESS *BRIGHT*
HERE.

COLORS? YOU
SEE *COLORS*
IN THIS SPACE?

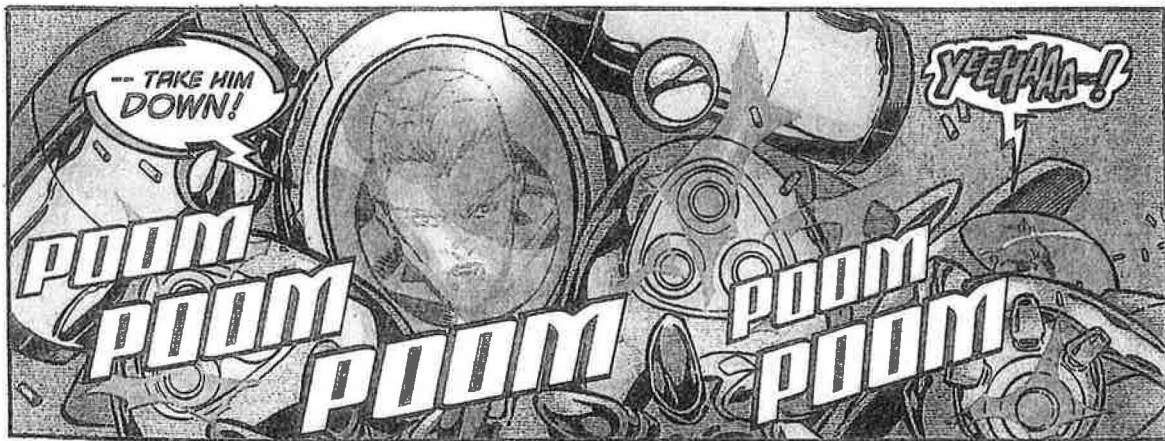
DO YOU *REALIZE*, MS. MERK,
THAT YOU ARE THE *SOLE*
SURVIVOR OF THIS
TRAGEDY?

AND THE *LAST PERSON*
TO HAVE *PROFESSIONAL*
CONTACT WITH THE
RENOWNED VICTORIA
GOTTWAY.

SOME INTEREST SHOWN:



THE REJECTS





No. Cause it's addictive. If I was smoking a little dog saying 'don't smoke' isn't going to make me give up.

Attractiveness/Acceptability

Both smokers and non-smokers mock it

People mock them, they just think it's just a dumb cartoon 'ah ha, X-Smoker strikes again!' Yeah, it's not realistic enough

Make them cooler, give them better clothes...

One problem with some of the posters was the perceived trivialisation of smoking:

Poster four would be all right if it didn't have the dog and the scissors. It shouldn't have 'cut the strings' because cutting the strings is really easy.

It was pointed out that this problem arose partly because they are always seen on their own, so that poster seven, *Walking Away*, makes it look easy to stop smoking. One respondent thought they should be displayed together to show the progression of scenes.

Placement in toilets

Group A students tended to think the toilets were a good place because

There's nothing else to do

In the toilet is good because you've got nothing to do, you stay as long as you can, you don't talk to anyone

No one is watching you. – you're on your own so if there's someone who thinks smoking is cool and you're reading the poster they might not like you but no one can see you reading it.

There's nothing to interfere with you, so quite a good place

Group B unanimously disliked the fact they were placed in the toilet:

They shouldn't be in the toilet because you don't really notice it, you're not there to stand and look at the scenery

Some people don't even go to the toilets

I'm sick of seeing them all the time

They should be outside the toilets

They should be everywhere, on the walls

There was a sense of suspicion connected with their placement – 'why are they always in the toilets?' – as though their placement in an undesirable location somehow reflected on their obvious target audience.

Smoking

Participants in Group B had started smoking around the age of ten. Speaking of their peers, they reported that more than half of 12 and 13-year-olds smoke, and that it is not unusual for a child to start at the age of nine. Several expressed anxiety that the information not be shared with teachers or parents in case they were physically punished by their parents. Many of the same parents smoke, however, and in fact only one participant did not have a family member who smokes. None of the Group A students had family currently smoking. These girls reported that smoking was most common around sixth form, though they thought it probably started at 3rd and 4th form.

Respondents reported that more girls their age smoke than boys, and when asked why, replied

Trying to be independent

Tougher?

To get attention maybe... to be recognised

The students who had given up did not appear to identify as ex or X-Smokers, nor did those who smoke identify as smokers. They said they would be smokers if they smoked openly, but were currently trying to hide the fact from family, teachers and sometimes friends. Those who had given up were asked why. One did not want to slow down at sports, another was talked into giving up by her father who also started smoking early, and the third said simply "I don't want to die early."

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

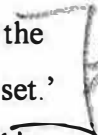
Narrowcasting

The research provides some answers to the broad research question:

Is a narrow-casting (in this case, posters positioned in high school toilets) approach an appropriate and effective method of conveying Smokefree messages to the target audience in the school setting?

This form of narrow-casting has at least three components. Placing messages in toilets means there is a captive audience and very few competing messages, and is almost certainly to credit for the high rate of recognition. Second, a private venue is thought to be a better place for viewers to consider 'sensitive' questions. Third, narrow-casting implies the potential for targeting messages to specific audiences. The X-Smoker project does this in the sense that it targets strictly for gender, and roughly for age.

Recognition

Students were canvassed for their reactions to the poster placement. The largest number of students (47%) thought the toilets were a better place than other locations. Those who did not like them in the toilets commonly reasoned that this was because they are easily vandalised or stolen. In 1999 the rate of removal was so high that a second printing was required. However the high rate of attrition of these posters has is seen as the price of privacy – they are easy to steal from the toilets. A number of students reported that the posters are ending up on bedroom walls, and that students are 'collecting the whole set.'  Notwithstanding the message implied by 'rewarding' young people for vandalism, this result can be seen as a bonus for the sponsors of the X-Smoker message.

There was a suspicion observed among some focus group participants which suggested the potential for some students to see the placement of posters as offensive or insulting, especially by students in schools with particularly 'seedy' toilets. A number of respondents thought posters should be placed elsewhere in the schools, and since many students try not to use school toilets, this can only heighten the posters' exposure.

Recommendations:

- ◆ *Continue placing posters in toilets*
- ◆ *Continue regular visits to replace missing posters*
- ◆ *Place the posters in at least a few high-visibility locations around the school. This will help capture those who don't visit the toilets, reassure those who are suspicious of the campaign, and ensure that there are always at least a few posters on display.*

Targeting

The second year of the campaign revealed weaknesses that are in some respects a result of its attempt to be 'all things to all people.' The schools in which posters are placed differ vastly in many ways – private versus public, socioeconomic status, years taught, ethnic, youth, and school culture, location, size, and religious orientation are just a few examples. The posters were designed to appeal across these divides, with the result of genericising their characters and their clothing, appearance, and personalities. Students repeatedly indicated they wanted to see more realism in the characters, their clothing and stories. One young focus group participant called the characters' clothes 'budget' and said, "they need to wear what we wear."

Another problem with implementing the programme across such a wide variety of schools is that anecdotal evidence seems to indicate that fewer 3rd and 4th form students in the higher decile schools smoke, so that the bulk of the target audience in these schools is likely to be too old for the X-Smoker poster series.

The campaign did not show promise of appealing to second form students, who neither liked its style nor related to the 'X-Smoker' nomination.

