Recall, Recognition, and Perceptions of Anti-Tobacco Posters in Schools:

A Qualitative Report Prepared for the Mississippi State Department of Health

June 2015

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INTRODUCTION

On behalf of the *Mississippi State Department of Health* (MSDH), *Southern Research Group* (SRG) conducted eight focus groups with teens in Jackson, Mississippi and Clarksdale Mississippi to assess recall, recognition, and perceptions of anti-tobacco SkoolAds posters. Additionally, experiences with tobacco were explored as well as perceptions and opinions of tobacco use.

Four anti-tobacco posters were placed in schools throughout Mississippi during the 2014-2015 school year. These posters are purposely located in high traffic areas in the schools (i.e., in cafeteria, above water fountains, in hallways, etc.). SkoolAds is the company in charge of placing these posters in frames throughout schools across Mississippi. The primary purpose of this qualitative research is to understand recall, recognition, and perceptions of four anti-tobacco SkoolAds posters that were displayed in schools during the 2014-20015 school year.

Additionally, teens were asked to describe early memories of being exposed to tobacco and their feelings about tobacco use among their peers and families.

Findings from the focus groups will reveal students' awareness and perceptions of the SkoolAds posters located throughout their schools. Combined with past qualitative research, the current findings will also provide a greater understanding of the elements of tobacco-free messages that resonate with Mississippi teens.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of this qualitative study were to:

- Assess students' awareness and perceptions of the SkoolAds posters in their schools
- Explore teens' thoughts and feelings about tobacco use in their peer groups and families.

Specific objectives include:

- Assess unaided awareness of anti-tobacco messaging in schools
- o Assess unaided awareness of SkoolAds posters
 - Location
 - Image
 - Wording
 - Main message
- Assess prompted recollection, impressions, and opinions of four SkoolAds posters: Lung, Chemicals, Wrinkles, and Teeth
 - Familiarity / recollection
 - Location in school
 - First impressions and opinions
 - Feelings and associations
 - Relevance
 - Likes, dislikes, and ways to improve
 - Uniqueness of message
 - Impact of message on likeliness to use or not use tobacco
- Explore teens experiences, thoughts, and feelings about tobacco use among peers and within families
 - Explore early experiences of being exposed to tobacco

The complete moderator's guide can be found in the Appendix.



METHODOLOGY

In June 2015, a total of 78 teens participated in 8 focus groups in Jackson, Mississippi and Clarksdale, Mississippi. Teens were recruited through referrals from school counselors and contact persons at schools that have the SkoolAds posters displayed. Teens were also recruited through referrals from parents and/or teens already recruited for the study.

During the 2014-2015 academic year, all teen respondents were students at one of the following schools:

Clarksdale High School (Clarksdale) Dakhurst Academy (Clarksdale) WA Wiggins Academy (Clarksdale) Coahoma County Jr. High School (Clarksdale) Coahoma County Sr. High School (Clarksdale)
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A series of questions explored unaided recall of anti-tobacco messages and prompted awareness and opinions of four SkoolAds posters: Lung, Chemicals, Wrinkles, and Teeth. The presentation order of the posters was rotated across focus groups.

During the 2014-2015 academic year, the four SkoolAds posters were displayed in Mississippi schools on the following dates:

- 1st posting 9/22 /2014(Lung)
- 2nd posting 11/19/2014 (Chemicals)
- 3rd posting 2/10/2014 (Wrinkles)
- 4th posting 1st week of April (Teeth)

The study design is outlined in the table below.

Monday June 8, 2015	5:30PM to 7:00PM	7:30PM to 9:00PM
Jackson, MS	Females Ages 13 to 15 years	Males Ages 16 to 17 years
Tuesday June 9, 2015	5:30PM to 7:00PM	7:30PM to 9:00PM
Jackson, MS	Males Ages 13 to 15 years	Females Ages 16 to 17 years
Wednesday June 10, 2015	5:30PM to 7:00PM	7:30PM to 9:00PM
Clarksdale, MS	Males Ages 13 to 15 years	Females Ages 16 to 17 years
Thursday June 11, 2015	5:30PM to 7:00PM	7:30PM to 9:00PM
Clarksdale, MS	Females Ages 13 to 15 years	Males Ages 16 to 17 years



TEEN RESPONDENTS

A total of 78 teens participated in the eight focus groups.

- Age profile of all participants
 - o 12 were 13 years of age
 - o 18 were 14 years of age
 - o 8 were 15 years of age
 - o 26 were 16 years of age
 - o 14 were 17 years of age
- Race of all participants
 - o 63 were African American
 - o 15 were Caucasian
- Schools attended in 2015-2016 academic years
 - o Jackson area
 - 3 attended Byram Middle School
 - 1 attended Carver Middle School
 - 1 attended Siwell Middle School
 - 11 attended Ridgeland High School
 - 5 attended Velma Jackson High School
 - 3 attended Old Town Middle School
 - 8 attended Puckett Attendance Center
 - 2 attended McLaurin Attendance Center
 - 4 attended Northwest Rankin Middle School
 - 1 attended Pelahatchie Attendance Center
 - Clarksdale
 - 20 attended Clarksdale High School
 - 1 attended Oakhurst Academy
 - 6 attended WA Wiggins Academy
 - 8 attended Coahoma County Jr. High School
 - 4 attended Coahoma County Sr. High School

STATEMENT OF LIMITATIONS

Due to the limited number of respondents and the restrictions on sampling, this research must be considered qualitative rather than quantitative. Qualitative research is designed to discern knowledge, awareness, attitudes, and opinions about concepts, services, or products. From a statistical standpoint, the findings of this qualitative study cannot be projected to the total population.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Unaided Awareness of Anti-Tobacco Messages at School

While some of the teens in Jackson and Clarksdale recalled seeing posters in schools, many more recalled general anti-drug programs and activities. They also recalled seeing both tobacco-free and drug-free signage throughout schools. Few Clarksdale teens remembered seeing "posters" in schools. Among teens from Jackson area schools, posters were top of mind for females and males ages 13 to 15 years. Overall, prompted recall of the SkoolAds posters was greater than unaided recall.

Prompted Awareness of SkoolAds Posters at School

SkoolAds Poster: Teeth

The Teeth poster was most recognizable to 13 to 15 year old Jackson males and females. They were most likely to recall the SkoolAds Teeth poster and remember it from school (school office, cafeteria, hallway, and bathroom door) compared to those ages 16 to 17 years. Clarksdale teens recalled the message but not necessarily the SkoolAds poster specifically. Outside of school, some thought they had seen the poster in dentists' offices or doctors' offices.

