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TRUTH AND FEAR :  
A STUDY OF FEAR APPEALS IN AN ANTI-SMOKING CAMPAIGN


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CRISTINA ISABEL HENLEY

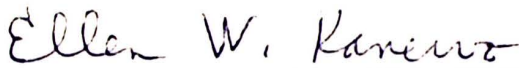



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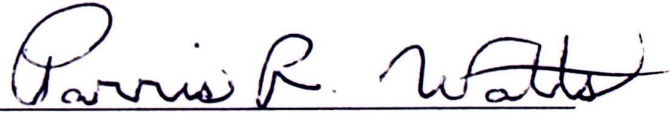
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A Thesis  
Presented for the  
Master of Arts  
Degree  
Austin Peay State University

Cristina Isabel Henley

December 2001



## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my husband, Shawn Henley;  
my sister, Gabriela Gross;  
and  
my parents, Gabriel and Monica Gross,  
who provide me with invaluable support, inspiration and guidance.

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## ABSTRACT

Advertisers' primary objectives are designing promotional campaigns to stimulate advocacy and sales. Marketers face a unique challenge, however, when called upon to persuade individuals to avoid a purchase or action. Arising under social marketing principles, these campaigns are often aimed at teens and include fear-based pushes against drugs, drunk driving, and gang membership. This study uses protection motivation theory to examine the fear appeals being employed by the Truth campaign, the nation's largest anti-smoking initiative to date, and investigate the roles of threat and efficacy in affecting attitude or behavioral change. Elements of threat noxiousness, probability of occurrence, and response efficacy in Truth's television commercials were studied through a content analysis. The analysis showed that a minimal number of the commercials would generate favorable attitudes toward smoking cessation or prompt smoking cessation itself based on the arousal of protection motivation. This was mainly due to the absence of the complete trio of components necessary for activating perceptions and change. The results of these findings indicate that social marketers must incorporate compounding levels and clear representations of noxiousness, probability and efficacy in each promotion in order to develop and implement effective programs under protection motivation theory.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Fear appeals function essentially as threats that inspire obedience or compliance and have long been used by rhetors as a collective technique to persuade and control. Historically, adoption of an idea or behavior by communicative threat can be detected in ancient Greek, Imperial Roman, and early Christian eras. Fear appeals during these periods served primarily to maintain civilized communities and were used under the guise of government and religious propaganda. Julius Caesar, for example, employed elaborate fear-inducing tales of heroism and frequent symbolic ceremonies to create an image of power, command reverence and order and thus to ascend as the empire's supreme ruler (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992).

Progressively and through the introduction of technological advancements such as the printing press, telephone, radio, and television, fear appeals have evolved to infiltrate not only the political and military discourse of the world and modern wars, but advertising and social marketing in mass media venues as well. Recognizing the power of fear appeals, advertisers introduced and have elaborated their approaches into marketing strategies that captivate and persuade today's audiences (Tanner, Hunt, & Eppright, 1991). The contemporary surge of anti-smoking promotions, resulting from past initiatives (Rice & Paisley, 1981) and recent legislative mandates, represent a collective example of marketing utilizing fear as a persuader (Kotler & Roberto, 1989).

With \$1.5 billion in funding, Truth is the nation's largest anti-smoking initiative to date. The campaign is managed by the American Legacy Foundation (ALF), which was established in accordance with requirements of the 1998 Master Settlement Agreement (MSA) between numerous states and territories and the tobacco industry (Wilson, 1999). Truth supports the public education efforts of the organization to promote tobacco-free living (ALF, 2000) with print and broadcast advertisements and a website aimed at deterring teenagers from smoking (Truth, 2000).

This thesis will use protection motivation theory (Rogers, 1975) to examine the fear appeals being employed by the Truth campaign in its television commercials to inform and persuade American teens against smoking, and investigate the roles of threat and efficacy in initiating attitude or behavioral change. Truth's television commercials were chosen for this review based on the campaign's magnitude and corresponding exposure to youth across the nation.