Recommendations:

- ◆ *Continue targeting third and fourth forms with specific improvements mentioned below. Once a successful style has been found, test the new campaign's appeal with second form students (Big difference betw. Form 2, 3, 4 age).*
- ◆ *Target the programme more narrowly, to low decile schools only. This will target the largest number of young smokers while allowing for a more accurately 'narrow-cast' approach to characters, their language and personalities.*

Interest

The campaign was designed to *create an interest in young people already smoking to cut down and/or to stop smoking.*

Recognition is down from 1998 but still high

Taken as a set of seven, the posters enjoyed an extremely high rate of recognition. The new posters, 4 through 7, had a 75% rate of recognition. Ironically, it is likely that the strategy to make them available to students by not securing them to the wall at first was so 'successful' it resulted in lower overall exposure on site. Nevertheless, the overall recognition of 98% was outstanding.

Recall is low

Recollection of poster content was low, though it should be noted that with few written messages in the new set of posters, tracking unprompted recall was a more difficult task this year. A small majority showed unprompted awareness of the purpose of the campaign ('stop smoking/ cut down smoking/ Auahi kore'), but only half of last year's proportions mentioned the word 'X-Smoker' (20% down from 40%). The specific message they seemed most aware of was 'Tell/warn smokers how bad it is,' which may be an indication that joining the two protagonists to work in tandem was a smart move, and conveyed the message more effectively than a single headline. Just over a third of respondents remembered something about the pictures.

X- theme lacks appeal

The 'X-Smoker' theme did not appear to be a memorable one. This may be because the idea of being an ex-smoker has not taken hold or because students did not think of themselves as smokers to begin with. There was some evidence for the latter view among the second form students.

Level of appeal is more polarised

Though the respondents rated the posters 'ho hum' on the scale of cool to not cool, students' regard for them was more polarised this year. Around three-quarters of smokers overall liked the way they looked and approved of the comic book style. The posters found more favour with boys and with third formers than with other groups. There was a large increase from last year in disapproval, especially among girls, Pacific Islands students and

among the fourth form. The danger is that enough kids might ridicule the posters to land them and their smokefree message in the category of goody-good imperatives by health bureaucrats, nerds and other clueless adults.

Creating interest – self-report

Once again, half of the smokers reported that the posters had prompted them to think *maybe I should stop or cut down*, but with the addition of posters 4 through 7 the proportion of respondents disagreeing with this statement has grown from 20% to 35%. The extent to which Maori and Pacific Islands students appeared to prefer the posters has shrunk from 10-20% to 5-10%.

Consistent responses to a number of different questions made it clear that poster six, *Evil Forces*, was the most popular one. Students appreciated the lung monsters for the acknowledgement that smoking isn't funny or easy to stop and the visual depiction of the internal damage smoking causes.

Comic books anachronistic?

Though most students said they liked the look of the posters, those who did not dealt them harsh criticism, and the second form students in focus groups also did not respond well to them. It does not appear that the tongue-in-cheek Marvel comic humour of the X-Smoker posters is finding a comprehending audience. This may be because relatively few children read comic books anymore. The danger is that, in spite of best intentions, young people may feel trivialised by an art form designed to make them feel supported, simply because it is unfamiliar to them. There was almost no evidence that they identified with the characters. Common criticisms from this sample audience were that the posters should be more realistic, more gruesome, have real people or photographs, be bigger and brighter, and be displayed outside the toilets. Interestingly, a few suggestions from question 13 seemed to echo Focus Group B's partiality to photorealism:

Have realistic pictures but in cartoon style

Have realistic cartoons

Make them stand out more, better drawings – realistic cartoons...

Creating an interest

An intervention can only create an interest in something if it attracts the attention of its intended audience. Though a large majority of the audience was aware of the posters, they were not necessarily very taken with them nor impressed by their messages. Therefore it must be concluded that the posters were not very successful in achieving the first objective.

There are a few possible reasons for this: first, because the writing has been removed following 1998 findings that few students read the print. Second, because, ironically, they may not have been on display long enough as a result of the decision to allow them to be removed by students, or third, because they are not an attractive or, perhaps, credible style for their audience. Fourth, it is plausible that they are getting stale. It is our judgement that a combination of these factors pertains.

Recommendations:

Style

- ◆ *Do not add words. Far fewer students complained about the lack of writing in 1999 than complained of excess writing in 1998.*
- ◆ *Update the characters and format to imitate a contemporary comic book rather than a Marvel theme.*
- ◆ *Look into using computer graphics technology for combining photographic material with cartoons.*
- ◆ *Test a photorealistic, richly coloured, sparsely worded, watercolour style.*
- ◆ *Consider developing unique characters and interesting storylines, while keeping the messages simple and easy to interpret.*

Presentation

- ◆ *Secure the posters after a week or visit schools more frequently, to ensure sufficient display time.*
- ◆ *Enlarge the posters to A3 size.*
- ◆ *Run the programme for one, or no more than two years in any given school.*

Create belief and encourage

The posters were intended to *create a belief in young people interested in cutting down or stopping that they are able to do so* and to *provide encouragement and a sense of support for young people interested in cutting down or stopping smoking*.

High degree of behaviour change

About 77 percent of respondents tried to change their smoking, leaving aside those whose smoking only increased, the figure is 157 or 69%. This must be seen in context of evidence cited previously showing that 60% of smokers at this age are thinking about or trying to give up in any case. A similar proportion (62%) agreed with the statement 'I would like to become an ex-smoker.'

Larger differences were found between the expected levels of change, according to the *Smokefree Schools Survey* (67% of Maori 3rd and 4th formers and 56% of Pakeha trying or intending to quit), and the level we found: 81% of Maori and 71% of Pakeha had changed smoking behaviour. As was the case in 1998, a higher level of change was recorded among Maori and Pacific Islands students than among Pakeha students.

High levels of fluctuation

More frequent change was observed this year; that is, among the three-quarters of smokers who changed their behaviour, they often changed in two or more ways throughout the four-month period. The same proportions of students stopped smoking (32%) and a higher proportion (43%) cut down (vs. 31% in 1998). More students increased their smoking (10% up from 3% in 1998), but more than seventy students took other steps (talking, attending a programme, ringing the Quitline, etc.) demonstrating a high, possibly rising, level of concern among smokers and awareness of additional avenues for action available to them. (Compare this with about 55 students reporting taking such steps in 1998).

Levels of reported encouragement similar to pilot findings

The third person statement *The posters would encourage a smoker to cut down or stop* is an indication of how generally useful students thought the posters might be to one another (60%). The number of smokers who responded positively to **either** *The posters made me think I should...* **or** *The posters helped me believe I could ...* was 161, or 71% of the

respondents. More Maori and Pacific Islands students felt this way than Pakeha students. These results are very similar to the pilot's findings.

Decrease in self-reported impact

Eighty-two, or about 36% of the smokers, either felt encouraged or felt the posters influenced them in changing. This compares with 127, or 47% of the smokers in 1998.

A gap in information for young smokers

1999 saw growth in support for cessation programmes and counselling to secondary students. Several students mentioned the programmes they had attended. Many smokers requested more information about smoking, addiction and giving up. This finding echoes 1998 findings that many young people are struggling without skills¹¹ to break an addiction, whether or not they perceive it as such. This desire for help and additional factual information must not be ignored, but is best served in the appropriate venue: within the school curriculum, using guest speakers in schools, more visual aids, making information available in the form of pamphlets such as the Quit Book, and so on.

Recommendations:

- ◆ *Encouragement for behaviour change should continue as the posters' primary objective.*
- ◆ *To be effective in assisting regular smokers who want to stop, the campaign should be accompanied by appropriate cessation interventions.*
- ◆ *Examine the smoking related content of health curricula – students appear to want more, and more detailed, facts on the health effects of smoking, the process of developing an addiction, and concrete education and assistance with stopping smoking. This information does not belong on the posters but ought to be provided in the schools as an accompaniment.*

¹¹ HSC's research *Teens and Smoking* (On Strategy, p 25) reported that the main reason for failure in bids to quit is lack of preparation, support and training.