Overall, teens thought this was a good message because "everyone cares about their teeth." Across groups, the poster reminded teens of the Real Cost commercial "Your Teeth." This message was thought to target a wider audience compared to the Wrinkles and Lung posters. The skeleton with the blue teeth was especially attention grabbing and most thought the message of the poster was clear and easily identified.

SkoolAds Poster: Wrinkles

While a few students remember seeing this poster at their schools, many more were familiar with the message in general, having "heard it some place" or seen it at a doctor's office. Most agree that the poster is targeting females.

The Wrinkles poster was the least favored because the image did not match the message; it was considered too close up and they suspected the person was either old or squinting. Initial responses to the poster included counterarguments such as: everyone will get wrinkles anyway, no one sees young people with wrinkles even if they smoke, some people (African Americans) are not prone to wrinkles, and only women care about wrinkles.

SkoolAds Poster: Lung

The "Lung" poster was the most recognized and generated the most comments. They remember seeing the poster by water fountain, trophy case, school office, and hallways. This poster was liked because there is a real person who is young and because of the sports theme. Many teens play sports and care about being good at their sport; "making it" in sports is a common aspiration among young people and many do indeed care about their athletic performance. Most teens were familiar with the idea that smoking stunts growth in general (mostly thinking about height) but not the lung growth specifically.

Although the message about smoking was considered believable, the image was not. Many strongly felt that the girl in the picture portrays how a normal, healthy girl could expect to look after running track.



Some Clarksdale teens did not feel like the Lung poster (and most public health posters) relate to them as there is a tendency for people in the posters to be White.

SkoolAds Poster: Chemicals

Along with the Lung poster, the Chemicals poster was familiar to teens, especially the 13 to 15 year old male and females. They recognized the poster from their school office, hallway, cafeteria, gym, and chemistry class. They also have heard similar messages on television and from teachers. Most think this fact about chemicals in cigarettes is well-known and believable; however, many had strong reactions to the "number fact" of 7000 chemicals per puff.

Instead of counterarguments, teens tended to elaborate on this message. They quickly imagined the number of chemicals one intakes when smoking an entire cigarette. They also initially responded with thoughts about second-hand smoke.

This poster reminded teens of the Truth campaign's televisions commercial, Poop vs. Pee, and other messaging about various chemicals found in cigarettes.

Perceptions and Evaluations of Posters and Other Anti-Tobacco Efforts

Overall, Lung and Chemicals were considered to be the best posters. In general, teens prefer to see real images of people and the consequences of tobacco use. They claim graphic/shocking images and famous people get their attention the most. The Wrinkles poster elicited the most counterarguments, followed by the Lung poster. Most counterarguments to the Lung poster pertained to the believability of the image not the message, while counterarguments to the Wrinkles poster pertained to the message and the image. The Chemicals poster had the opposite effect; many elaborated further on the message as they imagined the effects of the chemicals on the body.

Type of Tobacco Used in Schools and Among Peers

In the Jackson area teens see their peers using smokeless tobacco and smoking Black and Mild cigars. To a lesser extent their peers smoke cigarettes and use vape products. In Clarksdale, teens claim their peers smoke Black and Mild cigars way more frequently than cigarettes. Across groups, teens claim more White students and coaches use smokeless tobacco and more Black teens smoke Black and Mild cigars, including females.

First Memories, Confronting Relatives, and Emotional Impact

Teens' early memories of being exposed to tobacco use were described as unpleasant and included bad smells associated with smoke, dirty ash trays, second-hand smoke, and smokeless tobacco stuck in the teeth of relatives. Some teens remember always being exposed to tobacco.

Teens differ on the degree to which they currently feel or have felt comfortable with confronting their older family members about tobacco use. Some do not feel they have the authority to say anything to an elder or expose their family members' bad habits. They also believe their older relatives must know that smoking is bad for them so they do not necessarily feel they should say anything.

Some teens feel upset about their parents' use of tobacco such as when they see money spent on cigarettes that should be spent on essentials. However, others are more resigned to their parents' smoking and would "rather see them happy" with their tobacco habit than unhappy without it.



Beliefs about Tobacco Use: Social Smoking, Early Exposure, & Stress

Teens believe they are more susceptible to social smoking than to full on addictions like chain smoking. They say that some people who do not use tobacco typically may do so at parties and in other social settings.

It is also widely believed that growing up around tobacco use makes one more prone to trying tobacco initially, in part because of easy access. Furthermore, teens believe family use of tobacco "normalizes" it more than for teens who do not grow up around tobacco use.

Regarding adults who use tobacco, many teens hear their older relatives say they need to smoke to reduce stress or calm their nerves. Consequently, some believe there is a relaxing quality that goes with smoking. That belief is reinforced when they observe their relatives and other adults acting calmer after smoking.

In addition to family and friends, teens emphasize the degree of influence that rappers have on young people. They claim teens want to do what rappers do and if they do not they have a sense that they're missing out on something.

Teens believe whether or not one uses tobacco is a mindset. They recognize some people do not think about the future because they either have little hope for their future or because they are prone to maximizing their pleasure or happiness in the present.

In contrast, when teens talk about the reasons they and their peers choose to not use tobacco most of the reasons have a performance or future orientation. Among other reasons not to smoke, teens want to be good at the sports they play and they want to increase their chances of being attractive to potential girlfriends/boyfriends.



UNAIDED AWARENESS OF ANTI-TOBACCO MESSAGES AT SCHOOL

As a starting point for the focus group discussions, teens were asked to write descriptions of any antitobacco messages they remember hearing or seeing at school. Students' written responses are contained in the two tables below. A few Clarksdale teens remembered seeing "posters" in schools. Among those from Jackson area schools, "posters" were top of mind for females and males ages 13 to 15 years.

Although some of the teens in Jackson and Clarksdale recalled seeing posters in schools, many more recalled general anti-drug programs and activities. They also recalled seeing both tobacco-free and drug-free signage throughout schools. Regarding posters, two responses closely matched one of the four SkoolAds posters tested during these focus groups and displayed during the 2014-2015 school year. However, other respondents could not provide details about the posters they remember so it is not clear if they recall seeing SkoolAds specifically.

Prompted recall of the SkoolAds posters was greater than unaided recall.