The material will be analyzed in correspondence with social marketing, fear appeal, and protection motivation theory research delineated in the subsequent literature review. The content analysis will consider fear appeals using elements of threat, noxiousness, probability of occurrence, and response efficacy, as guided by Kline and Mattson's (2000) study of fear appeal components in breast self-examination pamphlets. In turn, the results of such an investigation will provide social marketers the direction needed to plan, develop and implement more effective programs.



## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Social Marketing

For nearly 100 years, the field of marketing has functioned as an evolutionary social institution. Capturing the individual and cultural needs and wants of the masses, its practitioners have systematically delivered satisfaction through an intricate partnership of promotion and production that reflects changing times (Wilkie & Moore, 1999). The latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, for example, witnessed a significant discipline transformation as economic shifts, technological advances, and developments in the behavioral sciences sparked a transition from a production-oriented inquiry to an investigation of consumer characteristics (Schultz, Tannenbaum, & Lauterborn, 1993). This move from a narrow review of the cause-and-effect factors that persuade individuals to engage in purchasing activities to a complex study of the inner workings of consumers' conduct has brought traditional marketing into the realm of selling services, experiences and, ultimately, social causes (Bright, 2000).

“Social marketing” refers to the application of established marketing principles, including the mix of product, place, price, and promotion, to furthering socially beneficial behaviors (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971). Merging techniques such as the identification of target audiences and selecting messages and materials tailored to the segment's rational and emotional makeup, the success of a social marketing campaign is contingent on

strategic research and adaptability to findings (Kotler & Armstrong, 1987).

Consequently, programs attempting to effect attitude and behavioral change such as AIDS and malnutrition awareness and drunk driving and fire prevention (Gould, Andreasen, & Gutierrez, 2000) have grown from information-dense campaigns loaded with data to those backed by psychosocial theories and perspectives (McKenzie-Mohr, 2000).

This necessary blend of the social marketing process and theoretical frameworks is found in health promotion programs that use fear appeals to stimulate persuasion and in the studies that seek to determine their effectiveness (Gotthoffer, 2000; Morman, 2000; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1996). The theory of planned behavior, extended parallel process model, and AIDS risk reduction model, for example, have been used to direct reviews of fear appeals in drunk driving PSAs (Gotthoffer, 2000), messages promoting testicular self-examination (Morman, 2000), and AIDS PSAs with and without recommendations to use condoms (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1996).

Gotthoffer (2000) found that gender and total alcohol consumption alter college students' attitudes toward drinking and driving, regardless of exposure to PSA messages that are highly or moderately fear arousing. Morman (2000) also found additional factors that influence reactions to fear-based communications. In particular, while messages presenting high threat and efficacy generally prompt men's intentions to perform testicular self-examinations, personal convictions about masculinity and male gender role minimize this inclination. In contrast, Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson's (1996) study determined that fear-arousing AIDS PSAs coupled with recommendations



to use condoms in order to reduce the risk of contracting the disease had no effect on participants' indicated intentions to use them. However, males who viewed these PSAs took significantly more of the free condoms being offered by the researchers than males exposed to the same message without the added recommendation.

## Fear Appeals

Collectively, the varied results given by Gotthoffer (2000), Morman (2000) and Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson (1996) are a small representation of the overwhelming inconsistencies found in the study of fear appeals. An extensive review of literature reveals that flawed definitions (Witte, 1993) and lacking theoretical bases (Rotfeld, 1988) have led to the contradictory findings. It also points to the need for clear, uniform descriptions of fear appeal operations and their roles in research.

The following sections address this problem by providing an account of the diverse fear appeal literature, offering a discussion of major theoretical models that have attempted to reconcile differences in findings, and presenting Rogers' protection motivation theory (1975) as a practical construct and solid basis for evaluating the fear-based messages in this study.