Do Smokefree messages conveyed through a narrow-casting approach have an impact on young people's smoking behaviour?

The Convenience Advertising X-Smoker Programme is designed to create an encouraging environment in which young people are able to question their smoking. It takes place in the context of a large number of other interventions. The *Why Start?* Campaign in 1998 and the National Quitline advertising of 1999 are good examples of contributing influences which are likely to be causing change in young peoples' attitudes and smoking behaviour. It is therefore impossible to isolate a single, causal link between intervention and outcome. The research question becomes 'Does it add meaningfully to that supportive environment?' and the most that can be directly measured is how many young people *say* that they feel supported and encouraged to question their smoking. Even these figures are suspect, as responses are given in the artificial context of an interview with the posters laid out in front of the respondent.

There is fairly solid evidence building that among the low and middle income, almost two in three 3rd and 4th form smokers want to stop smoking. The evidence that the posters are encouraging some of these students to act when they might not otherwise have acted, and that they may have the effect of enlarging these proportions at least a little, is reasonable. However the effectiveness of interventions designed to do these things can vary: if a potentially successful intervention does not catch the attention of its audience, then clearly it is not achieving as much as it could. This is the situation we find with the X-Smoker poster – while it is heartening that such a high degree of approval and encouragement is found in an interview situation, closer review of the evidence suggests that 1) large proportions of students are already preparing for change, 2) many have not particularly noticed or considered the posters until they find themselves in the interview, and 3) in focused, in-depth exploration of their views, at least some students admit to finding no inspiration in the style and format of the posters.

Recommendations:

- ◆ *Evaluate this programme's achievements in the light of other programmes in a similar price range (for example cessation or education programmes).*

◆ *If it is decided to continue the X-Smoker programme, minimise the risk of stigmatising the X-Smoker idea or not smoking in general as 'uncool' and maximise its effect by changing the design along the lines previously mentioned.*

Finally, the 'harm reduction' premise must remain open to review. It may, by encouraging the already high rates of fluctuation in smoking patterns, help to create a false confidence among young people.



Recommendation:

◆ *Research to discover if repeated successful change attempts deepen the belief among young smokers that they can quit whenever they want or if repeated unsuccessful change attempts create a sense of defeat among young smokers.*

APPENDIX I

The new series posters

Trapped by puppet master, female (4)

Trapped by puppet master, male (4)

Unisex:

X-Smoker helps a friend break free (5)

X-Smoker discovers nicotine's evil forces (6)

Walking away (7)

CONVENIENCE
COMICS

1999

X-SMOKER

APPROVED
BY THE
HEALTH
FUNDING
AUTHORITY

TRAPPED BY NICOTINE,
THE PUPPET MASTER

HA HA!
I'VE GOT HER
HOOKED!



Phone the
Free Quitline:
0800 778 778
Auahi kore - X-Smoker

CONVENIENCE
COMICS

1999

X-SMOKER

APPROVED
BY THE
HEALTH
FUNDING
AUTHORITY

TRAPPED BY NICOTINE,
THE PUPPET MASTER

HA HA!
I'VE GOT HIM
HOOKED!

THAT'S WHAT
YOU THINK! HE CAN
CUT THOSE
STRINGS!

Phone the
Free Quitline:
0800 778 778
Auahi kore - X-Smoker

APPROVED
BY THE
HEALTH
FUNDING
AUTHORITY

X-SMOKER

HELPS A FRIEND BREAK FREE

CONVENIENCE
COMICS

1999

HELP ME!
I'VE GOTTA GET
AWAY FROM
SMOKING



I WON'T LET
NICOTINE STOP YOU
FROM CUTTING DOWN
OR STOPPING
SMOKING!



Phone the
Free Quitline:

0800 778 778

Auahi kore - X-Smoker

CONVENIENCE
COMICS

1999

X-SMOKER

APPROVED
BY THE
HEALTH
FUNDING
AUTHORITY

DISCOVERS NICOTINE'S EVIL FORCES AT WORK



OH NO!
MY X-RAY VISION REVEALS
WHAT NICOTINE IS DOING
INSIDE HIS BODY.
IF I WARN HIM WILL HE
BELIEVE ME?

Phone the
Free Quitline:

0800 778 778

Auahi kore - X-Smoker

CONVENIENCE
COMICS

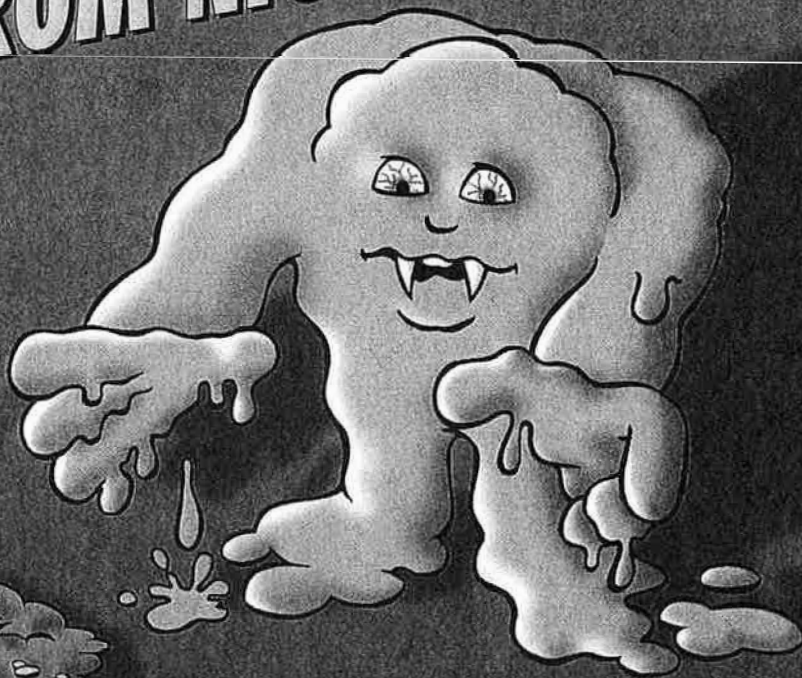
1999

X-SMOKERS

APPROVED
BY THE
HEALTH
FUNDING
AUTHORITY

WALKING AWAY FROM NICOTINE

OH NO...
I'VE LOST THESE ONES.
THIS TIME THEY'VE
GIVEN UP SMOKING
FOR GOOD!



Join the
Free Quitline:
800 778 778
Hi kore - X-Smoker

APPENDIX II

The survey

Introduction

Smoker survey

INTRODUCTION

Hi, I'm _____ with Blue Lotus Research. I'm here to ask a few questions about smoking and what you think of some posters in your school. What you tell me will be used to improve projects to help young people not smoke, so it is really important that you tell the truth and say what you think. (Even if it's negative!) Everything you say is totally confidential. No one else will ever know what you said, not teachers or parents or other students or anyone: that's a promise.

So are you happy to answer some questions?

Thank you! The first question is:

Have you ever smoked a cigarette?

If YES,

At the beginning of term 3, in July (*July 12*) were you smoking?

If YES, proceed to survey

If NO,

That's all we need for now. Thank you very much for your help.