"... at our school we have a bunch of posters and a group of our students ... they put up posters ... they'll say 'don't do drugs' ..." [Female, African American, 13 years of age, Old Town Middle]

"... one of the posters was 'if you smoke you'll get wrinkles at a really young age' ... it kind of scares me cause I don't want to get wrinkles ..." [Female, White, 14 years of age, McLaurin Attendance Center]

Tables on the following pages represent the written responses by group:



Focus Group	Respondents' Schools	Types of Anti-tobacco Messages Recalled
Jackson Females 13 to 15 years	 Carver Middle School Ridgeland High School Velma Jackson High Old Town Middle Puckett Attendance Center McLaurin Attendance Center 	 Posters (5 mentions) Red Ribbon Week (5 mentions) Guest speakers at school (3 mentions) SADD Group (3 mentions) RAT commercial (2 mentions) DARE Program (2 mentions) Anti-drug week – pledge not to smoke (1 mention) Tobacco survey at school (1 mention) Classes (1 mention) Billboards (1 mention) School meetings (1 mention) No recall of any anti-tobacco messages (1 mention)
Jackson Males 13 to 15 years	 Byram Middle School Siwell Middle School Ridgeland High School Puckett Attendance Center Northwest Rankin Middle School Ridgeland High School Velma Jackson High Northwest Rankin High Pelahatchie Attendance 	 Posters (3 mentions) No recall of any anti-tobacco messages (3 mentions) Drug free zone sign (2 mentions) Tobacco RAT (1 mention) No tobacco sign (1 mention) No smoking sign (1 mention) No recall of any anti-tobacco messages (7 mentions) Drug free sign (1 mention) Don't do tobacco (1 mention) Smoking causes cancer (1 mention)
Females 16 to 17 years	Center	 Red Ribbon Week (1 mention) No tobacco on campus (1 mention) Tobacco is bad for your health poster in cafeteria (1 mention)
Jackson Males 16 to 17 years	 Ridgeland High School Puckett Attendance Center Northwest Rankin High Velma Jackson High McLaurin Attendance Center 	 No tolerance sign (2 mentions) No tobacco on campus (2 mentions) No tobacco sign (2 mentions) DARE Program (1 mention) Smart Track Test (1 mention) Tobacco RAT (1 mention) Drug free wrist bands (1 mention) Smoking kills (1 mention) Tobacco = cancer (1 mention) Smoking can cause premature wrinkles poster (1 mention) No recall of any anti-tobacco messages (1 mention) Drug free zone sign (2 mentions) No smoking sign (1 mention)



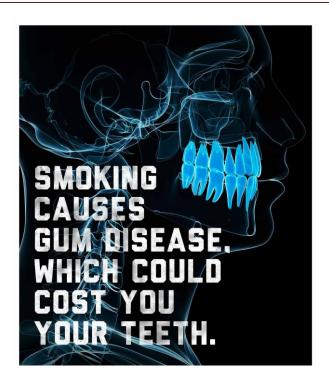
Focus Group	Respondents' Schools	Types of Anti-tobacco Messages Recalled
Clarksdale Females 13 to 15 years	 Clarksdale High School WA Higgins Middle Coahoma County Jr. High School Coahoma County Sr. High School 	 DARE Program (8 mentions) RAT Program (6 mentions) Posters (4 mentions) Your teeth will be yucky Your breath will be stinky Your breathing will be a problem If you smoke you'll get wrinkles Delta Dream (1 mention) No smoking (1 mention) Stay drug free (1 mention)
Clarksdale Males 13 to 15 years	 Clarksdale High School Oakhurst Middle WA Higgins Middle Coahoma County Jr. High School 	 DARE Program (5 mentions) Posters (1 mention) Drug free sign (1 mention) Tobacco free zone (1 mention) No smoking sign (1 mention) No recall of any anti-tobacco messages (1 mention)
Clarksdale Females 16 to 17 years	 Clarksdale High School Oakhurst Academy WA Higgins Middle Coahoma County Jr. High School Coahoma County Sr. High School 	 Stay drug free (8 mentions) Say no to drugs (6 mentions) Be drug free (2 mentions) Hats off to drugs (2 mentions) Anti-drug week – pledge not to smoke (1 mention) Tobacco gives you lung cancer (1 mention) Red Ribbon Week (1 mention) Drug free zone (1 mention) Crack kills (1 mention) No smoking symbol (1 mention)
Clarksdale Males 16 to 17 years	 Clarksdale High School Coahoma County Sr. High School 	 No tobacco sign (3 mentions) Police talks (3 mentions) Tobacco RAT (3 mentions) Posters (2 mentions) No smoking symbol (2 mentions) Anti-tobacco book (2 mentions) DARE (1 mention) No tolerance sign (2 mentions) No tobacco on campus (2 mentions) No smoking zone (1 mention) Picture in classroom (1 mention) Don't smoke while having a baby (1 mention) Smoking kills brain cells (1 mention)



PROMPTED AWARENESS OF SKOOL ADS POSTERS AT SCHOOL

Initial impressions, opinions and responses were elicited for each of the following SkoolAds: Teeth, Wrinkles, Lung, and Chemicals.





In Jackson, the 13 to 15 year old males and females were more likely to recall the SkoolAds Teeth Poster and remember it from school (school office, cafeteria, hallway, and bathroom door) compared to those ages 16 to 17 years old.

With the exception of the older males, Clarksdale teens had high recall for the message but not necessarily the SkoolAds poster specifically. Outside of school, some thought they had seen the poster in dentists' offices or doctors' offices.

Across groups, the poster reminded teens of the Real Cost commercial "Your Teeth."

Overall, teens thought this was a good message because "everyone cares about their teeth." This message was considered general enough to appeal to many types of people not just females or athletes. Some thought the skeleton with the blue teeth was especially attention grabbing and most thought the message of the poster was clear and easily identified.

Although the message on the Teeth poster was considered a good one, teens thought the use of images with real people would be better. They prefer to see "proof" with before and after pictures or contrasting images of someone with gum disease from smoking and someone without gum disease. They claim the image would be more effective in deterring smoking if the image was more literal.