## Effects

The study of fear appeals emerges from the need to understand how communicative techniques based on threats of negative outcomes, if suggested behaviors

or actions are not adopted, produce attitude or behavioral change. Research provides contradictory results evaluating the effectiveness of this operation. Accordingly, evidence of the influence of fear appeals can be grouped into four opposed, yet dominant, effects that describe the relationship between threat and persuasion: positive linear, negative, curvilinear, and mixed.

The positive linear effect occurs in studies where an increase in the intensity of a fear-based communication provokes increased acceptance of the message and attitude or behavioral change (Witte, 1993). For example, Ramirez and Lasater (1976) determined that students exposed to high fear slides and narratives exhibiting dental pathology reported a greater level of anxiety, perceived efficacy, and immediate and long-term information retention than participants who were exposed to moderate fear, low fear and no fear presentations. LaTour, Snipes and Bliss (1996) found a similar response in their study of consumers who viewed commercials for a product mediated by different levels of fear. They discovered that those who viewed a strongly fear-based television advertisement for a protective stun gun, which included a real-life 911 phone call from a woman confronting an assailant, responded more positively toward the promotion and displayed greater purchase intentions than those who viewed the milder version.

Additionally, Burnett (1981) found that high fear level messages positively influenced perceptions of the messenger sponsoring the communication. Participants sent brochures with highly fear-arousing statements about health and medicine revealed a more positive attitude toward the health maintenance organization than those sent brochures with medium, low, and no fear treatments. An earlier study by Burnett and



Oliver (1979), in which fear appeal persuasion was analyzed through segmentation, confirmed these results.

In contrast, the negative effect of fear appeals is evidenced in studies where a decrease in message acceptance and attitude or behavioral change is a consequence of an increase in the message's threat level. A landmark study by Janis and Feshbach (1953, as cited in Higbee, 1969) supports the negative premise in their conclusion that the effects of fear appeals diminish as levels of potency rise. In the study, three groups of high school students were exposed to different intensities of fear in messages on dental hygiene. The group encountering the strongest threat was shown graphic details of dental neglect while listening to messages about dental care. The groups encountering less hostile threats were exposed to less vivid illustrations of tooth decay. Janis and Feshbach found that the lowest level of fear produced higher reported compliance with dental care than the highest threat. Katz (1960, as cited in Higbee, 1969) suggests that this response is due to a lack of a clear connection, mainly through the recommendation of a feasible activity, between failure to brush teeth and gangrene as presented to the high-fear group. Similarly, Smart and Fejer (1974, as cited in Witte, 1993) discovered that low fear communications were more effective than high fear messages in deterring marijuana use.

Fear appeal effects can also be described by the curvilinear principle, which illustrates the relationship between the intensity of a fear appeal and its persuasiveness as an inverted "u" shape. This suggests that messages incorporating moderate threats are most effective in producing attitude change. However, extremely strong or mild fear appeals affect little persuasion because they are either so forceful that audience members



create and activate coping mechanisms to obstruct them or are so insubstantial that they are dismissed (Infante, Rancer, & Womack, 1990).

Keller and Block (1996) concluded that, when exposed to pamphlets describing the harmful effects of smoking, presentations of highly fear-arousing consequences, such as swollen lymph nodes and atherosclerosis, are unproductive because participants' excessive focus on the threats negates attention to the recommended behavioral change. They found the usage of low fear appeals, including coughing and weight loss, equally ineffective as the limited threats prompted limited processing of the dangers of smoking. Keller and Block furthered their study on balancing these curvilinear results by incorporating references to self or others and imagery-based or objective message processing.

Krisher, Darley and Darley (1973) administered low, moderate and high fear-based messages on symptoms and treatment of mumps, manipulated by intensified illustrations and falsified heartbeat recordings to three groups of college students. They found that participants encountering the moderate fear communication, composed of a lecture and slides graphically depicting complications involved with contracting mumps, were most likely to obtain a vaccination to prevent the disease than those in the low and high fear conditions. Krisher, Darley and Darley concluded that the low fear message, which contained generic diagrams and information that mumps are disadvantageous because they diminish attention to school work, was insufficient to motivate shot taking. The high fear condition, which included the same lecture and slides as in the moderate fear communication paired with falsified heartbeats indicating arousal, was deemed counterproductive as it inhibited persuaded action. Ley (1974, as cited in Witte 1993)

discovered a similar curvilinear reaction as study participants who encountered the moderate fear treatment experienced more weight loss than those exposed to messages with higher or lower levels of fear.