CONFIDENTIAL

DATE: / 10 /99 INTERVIEWER _____ SCHOOL _____

AGE: _____ GENDER: **M** **F** FORM: 3 4

2. About how much did you smoke? *(before beginning of term 3)*

Daily: _____ cigarettes per day <i>1</i>	Weekly: _____ cigarettes per week <i>2</i>
Monthly or less often (but regularly) <i>3</i>	Very irregularly: average of _____ cigarettes per week / month / year <i>4</i>

3. Have you seen the posters in the school toilets about stopping or cutting down smoking?

Y N Unsure

4. Have you seen any of these posters?

(show posters 1-3 together, rest individually; point out different picture)

Poster: **1/2/3 4 5 6 7 NONE** *If NONE, end interview*

I want to know what you think of the posters; it's not a test, so there are no wrong answers

5. *(posters concealed)* Can you remember what's on the posters? Tell me everything you can remember. *(do not read out options. circle all that apply)*
prompt: What are they trying to say?

- a) You should stop/cut down smoking / *Auahi kore*
- b) *X-Smoker*
- c) *Quitline / 0800*
- d) (It's hard but) you can stop/cut down smoking / break your addiction
- e) Help eachother
- f) Smoking / tobacco / nicotine is (hidden but) bad for you / evil
- g) Addiction is unpleasant
- h) Tell / warn smokers how bad it is
- i) You can get control / walk away for good
- j) Reasons for stopping smoking
- k) Specific effects of nicotine, tar or carbon monoxide
- l) Smoking makes you unfit/stopping improves health, fitness, sports performance
- m) Visual Image: Graphic element(s) recalled _____

n) Other: _____

THANK YOU!

CONFIDENTIAL

6. (Show posters & card) On a scale of one to ten, where one is really not cool and ten is very cool, what's your overall opinion of the posters?

< 1 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 >10

Record specific comments, if any, in Q 13

7. I'm going to read some stuff out. Just point at whichever of these (show card) comes closest to how you feel

Definitely yes! Yes No opinion No Absolutely not!

	<i>DY</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>AN</i>
a) The posters would encourage a smoker to think about stopping or cutting down smoking	1	2	3	4	5
b) The comic book style is a good idea	1	2	3	4	5
c) I like the way the posters look	1	2	3	4	5
d) The posters made me think maybe I <i>should</i> stop or cut down smoking	1	2	3	4	5
e) The posters helped me believe I <i>could</i> stop or cut down on my smoking	1	2	3	4	5
f) I would like to become an <i>X-Smoker</i>	1	2	3	4	5

8. Have you changed or tried to change your smoking since the beginning of term 3? **Yes** **No** (*this includes calling Quitline*)

If **YES**:

tick box if change continues to this day

A) What happened? (*interview; do not read out*)

- i) Stopped smoking: for how long _____ days / weeks
- ii) Cut down: from _____ to _____ cigarettes per day / week
- iii) Tried to stop or cut down but couldn't
- iv) Increased smoking – from _____ to _____ per day / week
- v) Talked to someone about cutting down or stopping
Who? _____

Did you call the Quitline? **Yes** **No** What happened?

Pamphlet Spoke to advisor _____

vi) Other: _____

B) Do you think the posters had anything to do with this?

Yes Probably Don't know Probably not No

Comment: _____

THANK YOU!

CONFIDENTIAL

9. Did you feel encouraged at all to cut back on smoking by the posters?
(point at posters) Yes No Don't know

If **YES**:
Can you tell me specifically what about them encouraged you? (interviewer please identify the poster by number)

9. What do you think about putting posters in the school toilets: Is it better than in other places, or worse, or the same?

Better **The same** **Worse**

If **BETTER** or **WORSE**,
Why? _____

11. Which one of these are you? (read out. encourage, but do not force a single choice)

Maori <i>1</i>	Pacific Islands <i>2</i>	European or Pakeha <i>3</i>	Asian <i>4</i>	Other: _____ <i>5</i>
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12. Do you wish you had more information or help with cutting down or stopping smoking? **Yes** **No** What sort? (probe, but DK is fine)

13. Are there any improvements to the posters you'd suggest? Or other comments you'd like to make? (please identify the poster by number)

Over →

THANK YOU!

APPENDIX III

Respondents' comments

i) Graphic elements recalled

X-Ray Vision could see nicotine guy inside guy, trapped, puppet, dog, there is a way out
She's trying to stop the guy from smoking, dog
Grey thing - red eyes, yellow teeth, boy trying to smoke, girl trying to save her - her dog helped, X on T-Shirts
Boy stuck in nicotine - girl trying to pull him out, puppet on strings.
nicotine cloud, little dog, X-Ray vision, green globby thing, cigarettes, superman, Maori word - can't remember what it is.
String puppet - got her hooked, cartoons, big black thing -nicotine
Two walking next to each other, getting pulled out of the smoke, smoke standing around the girl
Girl, dog, break-free, her helping guy
Cloud guy - losing them, two people breaking away
Lungs and insides - dog, puppet
nicotine has a hold on you - girl trying to break free. How to help friends to stop
Cloud thing
Dog
Girl with X on her top, grey-thing loosing hold of her
Handcuffs - he is holding her up, the fat thing is offering her a smoke, dog
Puppet on string, lungs of guy, cloud of smoke chasing after girl, dark room, monster, dog - saying 'I can help you'
Tar monster, guy on the string and girl trying to help
A big grey tar monster, a man
The string picture
Dog trying to stop guy, lungs inside, getting away from the nicotine grasp
Things inside a person's body (gunk)
Guy trapping people into nicotine habit - girl trying to get people out of it, the guy is the nicotine smoke
Puppet
The clouds trying to grab the guy who says 'it's your choice!'
Cartoons acting like people - forcing them to quit, monsters
Big foggy dude, person running away
Little green alien in body - supposed to be gunk in body
Smoke-guy, female, male, holding hands, packet of smokes, puppet
Dog, girl, nicotine man, girls getting guy out of smoking
Ball of nicotine pulling guy in, girl with X-Ray vision, puppet
The smokes are treating you like a dummy, dog digging a hole
nicotine monster, X-Ray vision
Boy pulled out from nicotine
Don't get trapped - fence, statement goes with picture
Green stuff -mucus in his lungs, smoke monster dangling puppets, girl pulling guy away, hole in ground
Cigarette, people, smoke-monster, X-Ray eyes, smoke in human body, girl dragged guy out of smoke monster, dog
Monster - trying to make girl smoke
Girl, monster
puppet - strings, nicotine can control you, big black nicotine offering girl a smoke
Girl helps people give up smoking, nicotine monster gets guy and sucks him in, X-Ray eyes looking into stomach
Lady, dog, puff of smoke pulling out boy
Good drawings
Good cartoons
Cartoon
Grey monster, lady with hands in air
Lungs, heart, throat - green in throat
Grey monster
Lady with X-Ray vision, grayish thing pulling out his hand while lady walks away
Smoke monster, lady, smoke using her as puppet, trapped in alley with a dog showing her the way out