The "Teeth" Message is Good	"I think it's effective because everybody wants their teeth everybody wants to eat and talk take a picture" [Male, African American, 17 years of age, Clarksdale High] "You don't want to be like 27 with no teeth" [Female, African American, 14 years of age, Clarksdale High] "they don't have the word tobacco but you get the idea right away" [Male, African American, 14 years of age, WA Higgins Middle]
	" the wrinkles wouldn't be very noticeable but everyone can see your teeth" [Male, African American, 14 years of age, WA Higgins Middle]
Maccaga is Palayant and	" my uncle he smokes and his teeth are really messed up so that really relates to me" [Female, African American, 15 years of age, Ridgeland High]
Message is Relevant and Believable	"I've seen many twenty-somethings who smoke and their teeth are yellow they're not falling out yet but they're yellow" [Female, African American, 15 years of age, Clarksdale High]
	"I think it's better to show a real person who has been smoking" [Male, African American, 15 years of age, Ridgeland High]
Better to Show Real People and Literal	"It shows the teeth not the gums" [Male, African American, 13 years of age, Byram Middle]
Pictures	I think they need to have two pictures one with a regular person and one with a messed up face cause you don't want a messed up face" [Male, White, 15 years of age, Puckett Attendance Center]
Counter-Arguments:	"I don't think it's effective because it's not immediate your teeth aren't going to fall out right away it happens over time" [Male, African
Teeth Won't Fall Out Right Away	American, 16 years of age, Clarksdale High]
& Teeth Will Fall Out Anyway	"I don't think that ad will work because when you get older your teeth are going to fall out anyway and then you could get dentures or something" [Female, African American, 13 years of age, Coahoma County Jr. High]
Unsure if it Would Attract Attention	" I like the blue because that's what the eye is initially attracted to but if you're just walking by you're not really going to notice it" [Female, White, 13 years of age, Puckett Attendance Center]





While a few students remember seeing this poster at their schools, many more were familiar with the message in general, having "heard it some place" or seen it at a doctor's office. Most agree that the poster is targeting females.

Some teens considered the "wrinkles" message an important one because people care about their skin and their appearance. However, many more were skeptical about the claim that smoking causes wrinkles in younger people. Adding to the skepticism, the image was not believable. Many thought the image was of an older person or a close up of someone squinting. All the groups suggested that the poster could be improved by having an image that is more zoomed out so that the observer can see the entire face and "proof" that this person does indeed have wrinkles at a young age.

Some initial responses to the poster included counterarguments. For example, comments included ideas such as wrinkles are going to happen anyway, no one sees young people with wrinkles, and African American women do not get wrinkles as bad as White women. These dismissive types of counterarguments were also made in response to the Teeth poster in that some expect teeth to fall out anyway at a certain age.



The "Wrinkles" Message is Good	 " for me it would make me not want to smoke because I don't want to get wrinkles before that age" [Female, 17 years of age, African American, Ridgeland High] " people care about how they look to other people they want to look cute" [Female, 16 years of age, African American, Ridgeland High]
Message is Not Believable	 " I've never seen anyone my age with wrinkles" [Female, African American, 16 years of age, Coahoma County Sr. High] "Put a young person with wrinkles that looks like an old person" [Female, African American, 14 years of age, Clarksdale High]
Image is not Attention- Grabbing; Teens are Not Likely to Read the Message	"I wouldn't even look at it because it don't look like a good picture" [Male, African American, 14 years of age, Byram Middle] "Nobody our age is going to read that if you see something on the wall and it's got words to it you're just going to move on" [Male, White, 15 years of age, Puckett Attendance Center] " that picture don't really look like it's talking about smoking cause most people don't really read it anyway they look at the image" [Male, African American, 16 years of age, Coahoma County Sr. High]
Counter-Arguments: Wrinkles Happen Anyway & African American Women are Less Prone to Wrinkles	"I believe a diseased mouth is worse than wrinkles cause that's gonna happen anyway you're going to get old" [Male, 17 years of age, African American, Velma Jackson High] "When you get a certain age it's going to start coming in the wrinkles" [Female, African American, 14 years of age, Coahoma County Jr. High] "White people get wrinkles before Black people" [Female, African American, 13 years of age, Coahoma County Jr. High]
Poster is Highly Targeted to Females	" the only people that would really be worried about that is women" [Male, African American, 17 years of age, Clarksdale High]





Of the four posters presented, the "Lung" poster was the most recognized and generated the most comments. Most students recognized this poster from school and could name the locations in which they remember seeing the poster such as by a water fountain, trophy case, school office, and hallways. This poster was liked because there is a real person who is young in the image. Generally, they prefer to see real people they can relate to in these anti-tobacco advertisements. The message about smoking impairing athletic performance was considered important and relevant because so many teens play sports and care about being good at their sport. According to teens, "making it" in sports is a common aspiration among young people and many do indeed care about their athletic performance.

The general message portrayed by the image is that smoking will impair athletic performance and teens found this aspect of the message quite familiar and believable. However the specific message that smoking can stunt lung growth was considered a new message across groups. Most teens were familiar with the idea that smoking stunts growth in general (mostly thinking about height) but not lung growth specifically. Around that message, some teens believe seeing comparison pictures of normal lungs and ones with stunted lung growth would be more impactful.



The poster is thought to be targeting teens who play sports and most feel this is a good way to deliver anti-tobacco messages. However, most also thought the poster could be improved upon in several ways. Although the message about smoking is believable, the image is not. They like that the girl is real and not a drawing but many strongly felt that the girl in the picture did not look like a smoker nor did she look tired because of smoking. Rather, they think the picture portrays how a normal, healthy girl could expect to look after running track. Some said that without reading the words the poster looks like an advertisement for athletics or a sports-related product such as Gatorade. Others think the poster could capture a wider audience by having a football field or another more high profile sport in the image instead of track.

Furthermore, some Clarksdale teens did not feel like the Lung poster (and most public health posters) relate to them. In particular, some noted that there is a tendency for people in the posters to be White. Others do not feel the effectiveness of the posters is necessarily impacted by race but it is more about feeling generally connected to the posters.

	" the first one you have a drawing of teeth the second one you couldn't tell how old the person is but this one you can tell is our age[Female, White, 13 years of age, Puckett Attendance Center]
The "Lung" Poster is Good	"This has somebody we can relate to a young person a real person" [Male, African American, 15 years of age, Ridgeland High]
because Picture is of a Real Person who is Young & because of the Sports Theme	 " this is a good poster every kid thinks they're going to the NBA or the NFL once they see that they think 'I got to stop smoking because I've got to grow so I can get an advantage over the other people I play with' " [Male, African American, 14 years of age, Siwell Middle] " if she wants to be a track star you can't bolt if you smoke" [Male, African American, 14 years of age, Northwest Rankin Middle] " most males will look at it because it's got the female on it with the background that will get athlete's attention, too" [Male, African American, 16 years of age, Coahoma County Sr. High]
Message about Smoking Causing Problems with Running is Believable	"I looked at the word 'smoking' and then I looked at her and thought 'oh – she has a problem'" [Female, 17 years of age, African American, Ridgeland High] "I was on the court with my cousin and he was smoking Blacks and then he kept running and then he said I'm gonna stop because I smoke too much" [Male, African American, 14 years of age, Coahoma County Jr. High]
Message about Stunted Lung Growth is New	"I've never heard it could stunt lung growth I know it turns them black but I had never heard it could cause them to not fully develop" [Female, 16 years of age, White, Northwest Rankin High]