Finally, the results of some studies reflect combinations of positive, negative and curvilinear findings. Horowitz (1972) found differences in message acceptance between volunteers and non-volunteers when exposed to identical fear-arousing materials about drug misuse, given false physiological arousal information, and asked to evaluate related health recommendations. Groups of volunteers and non-volunteers viewed a video presenting interviews with pep-pill abusers and read two pamphlets, which communicated in vivid detail the harmful consequences of using amphetamines, barbituates, and hallucinogenic drugs. While being exposed to the fear-based messages, Horowitz gave participants false heartbeat and skin resistance readings to yield their perceived arousal. Participants then indicated agreement with recommendations to stop drug abuse as specified in the pamphlets. Horowitz found that a positive linear relationship between perceived fear arousal and message acceptance existed in the volunteer group. In contrast, data from non-volunteers registered a curvilinear association.

A study by Leventhal and Watts (1966) on the effects of threat, perceived susceptibility to health problems, and smoking frequency on protective and detective behaviors also produced mixed findings. Questionnaire responses determined participants' vulnerability beliefs and smoking habits. The threat variable was manipulated by movies about the harms of smoking, mediated by varying levels of fear including presentations of scientific diagrams, discovery of lung cancer by a sympathetic



protagonist and his journey to the hospital, and all surgical aspects of removing a diseased lung. Participants were also given recommendations to stop smoking and obtain chest X-rays, and revealed their compliance with these suggestions in a follow-up survey. Leventhal and Watts found a positive relationship between increased fear and reduced smoking, but a negative association between increased fear and obtaining chest X-rays.

Finckenauer's (1979, as cited in Severin & Tankard, Jr., 1988) review of "Scared Straight," a film illustrating a New Jersey social marketing program in which juvenile delinquents are exposed to prison life and encounter threatening inmates, provides another example of the conflict in the study of fear appeals. The film boasted that nearly all of the program's participants – 90 percent of them – were affected by its harsh methods and enjoyed crime-free lives three months after its completion. Later research, however, revealed that the fear appeals presented in "Scared Straight" were not effective. Finckenauer examined the behaviors of youth offenders enrolled in the program and compared them to those of a control group, composed of delinquents who were not in the program. The study results showed that the juveniles who were in the program were 30 percent more likely to continue to engage in delinquent activity than members of the control group.

Several conjectures have been made attempting to explain the contradictory findings of fear appeals research. In relation to the "Scared Straight" program, it is possible that practical suggestions for shunning criminal activity were not posed or that, following frequent visits by the inmates, the juveniles began to connect with them and wanted to emulate them (Severin & Tankard, Jr., 1988). Factors such as these must be considered before the implementation of a fear appeal approach and the determination of its effectiveness. Accordingly, numerous models and theories have emerged to address the



diverse findings and shed light on the cognitive and affective processes that are triggered by threat. In turn, the explanations can also be used to refine research and suggest improvements to marketing applications. Witte (1992) assembles the major theoretical proposals into drive, parallel response, and expectancy value classifications.

## Models

A drive framework put forth by Janis (1967) follows the curvilinear hypothesis as a basis for explaining how individuals attempt to eliminate threats during fear arousal. Janis claims that when confronted with a low level of fear, message recipients are minimally motivated to consider the communication. Increases in threat intensity, however, result in emotional discomfort, which individuals seek to remove by activating adaptive behaviors such as carrying out the suggested activity. As the level of fear reaches the extreme portion of the curve, individuals become hypervigilant and maladaptive as they are driven to counter the threat through denial.