Superman
Girl, monster
Girl, puppet, cigarette, trapped, big grey guy, superhero guy meant to save her
Guy wearing normal clothes or clothes with S on it, pollution from smoke
Black smoke, kids
Monster
Hole in the fence
Lungs
Dog
Someone's trying to keep me smoking
Monster, addicted to smoker
Characters trying to cut down
Cloud
Slobby monster
Monster
Blobby guy - smokes - puppet
Monster
Tar monster chasing person
Blob thing - two people, green blob in boys' stomach
Puppet master, dog with scissors, breaking away from nicotine, X-Ray, blue hair
Grey fog, boy smoking on strings, girl cornered up
Big smoke thing trying to get girl not to smoke - girl doesn't want to but is getting sucked in by the smoke
People trying to stop them from smoking, break away. Cartoon
Girl helping guy, nicotine, dog, diseases
Smoke cloud making girl smoke, puppet, girl pulling guy out of cloud of smoke, green thing in throat
Dog, nicotine guy
Guy helps girl out of cloud of smoke
Cloud of smoke trying to pull him out, hooked dog, scissors cutting him out, monster, X-Ray vision
Big monster
Puppet, control, monster
Dog
Man/Girl/Monster/Smoke

ii) Other messages recalled

You can break free. There is a way if you try, you can give up
You can cut the strings, what it does to you, its not hard to quit, there are people who you can talk to
Break free
An X-Smoker can see how bad it is. The X-Smoker has broken free and you can break free too
Smoking is bad for you
There isn't much reading - cartoon form is easier to read
I'm losing her - she is going to stop'. - 'Trying to get her hooked'.
Trapped by nicotine
Peer pressure
Break free
Puppet - you can break free
Friend helping guy get away
How to stop
Girl breaking free of nicotine - trying to get guy free of nicotine
Lung cancer
Didn't read them
They kill your lungs, smoke clogs your lungs
Was there any information on them'?
Some writing - not sure what
What smoking is doing to you. You can catch a disease from smoking, smoking makes you feel sick
nicotine traps you
Trapped - doesn't take much notice
Ignores posters
Peer pressure

Ignore posters - can't be bothered with them
Makes you smell
Doesn't read them
Doesn't read them
Bad for health and lungs
Yellowness and smell of fingers, smell on clothes
Break nicotine
Doesn't read them
Smoking is trying to suck you in
Smoking kills you
You can get friends to help you stop
They're bright, 'I've got her hooked - ha ha'
Trying to haul you in
Cutting the strings of being hooked, the smoker is trapped
Get rid of the smell, cancer
Unhealthy, could die
Wastes your money
Don't start
Trap you
Having the courage not to start up again
Addiction is easy - caught up
Affect other people - bad influence

iii) Smoking change comments

Talked to...

Friends - group tries to give up smoking
Parents - family - quit smoking programme
Friend - they had a pact to give up
Quit smoking programmes
Cessation Programme at school
Dad and Grandparent who smoked
Friends
Guidance councillor
Smoking course at school
Friends
Uncle
Drug and alcohol counselor
Guidance counselor
Doctor
Guidance Councillor
Friends
Family
Friends
Mum - nicobrevin treatment
Sister - family
Friends
Friends
Friends
Mum helping to stop smoking
Mum and Dad
Friend
Mum
Dad
Mum - not good for asthma
Family - smoking sucks - don't start
Friends
Friends

Aunty - advice on how to give up

Friend - pact to quit

Speaker

Friend

Friends

Friends and family

Sister - threat

Sister - made a pact to cut down

Sister - gave advice on how to cut down

Friends

Friend

Quitline...

A friend called for her - she got an information pack

I Received an info pack - they sent it to home, the people on the phone were strange - they said we could ring back if we wanted

They were no help - they told her how stupid it was that she started

Quitline closed at 11pm

Gave tips

They just ask for your address and send you a package

Friend did it for her, they received a pamphlet and friend spoke to advisor

Mum rang for her - was sent posters but Mum kept them cause she wanted to stop

Got number from TV - sent a pack

Got a pamphlet from a friend

Got a pack on how to quit

Thinking about calling

Stop smoking

Received a pamphlet on harm to your body

Didn't notice number

Didn't know there was one

Spoke to an advisor, might call again

Sent a pack

Spoke to an advisor, was sent a pack, will ring up with more questions

Sent a pamphlet heard about it on the radio

Got a pamphlet from the school

Other change...

Started swimming to become fit

Attended the cessation programme

Went on smokefree cessation programme - stopped for two weeks then went back to old ways

Her family smokes so she doesn't like it

Attitude changed - she became more aware of the effects

Stopped smoking for netball due to fitness - started again after the deaths in the school

Felt pressured by friends

Tried to cut down before the deaths at the school but then increased

Mum quit smoking so it wasn't as easy for her to smoke, Mum has taken it up again so it is now easier

Went to smoking/drug/alcohol course but it didn't help

Kept away from friends who smoke

Was about to call Quitline but didn't have the number

Doctor told him to quit and he did it himself for health reasons

His atmosphere made it hard to quit

Went to church and started to slow down on smoking

Couldn't go an hour without one - but tried, smokes more in holidays

Not addicted

Only smoke when friends do - not very often

Stopped hanging out with smokers

Instead of smoking, play sports to take mind off it

Influenced by parents

Not hanging out with people who smoke

Didn't hang out with friends that smoke

Trying to say no

iv) Posters encouraged

You read them and think yuck!

It was the cessation programme that helped her stop

It was pressure from friends that helped her cut down

Didn't get the number from the poster

Didn't get Quitline number from the poster

Saw ads on TV

It was her choice

Was going into hospital and wanted to give up

Didn't see them

It was all in her mind- willpower - one of the guys who died influenced her decision

Hadn't seen them until last three weeks of term

Likes No.4

They always get ripped down, so they might help if they didn't get taken

Most people don't read the posters

Just church

Cause friends rip them down

Peer pressure did

It slows you down when you get older

Reads them in loo

Posters are a good idea

No opinion

TV ads were more useful

Ads on TV

Tried to quit before poster were put up

Really wants to quit

Hadn't seen them before that - first thought they were OK, now she likes them better

But thinks posters are pathetic

Friends and pressure

The nicotine looks evil - the dog is cool - he helps

Thinking how she would be addicted in twenty years

The pictures

Could see how she was dragged in and she knew she could if she really wanted to she just had to work at it

Posters 2&3 - breaking free of addiction, she identifies with "I thought I could handle it"

All the posters are stages of addiction - affects of this on body. Poster 6 - the monsters in lungs - Poster 4 and 2 - monster really gross

Posters 4&6 - Once you're hooked you're hooked - don't start

Poster 6 - every smoke does you damage - monster

How the posters look and what they say

No.6 made her think about stopping cause it gave her an idea of the lungs and stuff