Girl Does not Look Like a Smoker – She Looks Healthy	 " she looks healthy she looks like she's been running she doesn't look like she relates to what they are saying" [Female, 16 years of age, African American, Ridgeland High] " she doesn't look like she does drugs or smokes if you're running laps you look like that [Male, African American, 15 years of age, Clarksdale High]
Clarksdale Teens Do not Find the Girl in the Picture Relatable & They Do Not "Connect" with the Picture	 " we are an all-Black school we'd be like there's a White girl who smokes but if they have like a Black person or a male or a football player" [Male, African American, 17 years of age, Clarksdale High] " Back people like to think if they're White then their different so it won't affect me the same way" [Male, African American, 17 years of age, Clarksdale High] "I think at our school they should have some Black kids because all the kids on those posters are White" [Female, African American, 16 years of age, Clarksdale High] "It's not really about race it's about feeling connected to that poster" [Female, African American, 16 years of age, Coahoma County Sr. High] " with me it's not even about race it's more about whether I look at it if I don't look at it I won't read it" [Female, African American, 16 years of age, Clarksdale High]
Prefer to see a Comparison Image of Image of a Real Lung with Stunted Growth	" it would be better to take a picture of somebody who had not been smoking and then in the background would be her two girls, same age, same shape and everything and she is way back there" [Male, White, 15 years of age, Puckett Attendance Center] " be better to show a lung of what actually happened" [Male, 17 years of age, African American, Velma Jackson High]





The 13 to 15 year male and females from Jackson were most familiar with this poster and they recognized it from school offices and hallways. Jackson females ages 16 to 17 also recognize the poster from their cafeteria, gym, and chemistry class. Clarksdale males ages 13 to 15 years also recognize the poster and the message in general. They recognize the poster from their cafeteria and hallways and they recognize the message from television and being told this type of fact by teachers.

Most think this fact about chemicals in cigarettes is well-known and believable; however, many had strong reactions to the "number fact" that each puff has 7000 chemicals. Teens quickly imagined the number of chemicals one intakes when smoking an entire cigarette. They also initially responded with thoughts about second-hand smoke.

While this poster did not generate as much discussion as the others, especially the Lung poster, teens liked it and thought it was impactful. Despite their preference for having "real" people in the pictures, they liked the smoke in the Chemicals poster because it literally related to the message about smoking. This poster was differentiated from the others by the fact given (7000 per puff) and the smoke which immediately indicates the message is about smoking.

Similar to the other posters, suggestions to improve the Chemicals poster tended to pertain to making the images even more literal. For example, some suggest showing some of the chemicals found in cigarettes and/or the health consequences of the chemicals on the body.

This poster reminded teens of one of the Truth campaign's televisions advertisements, Poop vs. Pee, and other messaging about various chemicals found in cigarettes.



Strong Initial Reactions Poster Makes You Think	 " if you just walk by someone and they blow a puff you could be exposed to those chemicals" [Female, African American, 13 years of age, Old Town Middle] " gets you thinking and the smoke is a good choice" [Female, White, 13 years of age, Puckett Attendance Center] "It's telling you there's a lot of chemicals in there that will make you sick" [Female, African American, 14 years of age, Coahoma County Jr. High]
Immediately Know the Message is about Smoking	" this stands out the best you know right away it's about smoking" [Female, African American, 13 years of age, Coahoma County Jr. High]
Like this Poster the Best	" it's my favorite so far it's put into perspective you understand it" [Female, African American, 16 years of age, Clarksdale High] " it's informative" [Female, African American, 16 years of age, Clarksdale High]
Prefer to See Real Consequences	" it doesn't tell the effects of the 7000 chemical" [Male, African American, 15 years of age, Clarksdale High]



PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS OF POSTERS AND OTHER ANTI-TOBACCO EFFORTS

Overall the Lung and Chemicals posters were considered to be the best. The Lung poster was liked for having a real person who is young and for having a sports theme. Those elements made the poster relevant; however, in Clarksdale teens would prefer a more relevant image or person that better fits their community and schools. Stunted lung growth was considered similar to messages they had heard before but slightly different with regard to stunted lung development, specifically.

While there is a preference among teens to see pictures of real people, they liked the Chemicals poster because it had real smoke which made the poster easily identifiable as an anti-tobacco advertisement. They thought the fact about inhaling 7000 chemicals in a single puff was dramatic and exposure to the poster lead automatically to thoughts of second-hand smoke and the dangers of those chemicals. Many could easily make the leap from significant chemical intake to sickness or even death.

Teens differ on whether they believe posters and other anti-tobacco efforts really have an effect on people. While some may think that no one will read the posters, they also admit that sometimes they are in line (cafeteria) or in the gym and they have nothing else to do but read the posters displayed on the walls.

Some teens have a tendency to respond with counterarguments to the anti-tobacco posters; for example, they may say that bad things only happen to chain smokers and not social smokers. Teens also recognize that tendency in others. They see how people dismiss anti-tobacco messages because they tell themselves they can quit before bad consequences occur.

Overview of Poster Comparisons

	Teeth Poster	Wrinkles Poster	Lung Poster	Chemicals Poster
Familiarity (actual poster)	X	X	XXXXX	XXX
Know Locations in school			XXX	XX
Noticeable / Would get attention	XXX		XXXX	xxxx
Relevant	X		XXX	XXX
Like	X		XXXX	XXX
Dislike		XX		
Unique message			XXX	X
Effective			XXX	XXXX



Different Thoughts on the Effectiveness of Anti-Tobacco Messages

,,		
Yes, these Posters are Effective	 " I don't know if they impact people but they impact me " [Female, White, 14 years of age, McLaurin Attendance Center] " you are going to look at these when you are in certain places especially if you don't have your phone" [Female, African American, 14 years of age, Coahoma County Jr. High] 	
Not Sure if Anti- Smoking Efforts are Working	" they're really trying to end this from the commercial they always talk about how they're this close to ending tobacco with our generation but I see people everywhere still smoking" [Male, 13 years of age, African American, Byram Middle]	
No, these Posters and Other Anti-Tobacco Efforts are Not Effective	 " we can't stop people from smoking by doing all this" [Male, African American, 14 years of age, Byram Middle] " you gotta realize the people are chain smokers they're not just one or two cigarettes a day they were smoking packs a day" [Male, White, 16 years of age, Northwest Rankin High] " and then you go back on that thing where 'I can stop any time I want to' so" [Female, 17 years of age, White, Pelahatchie Attendance Center] " there's always that group of people that say they can quit anytime" [Male, African American, 17 years of age, Clarksdale High] 	



SUGGESTIONS: SCARY HEALTH CONSEQUENCES, FAMOUS PEOPLE, AND MONEY SPENT

Teens made suggestions and observations toward improving the effectiveness of anti-tobacco posters. They understood the main goal to be getting the attention of students. Toward that end, they suggest dramatic images of health consequences associated with tobacco use. They note that the most memorable anti-tobacco television commercials are ones that are shocking or gross or scary.