Friends encouraged her

No.2 - escaping from addictions, and No.3 - Trying to escape addiction

Poster 3 - encourages smoker to break free

Looking at the lungs - getting things out of your voicebox and cancer

Dirty nicotine monster

Graphics of the lungs

Shows you how to get away - No. 5, and what is happening to you - No. 6

It scares you to stop

Didn't read them

So many people smoke - the posters made you think you were going to die young

Likes No. 6

The inside of the body is disgusting - monster in lungs No. 6

Didn't take any notice of them

By the sayings in them

Didn't catch on to the message

The pictures proves that it's addictive

Diseases you can get and tar in lungs

Disgusting monsters, the girl can do it which is encouraging
nicotine monster
No.6 is yuck - insides of lungs
No. 6 is effective lungs
Pulls them off and burns them in the toilets
Persuade you there is a chance you don't have to smoke. Encouraging
Pictures encouraged, not physical effects, she likes the stories
Monster encouraged her
Seeing the lungs affected, being helpless and not being able to stop
Hates seeing inside the body, what it's doing to you. They look neat - good layout
They look at it - the ones of the monster reminds her of the smoke that you inhale - saying - 'don't do it'
Your health - No. 6
Family passed away - No. 2 was influential
How it can become controlling
Reasons on posters - money and other things
No.5 - it's just bad for you
X-Ray vision No.6 - what was going on inside the body
Health reasons
What it can do to your lungs and heart
Only No. 6
Shows you can break free
Just thought they were there to read - they don't encourage anyone to stop, people just like reading them
The monster and the dirty lungs were a put off - she didn't want dirty lungs so stopped
Sister helped her try and stop with threats which encouraged her
Really good message in them, easy to understand
The nicotine monster thing in Posters 5&6
Picture of lungs - Poster 6
The nicotine monster in No. 4
Don't know
No
Tar on your lungs
The gunk in the guys' lungs No. 6 and the monster looking like tar
You can see it's bad for you
Visual effect
Graphics of poster 7 were quite powerful
No. 6 disease, germs, addiction, sick in your lungs, slows you down
No. 5 Trying to help a mate not smoke
No. 5 Helping friend break free
Don't know
Made her cut down - the picture in No. 3 shows you there is another way out instead of smoking
Had stopped by them
No. 4 the nicotine is controlling - encouraging
Asthmatic - so had to stop
The colour of the posters
Likes No.4
No. 4 appeals most 7/10, No.7 5/10, No.5 5/10, No. 6 6/10 Some one was helping him stop
What smoking can do to your system - like No. 6
Poster No.6
Poster No.1
Poster No.6
All of the posters
Poster No.2
Poster No.6
Poster No.5
After seeing all the posters stopped for a while
As long as it's been read Posters Nos. 1&2
Poster No. 7 - kind of
No. 6 Lungs - monster gross
No.1 Smoking is really yucky and takes over your body
No. 5 addiction pulling the character in, friend trying to help

No. 2 breaking free from addiction hit home
 No. 6 shows that smoking is killing you on the inside
 Pictures easy to understand, gives hope that she can cut down
 No. 4 Control, see what smoking does to you, addiction
 Poster No.1
 Poster No.6 - Health reasons
 All the posters - 1,2,3,4
 Controlling No.4
 No. 2 - Breaking free
 Health reasons and how the posters look - No1&2
 Health reasons No.6
 Posters aren't big enough, drawings are good
 No. 7 peer pressure good for students to see, you can get away
 No. 6 Gross feeling, like you have a monster in you too
 No. 2 writing, information and pictures are eye catching
 No.2 likes the fact that the character is escaping the grasp
 Poster No.6 lungs -germ looks really gross
 No.5 - Boy trying to break away - she should too. No.3 - Trapping you (addiction)
 No.4 - Writing gets message through
 No.2 - Picture and words got message through
 No.4 - Pictures are eye catching, made her think about her smoking habits
 No.1/3 - running away from addiction - pictures/writing

v) Better or worse in the toilets?

People wouldn't stop in the corridors and read them - you read them in the toilets cause you have the privacy to read them without other people knowing.
 You read them on the loo - but you don't think much of them. They are cool to look at and I'd take them home if I could
 People steal them - they should put something over them to stop them from being stolen.
 You read them in the toilets - you wouldn't read them in the corridor
 People look at them more
 There is nothing else to look at
 Cause everyone goes there and they're right in front of you
 It gives you something to look at so you notice them
 It gives you something to look at
 But you don't get time to read them and its private so its good that no one can see you read them
 People don't think about giving up smoking in the toilet
 Cause no one can draw on them unless they get up off the toilet seat
 They should be put all around the school
 They are easy to look at
 Gets stolen from toilets
 Everyone sees them
 Good because you have to look at it
 Everybody sees them in the toilets
 You read them in the toilets
 They are something to look at- its a good location cause you're forced to look at them
 There is nothing else to look at
 It makes people want to have a smoke in the toilets
 Most people look at them in there
 You are going to see them
 You notice them better than if they were on a wall where you would walk straight past
 You don't get to see them though cause they get ripped off
 You don't think about quitting smoking while you're on the loo!
 People don't really take notice of them and half of them get ripped down.
 People have to look at posters
 They get ripped off - they would be better all over the school (in classes)
 You can see them
 You have to look at them

Put them around the school as well
It's got nothing to do with the toilets
More people take notice
Cause you see them
Cause you have time to read them
You should put posters around the whole school
Because people will notice them
Everyone has to go sometime
They get ripped down if they are around the school
Putting them around the school would also be good
Heaps of people smoke in the toilets and you can't just walk past the posters
It gives you something to read while you're there
They shouldn't be there - people don't go into the toilet to read. People destroy them in there. It's not at school where people need to read these things, it's out of school when there's pressure from friends
They don't do anything - heaps of people don't go to the toilet at school cause they don't like the toilets - put them in the gym.

You don't have them on the street
No one takes any notice of them- they burn and rip them
Put them in the student centre, more people would see them - people don't take any notice of them
So the school looks like its doing something about the smokers
People don't smoke in there unless the teachers are about
Other than the field, that is where people smoke - put smoke detectors in the toilets
Ripped down, written on or ignored
People go in the toilets to smoke
People go in there to smoke
People rip them down or burn them with cigarettes
People smoke in toilet
That is where people go to have a smoke
People go in there to have a smoke, when they are in there they read the posters
That is where everybody smokes
People smoke in the toilets - they are always there to remind them that what they do is wrong
It's right in your face
They are good because a lot of people go there but they still smoke
Most people smoke in school toilets
They just get ripped down, no one sees them, they should be in the classrooms where teachers can keep an eye on them
Everyone burns the posters
Everyone smokes in toilets
Most people smoke in the toilets
Because they are influential
People read it because they smoke in toilets
Everyone smokes in the toilets
Gives students something to read
Everyone smokes in the toilets
Everyone smokes in the toilets
No reason
They always get burnt
Most of the smokers hang out there
When you're having a leak you're looking at the posters
Toilets are good cause people always go there
Don't know
Everyone smokes in the toilets
Everyone smokes in the toilets
Most people smoke in the toilets
It depends where you put them in the toilets, put them next to the urinal, not the toilet cubicles- they get ripped down
People don't smoke in the toilets - they should be around school where people mostly smoke
Everyone goes to the toilets
People who smoke in the toilets don't take any notice
It works in boys toilets but not in girls - boys spend more time in there, better to have them in classrooms

Should be where the smokers go - only dumb smokers go to the toilets to smoke
That's where most people smoke
People go in there to have a smoke, then feel guilty about doing it
People go to the toilets to smoke
People don't take much notice of them
Not many people go to the toilets - put them in the corridor
Most people go there
They get ripped down
Cause not many people notice the posters in the hall
People may be too shy to read the posters in the open
Everyone goes to the toilet
People leave without reading them
Because people can read them
People smoke in the toilets
Everyone rips them off - teachers don't know
Most smoke in toilets
People don't pay attention
People pay more attention
Ripped them down
On the notice board people would take them down, toilets are a good place, they stay up
You really notice them there, the colours stand out
People just go to the toilet or do their hair, they don't have time to read - put them in the corridor
Waste of money for people putting them there - girls don't look at them - they graffiti and damage them
Cause everyone smokes in there
Something to look at
Makes people laugh
People rip them down
Feels offended by having them in toilets - put them in the corridors
That's where everybody smokes
Everyone can see them
Everyone goes to the toilet
Everyone smokes in the toilets
Everyone goes to the toilets
Everyone goes to the toilets
Everyone goes to the toilets
People hang out in toilets
Everyone goes to the toilet
Everyone goes there
Everyone goes to the toilets - should have them around the school
People take posters
People take them
Everyone goes to the toilets
Everyone goes to the toilets
Everyone goes to the toilets
Heaps of people go to the toilets
No one looks at them
You can see them all the time
They are ripped down
No one cares
People smoke in toilets - they don't care, put them around the school
Taken off constantly
Everyone smokes in the toilets
Ripped down, don't care- classes would be a better place
When it rains people go to the toilets to smoke but it doesn't work for them
People smoke in the toilets but they are being removed
They get graffitied
Posters get stolen, kids smoke in toilets
They get stolen
Where kids smoke
Everyone goes to the toilets
Smokers see it

People smoke in the toilets
Everyone goes to the toilets
Everyone goes to the toilets
Should be put around the school
Tells people not to smoke
Everyone smokes in the toilets
They tag on the posters
Tom down by students
Should put it outside for everyone to see
Everyone smokes in the toilets - they get pulled down
Everyone smokes in the toilets
Reminds you that it isn't good
People still smoke in the toilets - put all around the school
Don't care but the posters help people
People smoke in the toilets
Seeing the posters made her mates cut down
Where everyone goes to smoke
Where everyone smokes - graffitied on
Everywhere - so we can see them all the time
She smokes in toilets, makes her want to stop
Put some in students' centre - kids smoke in toilets

vi) Want more information

You needed your parents permission to attend the cessation programme so it was embarrassing asking - she missed the first day and couldn't join late. Half the people who attended didn't stop
She has heaps of info - it's up to the individual to stop
People know it gives you cancer - people need to know all the nasty gruesome details
She knows she needs to quit - it's just not her time
Brochures, booklets, more posters that aren't cartoons but real things
Something I can read
The smoking course at school was really helpful - repeat that
Reintroduce Quit Smoking Programme
Special classes, pamphlets and no smoking stuff
More education programmes, more pamphlets etc. Confidentiality is a big issue
There is enough
More definite facts rather than 'this **could** happen to you'
More detail about the health effects
She is quite 'independent' and can do it by herself - you have to be dumb not to know what it does to you
More seriously gruesome pictures available would put her off
Pamphlets with tips on how to quit
Education programme should be reintroduced
More programmes
Pamphlets showing the effects of smoking and ways to quit
Gets information from her mother cause she used to smoke and stopped
How come you get addicted to smoking?
Pamphlets
Graphic Pictures
The effects from smoking and how you can quit
Would like to know all the dangers - all the ways to stop/cut down on smoking
Information with how to quit - finding something else that would take away the **want** to smoke
Actual pictures of smokers insides when they die
Quitpack with mouthspray and books helped her, Mum was smoking and won it on the radio, but spray ran out and she started again. Thinks that spray would help her
It would help to know the actual facts e.g. seeing the effects inside your body
Waste of money, needs more info on how to stop
A leaflet to help you cut down, and a book
Someone to talk to
Try to reduce pressure from mates to smoke - everywhere she goes there is smoke cause her whole family smokes so she wakes up feeling like one

Cold hard facts - not cartoons but statistics

What it does to the insides of you, how it effects you, would like posters and leaflets

Anything - maybe speakers at the school

Lung cancer on a poster - make them more scary than the current posters

Has enough

Posters

There are enough ads on TV and posters in health lessons

Knowing graphic details

Gets enough info

Pamphlets, diagrams, what it does to you, to gain a greater understanding

Pamphlets on how to cut down on smoking

Has enough e.g. smokefree pamphlets, posters, has a person who comes in each week to help people cut down

More visual info

The best way to quit is to show visual impact and the causes of smoking

Visual info

Way of quitting and influences from friends

More people coming around to discuss the harms of smoking

Ways to help you quit

Ways to stop smoking

Don't know

Don't know

How to quit

Ways to give up, easier access to ways of stopping

Trying to stay healthy

The numbers to quit

Just anything

Some advice from someone

Someone you could talk to confidentially

I'm not addicted, if I want to stop I will'

Someone to talk to about smoking and how bad it is for you

Won't listen to it

Talking to an X-Smoker, getting advice, wants to be told it's not cool

More posters

Has enough info from family who smoke

Don't know - just wants to stop

Don't know

Don't know

Informing you what it does to your body and how it affects you

Don't know

Don't know

Don't know

More booklets about what happens when you smoke

Ring the Auahi Kore line

Education programme on actual effects of smoking on body, show facts - realism

Real people, and real effects on people

Doesn't think he is addicted

Education programmes

Finds it hard to stop because of friends - need more posters and education classes

Didn't know there was a Quitline no. Wants to talk to someone about it

Anything - posters and videos would be alright

Doesn't smoke much

How I can stop and also to get others to stop with me e.g. parents or encourage others to stop e.g. mates

Knows the dangers from health lessons

Video, tape or radio

Any info

Knows everything from Mum - she smoked

Harms of smoking

How to quit and trying to handle

How to stop and things to do to help

More practical info
Health reasons and dangers of smoking - real life photos
Visual info
How to stop and the way to help cut back
What's an easier way to stop
What it does to you
Visual info
More visual info
Help from others
Classes - private lessons
No peer pressure - classes for health needed
Unsure
Classes - Tu tangata programme
Start programme from third form to be cool
Pamphlets, easier ways to quit - school programme, more posters around the school, less pressure from mates
People won't listen
Pamphlets - class at school
Tips, classes, encouragement from peers, teachers
More help from advisors
More posters
More visual info
More visual info and impact on sports
Health reasons and dangerous chemicals
More visual info
More visual info
Easier access to info
More visual info
How to stop - tips/ways
Showing how smoking effects the body, like the ads on TV that are gross
Field trips, classes - actual effects on body
Encouragement, help from guidance
Encouragement, less peer pressure, classes
More posters all over the school, education system
Classes - effects of smoking, special programmes
Education classes
Classes of some sort - stricter rules at school
Education programmes
Education programmes
Education programmes

vii) Improvements / other comments

People don't take them into consideration - they stand out cause they are cartoon. Thinks they do work. They are not working - people rip them down.
A lot of people mock them - don't make them so 'bright' and 'colourful' and 'nice' and 'happy' - make the characters wear cooler clothes - they look like 'nerds' on the posters. Make the characters scary - more like evil cartoons e.g. Spiderman
Take a picture of someone's lungs (a smoker). Put them in the toilets - keep X-Smoker title. Write a few facts of what smoking does to you.
Something really disgusting - don't use cartoon
Use real people - have just one message rather than all the speech bubbles, not as much writing - don't clutter, don't use cartoon.
Leave them the same
Cartoons are more interesting than words so keep them the same.
Keep them cartoon and show real lungs of crusty smokers
Thinks green men inside body in poster 6 are 'so cute'. No poster could change someone's opinion - if you want to quit it has to be your own choice - cessation programme didn't work for her cause it was family that wanted her to do it -not her own choice.

What it does inside you - flag using cartoons, toilets are a good place cause heaps of smokers go to the toilet to smoke.

list things to do while you are giving up, people don't think about dying at 15. They are thinking about looking unattractive to boys or getting wrinkles - make it look not cool, cartoons are too happy, show real lungs, make smokes that are good for you.

Keep them cartoon

Bigger, more noticeable nicotine - cartoons are simple, easy to understand

Use real people - show the real effects to our bodies e.g. the skin.

Make them more realistic

They should make you aware of the diseases you can get - small pictures of diseased lungs.

Use real people - you would take them more seriously that way - cartoons are a joke

Make the posters more gross, you don't take them seriously, make them more realistic

Have realistic pictures but in cartoon style

Have realistic cartoons - Cartoons are colourful and eye catching, effects of smoking eye opening

Fact on how smoking stunts your growth and affects your looks would make her stop. The cartoons are good

Use real pictures, the cartoons seem cheesy and a bit patronising - like the readers are dumb and stupid - especially the language

Make them more realistic e.g. . have half a healthy person on one side of the poster and half a smoker on the other with black lungs etc. make it disturbing

Keep them the same

Don't like the cartoons - they are not good drawings - too cheesy. The words are cheesy. She doesn't like them. Show disgusting stuff about what it does to your body- stop people from starting- make more graphic I wouldn't use cartoons. Say that smoking is bad

Keep them the same

Make them more realistic and graphic - they're effective but not as effective as they could be. Should be more realistic, graphic, shock factor, not cartoons. No.6 is pointless cause you know the lungs aren't real- its pointless- should have black lungs.