Teens also emphasized the influence of famous people, particularly rappers or other music artists and athletes. They commented that teens are typically influenced in a negative way by rappers but that they also seem resigned to that fact - like they do not mind. Aside from negative or positive influences, teens agree that a famous person who is relevant in their social worlds would get their attention more than anything or anybody else.

Other suggestions include emphasizing the negative effects of tobacco on looks/appearance and the amount of money spent over time on tobacco habits.

Scary Health Consequences, Influential Famous people, and Money Spent

Health Consequences are Scary and get Attention	 " I saw the commercial earlier today about when somebody was smoking too much they had to get their legs cut off" [Male, African American, 14 years of age, WA Higgins Middle] "they had the one with they showed how this girl used to be a cheerleader in high school then she started smoking and got cancer that one really got me" [Male, 17 years of age, African American, Velma Jackson High]
Use Famous people on Posters	" famous people say Nicki Minaj or Beyonce was on that poster we'd go read that poster" [Male, African American, 15 years of age, Ridgeland High] "I think they need to put like famous people on the poster even though you don't know them you listen to what they got to say cause they're famous if you put 2 Chainz on that poster they gonna look at it cause it's 2 Chainz" [Female, African American, 17 years of age, Clarksdale High]
Emphasize Money Spent of Tobacco	" money spent added up Newports are seven or eight dollars most people be thinking about gas money" [Male, 17 years of age, African American, Velma Jackson High]



EXPERIENCES

Teens described tobacco use among their peers and family members. They also discussed their beliefs about why people use tobacco or choose to not use tobacco. Family and friends are thought to be strong influences. Teens believe that those who grow up in families are more prone to using tobacco themselves. However, not all are influenced to use tobacco. Some tend to be distraught by their parents' or other family members' choices to use tobacco.

TYPE OF TOBACCO USED IN SCHOOLS AND AMONG PEERS

In the Jackson area teens see their peers using smokeless tobacco and smoking Black and Mild cigars. To a lesser extent their peers smoke cigarettes and use vape products. In Clarksdale, teens claim their peers smoke Black and Mild cigars, while cigarettes are less popular. Teens claim more White students and coaches use smokeless tobacco and more Black teens smoke Black and Mild cigars, including females.

Compared to smokeless tobacco and cigars, vapes are not as popular among teens in Jackson and Clarksdale schools; however, they do know of and see their peers using vape products.

Marijuana is said to be widespread in both Jackson and Clarksdale schools and discussions reverted back to marijuana use despite efforts to keep the topic of discussion to tobacco. Although they consider tobacco and marijuana to be distinctly different they both come to mind for teens when thinking about smoking behavior.

Tobacco Use

Coaches and Smokeless Tobacco	" some of our players give coaches dip none of our coaches smoke though" [Male, White, 15 years of age, Puckett Attendance Center] " the players and coaches trade dip you can't smoke you'll get in trouble if you smoke but you can dip" [Male, White, 15 years of age, Puckett Attendance Center]
Smokeless Tobacco at School	 " not to be racists but White people be in the bathroom just packing it away the big lip they do it on the bus, too" [Male, 15 years of age, African American, Northwest Rankin Middle] " all of our coaches do it a lot of black people do it and a whole lot of White people do it even in the back of class" [Male, White, 15 years of age, Puckett Attendance Center]
Vape Products	 " a vape ain't nothing it's just air" [Male, African American, 14 years of age, Byram Middle] " those blu cigarettes I just like the way they look people were smoking it at a party and it just looked so fresh [Male, African American, 16 years of age, Clarksdale High] " you mostly see older folks do that" [Male, African American, 14 years of age, WA Higgins Middle]



	" just like White people dip Black people smoke Black and Milds" [Male, African American, 17 years of age, Clarksdale High]
Smokeless Tobacco, Black and Mild cigars, and Marijuana	"I think what you'll find in Clarksdale is you have more marijuana smokers than tobacco smokers at our age at least" [Male, African American, 16 years of age, Clarksdale High]
More Smoke Marijuana in Clarksdale than Cigarettes	"I don't know many who smoke tobacco in Clarksdale everybody likes the weed" [Female, African American, 16 years of age, Clarksdale High] " if they smoke cigarettes it's just to enhance the effects of the marijuana" [Female, African American, 16 years of age, Clarksdale High]



FIRST MEMORIES, CONFRONTING RELATIVES, AND EMOTIONAL IMPACT

Most teens have family members who use tobacco. When asked to recall early memories of being exposed to tobacco, many remembered bad smells associated with smoke, dirty ash trays, second-hand smoke, and smokeless tobacco stuck in the teeth of relatives. Some teens remember always being exposed to tobacco, while others can recall specific events.

"... when I was at the park I tried to do a back flip but I landed on my stomach ... but then my uncle picked me up and he had a cigar in his mouth ... I was like five ..." [Male, African American, 13 years of age, Byram Middle]

"... my parents smoked ... as soon as I was born ..." [Male, White, 15 years of age, Puckett Attendance Center]

Teens differ on the degree to which they currently feel or have felt comfortable with confronting their older family members about tobacco use. Some do not feel they have the authority to say anything to an elder and they do not want to expose their family members' bad habits. Teens believe their older relatives know that smoking is bad for them so they do not necessarily feel like it is their duty to stop them from smoking. In contrast, others describe nagging parents to stop using tobacco.

- "... my grandfather smokes but he doesn't think we know ... I don't want anything to happen to him but I don't want to say anything either ..." [Female, White, 14 years of age, Puckett Attendance Center]
- "... my Aunt smokes ... before I knew about tobacco I didn't think about it ... if anything happened to my Aunt I would feel bad but I guess she knows already ..." [Female, White, 13 years of age, Puckett Attendance Center]
 - "... my Dad did until he got enough of me telling on him to my mom... he stopped ... the smell was the worst ... [Female, African American, 17 years of age, Ridgeland High]

Some teens feel upset by their parents' use of tobacco while some are more resigned to their parents' smoking. Teens see family members spend money on cigarettes that they do not have or that should be spent on other essentials. They are affected by the information they have learned about tobacco use and are concerned for their family members' health. Some see the effects of addiction and would rather see their parents happy with their tobacco habit than unhappy without it.

- "It makes me feel like ... wow if you had a choice ... you'd buy cigarettes over what you need ... that's an addiction ..." [Male, 17 years of age, African American, Velma Jackson High]
- "My Dad's not happy til he smokes ... I'd rather see him happy. I used to be mad about it ... but I really don't care." [Male, African American, 16 years of age, Ridgeland High]
- "I get pretty upset about it because I want people in my family to live a long time ... they see stuff on TV ... about an hour later they'll be back to buying two packs like they never saw that ..." [Male, 17 years of age, African American, Velma Jackson High]



BELIEFS ABOUT TOBACCO USE: SOCIAL SMOKING, EARLY EXPOSURE, & STRESS

Teens believe people use tobacco for different reasons. For young people, pressure to fit in is a strong motivator to start using tobacco. Teens believe they are more susceptible to social smoking than to severe addictions like chain smoking. They recognize that some people who do not use tobacco typically may do so at parties and in other social settings.

It is also widely believed that growing up around tobacco use makes one more prone to trying tobacco initially, in part because of easy access. Furthermore, teens believe family use of tobacco "normalizes" it more compared to teens who do not grow up around tobacco use.

Regarding adults who use tobacco, many teens hear their older relatives say they need to smoke to reduce stress or calm their nerves. Consequently, some believe there is a relaxing quality that one gets from smoking. Although some know that stress comes from many sources, they actually do observe their relatives and other adults acting calmer after smoking.

Why Teens and Adults use Tobacco

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Teens Use Tobacco to Fit In	" sometimes they don't want to but they just want to become popular so they won't be judged later on" [Male, 13 years of age, African American, Byram Middle]
Social Smoking	"I tell you where everybody probably smokes When they're at a party and loud music is turned up" [Male, African American, 14 years of age, Byram Middle]
	" it's like social status" [Female, 17 years of age, White, Pelahatchie Attendance Center]
	" it's like social smokers that only smoke when they are around people to be cool" [Female, 16 years of age, White, Northwest Rankin High]
Growing Up with Tobacco Use Makes it Normal	" if you grow up around it you're probably going to think it's alright because everybody around you does it so it may not be a big deal to you [Male, White, 15 years of age, Puckett Attendance Center]
	" when you grow up around somebody smoking everyday that's what gets you to try it" [Female, African American, 14 years of age, WA Higgins Middle]
Stress	"I think people smoke cigarettes for stress" [Male, 15 years of age, African American, Northwest Rankin Middle]
	" my grandfather has episodes from when he was in Vietnamhe smokes to help with his stress" [Male, 16 years of age, African American, Ridgeland High]
	" my grandmother says she smokes because it calms her down" [Male, African American, 13 years of age, Coahoma County Jr. High]



ROLE MODELS LIKE RAPPERS

In addition to family and friends, teens emphasize the degree of influence that rappers have on young people. They claim teens want to do what rappers do and if they do not they have a sense that they're missing out on something.

Role Models and Product Placement

Rappers	" most everybody gets it form the rappers it's like when you see a video you gonna do what they do" [Male, African American, 14 years of age, Byram Middle] " every video you see your favorite artist doing it on TV and you're gonna try it" [Male, African American, 17 years of age, Clarksdale High]
Product Placement	" basically when you hear rap music it makes you want to do it – it's product placement if they say smoke something it makes you want to do it if they say listen to this type of music it makes you want to do it it makes you feel like you are missing out on something" [Male, 13 years of age, African American, Byram Middle]

DATING AND SPORTS VS LIVING FOR TODAY

Teens believe whether or not one uses tobacco is a mindset. They recognize some people do not think about the future because they either have little hope for their future or because they are prone to maximizing their pleasure or happiness in the present.

In contrast, when teens talk about the reasons they and their peers choose to not use tobacco, most of the reasons have a performance or future orientation. They want to be good at the sports they play and they want to increase their chances of being attractive to potential girlfriends/boyfriends.

Beliefs about Choices to Use and Not Use Tobacco

Living for Today	" for some people it's not scary because of the way they were brought up they're life might be down the drain so they don't have anything to live for so it's no biggie for them" [Male, African American, 14 years of age, Siwell Middle]
	"I've heard one person say before 'well at least I'm going to die happy'" [Male, White, 15 years of age, Puckett Attendance Center]



Main Reasons for Not Using Tobacco	" you can't get girls with rotten teeth and gums smoking is bad period especially underage" [Male, African American, 14 years of age, Siwell Middle]
	" especially underage you'll get tired easy like running track" [Male, African American, 13 years of age, Byram Middle]



CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- Along with anti-drug programs and activities, students are aware of the SkoolAds posters in their schools, although they may not have explicit awareness of the exact message, image, and location.
 - Continue with SkoolAds posters as students do appear to have some recall and even greater prompted recognition for the posters.
- Overall, Lung and Chemicals were considered to be the best posters.
- The Lung poster was preferred for having a real person who is also of similar age. Additionally, the sports theme was relevant to teens. However, in Clarksdale teens prefer to see posters with pictures of people and images that better fits their communities. Some suggest their posters should portray African American teens.
- In general, teens prefer to see real images of people and the consequences of tobacco use. They claim graphic/shocking images and famous people get their attention the most.
- The Wrinkles poster elicited the most counterarguments, followed by the Lung poster.
 - Most counterarguments to the Lung poster pertained to the believability of the image not the message. They did not think the girl appeared to be a smoker or appear to be tired from anything other than running track.
 - Counterarguments to the Wrinkles poster pertained to the message and the image. Neither was considered credible.
- The Chemicals poster had the opposite effect and caused teens to elaborate further on the message as they imagined the effects of the chemicals on the body.
 - Consider providing this feedback about credibility and counterarguments versus elaboration to people and organizations who can influence the images and posters used in Mississippi schools.
- Across groups, teens claim more White students and coaches use smokeless tobacco and more Black teens smoke Black and Mild cigars, including females.
 - Anti-tobacco messages should include smokeless tobacco and cigars as most teens do not consider themselves cigarette smokers.
- Teens' early memories of being exposed to tobacco use were described as unpleasant. Some are emotionally impacted by their parents' tobacco use. Others are resigned to it and accept that smoking makes their parents happy.
- Teens believe that growing up around tobacco use makes one more prone to trying tobacco initially, in part because of easy access. Furthermore, teens believe family use of tobacco "normalizes" it more compared to teens who do not grow up around tobacco use.
 - Consider future anti-tobacco efforts that target parents and include the perspectives of young people.