Cartoon is more appealing - but have them more up to date with what teenagers are like- don't say that smoking is 'stupid'. Dress the characters in more modern clothing

Cartoon four is really cool - don't advertise any other way - it's colourful and bright, get a better artist to draw the pictures though

Make them bigger and brighter - they're dull and cartoons don't make an impact - definitely don't use cartoon, have a realistic poster of black lungs- put them in places where people smoke - not the toilets

Go inside a person's body - have real pictures - artery and fatty stuff - put posters in toilets, cartoon is a funny approach - it doesn't look real enough

They're pretty cool

Can't relate to characters, they're read - but are quite babyish. They need more information on the effects of smoking

They aren't realistic, they need more writing, the pictures encourage you to give up.

They are easy to ignore - you don't pay attention to them - they don't achieve their aim. Put them all over the school. Make them bigger so you have to take notice of them.

They need to have more ideas on how to give up. Have more relevant pictures. Comic book style is good and catchy.

Feel's its aimed at little kids - TV ads scares you out of smoking - e.g. "your inside on the outside".

The posters look like they are aimed at kids - too comy. Don't use the monster - make them more realistic.

Show the pressures of smoking. This girl was addicted.

Have real pictures of people with things cut out of them - comics aren't believable have graphic pictures and put them all around the school

They look geeky - they should be on the toilet door, it's too hard to read on the side. Put them on the outside of the toilets in the bathroom by the mirrors. Have one big message rather than writing. Don't have comics. Have pictures of black lungs

Have more information on them

Make the Quitline number more visible.

Have real life pictures - more graphic

Make it real life people and make the effects look worse

Good as they are

Keep them the same

Make it really disgusting

Have more effects of smoking written on them -like the ads on TV - they are effective

Make them bigger, bolder, have 90s teenager things that would catch people's eyes. Have half cartoon and half real pictures. Also have graphic pictures of lungs

Put real life pictures

People smoking - how they end up, posters are ugly and the pictures suck
Seeing posters makes you want to smoke, make the posters bigger
They look too kiddie - make people real
No.4 is easy to ignore, funny but true
They do work
Show real pictures of people with damage done inside them
Use cartoons, have pictures of what happens to your lungs
Put real humans - show the insides, show them inhaling real smoke like the ad with the gunk in arteries, made her stop and family members giving up was also an incentive
List down side what is in a cigarette e.g. ammonia, paint stripper - he has seen that before and it has encouraged him to cut down, loves the posters and has been waiting for No. 7 - wants a copy of them
Likes No. 6 - doesn't like No. 4. Have a healthy person and smoker on the outside and another picture of their insides - say 'don't smoke - this is what it will do to you', make them 14 yrs and older. Have less words kids don't like reading heaps.
More realistic - they look like a joke, especially No. 7. Use real people, it would look a lot better. Put in classrooms where you go everyday, put in nurses office, people smoke in the toilet - put in bathroom not toilet cubicle
Use real life, not cartoons - it's too fake - if No. 6 was real it would make her think twice about smoking
Nothing is going to change the way you feel about smoking. Do the posters bigger, have more to read. The old 1,2 and 3 posters were better
Good as is
Put someone's real lungs that have been smoking - people find this disgusting. Include a big long info list of the bad things that smoking does to you - make them life size
Better pictures - not cartoons
Have a poster like the one where the girl is half dead, half alive, or a poster like the girl who has 'what's on the inside on the outside'
Would keep cartoon - keep as is - good
Keep them the same
Would have real life pictures, use smoke machine for smoke, get someone to draw a mural at school instead of posters
Like No. 6 - what it does to you
Decision of the person
Skeleton poster with half good and half ashey and gross would be good
A friend gave up smoking because of posters. Cool pictures/writing
Eye catching message is clear - there's help if you need it, smokefree number must be bigger
Posters 1-3 need to be brighter
Quite eye catching - Bigger
Cover with hard plastic so they can't be ripped off
TV ads are pretty cool. Realistic pictures
Get students to draw pictures, thinks he's addicted
More info on the effects - what's in a smoke
Should make them bigger
Should have more posters like No. 6
Should have more posters, all sorts
Could be bigger
Pictures should be realistic, smoke entering lungs - good
Addicted to smoking
Good as they are. Isn't addicted
Posters are working, colour and art, big thing at college - eye catching posters. Thinks she is addicted
Bigger - put around the school. Thinks she is addicted
Nearly addicted
None. Addicted to smoking
Don't put them in the toilets. Addicted
Too easy to ignore. Thinks she's addicted
Real pictures. She is not addicted
Brighter colours, is addicted to smoking
Bigger pictures - more writing - lungs - what smoking can do to you

No one thinks much of them - burns holes in them and rips them down

People rip them down. No improvements

People don't take any notice of them, make them noticeable, make them bigger cause lots of people ignore them. Make a peer pressure cartoon, use more characters, don't say X-Smoker say Quit Smoking - they're not targeting X-Smokers!

No - they're good

Make it realistic - real details. People think of them as a joke -babyish 'we are young adults now'!

You don't see them when you're smoking, they're babyish, people look at them and laugh, have solid facts.

No. 6 is O K, . Show people who **will** help you stop, not superman or a cartoon girl. Show real scary pictures of the insides of a 30 yr old smoker

Would like more information about the effects

They look groovy, but as for effectiveness they don't work at all. They are sad and pathetic - get rid of them, people put their smokes out on them. People are going to smoke if they want to. The smoking age doesn't make any difference.

Make them more colourful

Wouldn't change them

No -they're good

More impact with colour would attract attention

Get rid of them - waste of time, waste of paper, waste of trees, nothing will make her stop.

Likes the fact that Quitline number is on there, Thinks the posters are cool

Loves No.6, make them more graphic

Have real elements - not comic book style, put more around the school

More visual impact

Keep posters up and keep the school smokefree

Really good - the layout is good

Continue putting the posters up - make people aware

Should have all of them stuck together

Keep them out of the toilets, put them on the seats on the field

Visual impact of posters

Posters are cool

Keep them the same

Make them all bright colours so they stand out - make them attractive so they look at them and think about the cartoons

Have posters showing families that have family members killed from smoking

Too basic, a lot of pictures but not enough words, get info from kids,make a poster that will reach them e.g. 3D - cartoon and real life catch attention, show insides of body - show relationships between people e.g. you and your friends or partner

Fine as is

Smoking since age 5 with parents so did brother and sister - all still smokers, put better detail - too babyish.

The words suck, keep the cartoons

Keep the same

Do things like the TV ads - gross stuff in arteries, these posters aren't reality, have realistic things - No.6 - 7 out of 10

Keep the same

Make them stand out more, better drawings - realistic cartoons - say 'stop smoking' - they don't work

Wouldn't change it

No. 4 is best

Add a column down the bottom that explains the message clearly

Don't know

People just laugh at them - don't take much notice of them. The posters don't have much influence over people

Use real pictures

Good as they are

Have less writing

Good as they are

Good as they are

Drawings stink

Persuasive because its bad for you, trying to escape the addiction

Likes the cartoon - no stereotypes of Maori or Polynesians

Real graphics - gross pictures

Make posters real - they are hard to believe