- In addition to family and peers using tobacco, teens also observe coaches using smokeless tobacco. They indicate that coaches are permissive about letting students use smokeless tobacco, too. Teens say smoking cigarettes or other forms of tobacco are not tolerated and students can get in trouble but they claim they are basically "allowed" to use smokeless tobacco in the presence of coaches.
 - Consider future interventions with school coaches to make them aware of students' observations and the messages they are sending to students with their own smokeless tobacco use.
- Teens believe they are more susceptible to social smoking than to developing full addictions. Teens who do not typically use tobacco may do so at parties and in other social settings.
 - It is important to address social smoking with teens. Teens who only smoke occasionally may be more prone to dismissing anti-tobacco messages because they do not identify themselves as "smokers."
- Teens believe there is a relaxing quality that goes with smoking because they hear adults say they
 smoke to reduce stress or calm their nerves. That belief is reinforced when they observe their
 relatives and other adults acting calmer after smoking.
 - It is important to address the belief that smoking eases stress through education and messaging. Consider messaging around "myth" busters.
- In addition to family and friends, teens emphasize the degree of influence that rappers have on young people. Teens say they and their peers are highly influenced by rappers and famous people. They want to do what rappers do and if they do not they have a sense that they're missing out on something.
 - Consider future anti-tobacco efforts that include famous people, specifically rappers.
- Teens believe whether or not one uses tobacco is a mindset, specifically a future-oriented mindset. They say those who have no hope for the future or who only care about how they feel in the present are more likely to engage in destructive behavior such as tobacco use.
- Some of their reasons for choosing to not use tobacco tend to have a performance or future orientation; teens want to be good at the sports they play and they want to increase their chances of being attractive to potential girlfriends/boyfriends.
 - Consider enhancing the images of tobacco-free teens with the inclusion of goalsetting and the accomplishment of future goals as part of anti-tobacco messages.



June 2015

MODERATOR'S GUIDE:

Recall, Recognition and Perceptions of Anti-Tobacco Posters in Schools

Moderator Introduction and Ground Rules 5 minutes

- Moderator introduces:
 - Evette Joyce
 - Southern Research Group
- Topic: Teen Opinions of Tobacco-Free Messaging
- Interview features:
 - o microphones / audio tape
 - o videotaping
 - o research / opinions
 - confidentiality

Respondent Introduction 3 minutes

- Respondent introduces:
 - o What is your name?
 - o How old are you?
 - o What school do you attend?
 - o How do you plan to spend your summer?

Awareness of Anti-Tobacco Posters at School 10 minutes

WRITTEN EXERCISE - UNPROMPTED AWARENESS

As you know we will be talking about tobacco today and I will be asking about tobacco-free messages that you may have seen or heard. Before we get started, please spend a few minutes writing descriptions of anti-tobacco messages you have seen or heard <u>at school</u>.

- Please provide as much detail as possible.
- Describe wording and images as well as locations within the school where you have seen or heard anti-tobacco messages.
- Do the best you can. You do not have to put your name on the paper.

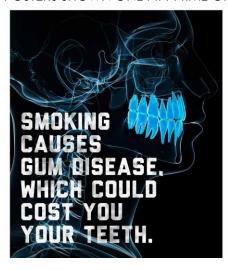
DISCUSS MESSAGES AND ELEMENTS OF ADS REMEMBERED

- Please share what you have written down.
 - o What types of tobacco-free advertising have you seen at your schools?
 - o Where located in school?
 - o What is the image?
 - o What is the wording?
 - o What are the main messages of the posters?
 - o Is this message(s) important to you?
 - o Does this message(s) speak to you? Why? Why not?
- What do you like



- Most
- Least
- o What would you change?
- Would exposure to posters with this type of message telling young people not to smoke or use other tobacco products influence you to NOT use tobacco? Why or why not?

Awareness of Anti-Tobacco Posters at School (Prompted) 50 minutes POSTERS SHOWN ONE AT A TIME ON OVERHEAD SCREEN



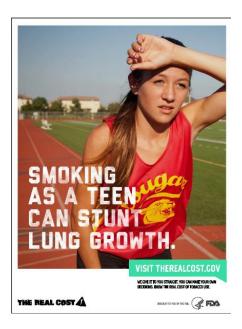
- Are you familiar with this anti-tobacco poster?
- Where have you seen this before?
- Location in school?
- What do you think about this poster?
- If you remember seeing this poster before, what were your first impressions when you initially saw it?
- How does this message and the poster in general make you feel?
- In what ways does this message relate to you?
- What do you like about this poster? Please explain.
- What do you dislike about this poster? Please explain.
- Thinking about anti-tobacco ads, is this message new or different or have you heard it before?
- Would exposure to posters with this type of message influence you to NOT use tobacco?
 Why or why not?





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- Would exposure to posters with this type of message influence you to NOT use tobacco? Why or why not?

Usage of Tobacco Products 5 minutes

• What types of tobacco products do teens your age use?

Probe:

- Cigarettes
- Cigarillos
- o Smokeless tobacco
- Electronic and vapor devices/products
- Other
- How many of you have friends who use tobacco products?
- How many of you have family members who use tobacco products?

Exposure to Tobacco Products 15 minutes

• Thinking back in your own lives, what are some of your earliest memories of being around cigarettes, smokeless tobacco, cigars or any other type of tobacco product?

Probe:

- Feelings
- o Thoughts
- o Probe:
- Family
- Neighbors
- o Friends
- o Other

Probe:

- Cigarettes
- Cigarillos
- Smokeless tobacco
- Electronic and vapor devices/products
- Other
- To what extent do you believe being exposed to tobacco products has influenced your tobacco use behaviors?

Probe:

- o to use tobacco or not
- o to use specific tobacco products



- o any positive or negative associations with tobacco
- Is there anything else you can share about your feelings toward tobacco products?

Closing 2 minutes

That is all I have for you today. Is there anything else you would like to say that we have not discussed already?

Thank you for your participation. Your comments have been very valuable.