Following a discussion of how personality traits correlate with susceptibility to influence, McGuire (1968) concludes that attitude and behavioral change can best be analyzed by a simplified two-step process. According to this theory, persuasion occurs first, when individuals receive a message by paying attention to and understanding it and secondly, when they yield to that comprehension. In situations involving anxiety, fear-based communications cue personal preoccupations that overshadow message content and interfere with reception. They also drive learning that prompts message enhancement and yielding to persuasion. Combined, these negative and positive effects

and cue and drive values create a curvilinear relationship in which fear is most influential at an optimal moderate level.

The parallel response model later proposed by Leventhal (1970) introduced a move from concentration on affective reactions to the cognitive responses that manage threats. Leventhal postulates that emotions and thought-driven adaptive behaviors act independently of one another and are mediated by fear control and danger control processes, respectively. According to Leventhal, fear appeals simultaneously stimulate a receiver's fear control coping mechanism, by which reduction of the fearful emotions are sought, and danger control function that allows the individual to seek alternatives for eliminating the threats warned about. In this model, low levels of fear will be more persuasive when the fear control tool is activated because individuals will be less provoked to use avoidance defenses. High levels of fear, on the other hand, will be more effective when the danger control mechanism is prompted because information is taken from the fear and interpreted as a need to change.

Boster and Mongeau's (1984, as cited in Infante, Rancer, & Womack, 1990) resistance hypothesis and threat control model support Leventhal's theory. The researchers claim that as mild fear appeals are less threatening and less likely to be resisted, audience members will be more open to receiving messages with a low-intensity threatening. They also propose that a receiver rationally considers the likelihood that the recommended attitude or behavior will reduce the threat presented and that they are capable of executing the recommendation. Accordingly, highly intense fear appeals will produce greater rates of attitude change because the audience will be more vulnerable to accepting suggestions for overriding the threat.



Progressively, this move from attention on emotions to cognitions led to the development of expectancy value theories such as Sutton's (1982) employment of subjective expected utility theory to explain how persuasion occurs when individuals evaluate utility and probability values in fear-based communications. The theory is built on the premise that when faced with a threat, such as contracting heart disease, and the decision to continue a present lifestyle, such as not exercising, or adopt an alternative activity, such as joining an exercise program, individuals will choose the function that has the greatest subjective expected utility. This utility is a combination of the value of the threat in an individual's life and probability of the occurrence of the threat if an activity is chosen. In order for a message to be persuasive, its utility and probability values must be manipulated to produce an increased total subjective expected utility that surpasses all other alternatives. According to Sutton, then, if an individual deems heart disease as a significant threat and highly probable consequence of not exercising, an effective message encouraging individuals to join an exercise program must stress the capability of exercising in diminishing the risk of heart disease and the likelihood of contracting heart disease if a sedentary lifestyle is the chosen alternative.

While these theories offer probable explanations for the discrepancies found in the study of fear appeals, they are rejected as substantial persuasion models and, thus, provide further proof of the contradictions in research. Janis' (1967) and McGuire's (1968) drive frameworks, for example, are challenged by studies negating the impact of any reduced fear and stressing the autonomy of cognitive responses. In their measurements of participants' physiological responses to films on venereal disease, mediated by varying levels of fear such as laboratory detection of syphilis and surgical



removal of diseased tissue, and reassurance messages, mediated by varying levels of probability and treatment, Mewborn and Rogers (1979) found that only initial fear arousal produced intentions to adopt suggested treatments for venereal diseases. The arousal, however, dissipated throughout the films' presentation and reassurance messages emerged as the dominant motivators for attitude change. This outcome highlights the strength of cognitive processes and diminishes the role of fear as a primary drive.

Hendrick, Giesen and Borden (1975) discovered a similar response in their exploration of participant attitudes toward pesticide usage following exposure to a fear-based speech, recommendations for protective activities, and false physiological feedback indicating arousal. The researchers found that their reports of significant physiological fear arousal during the speech resulted in increased message acceptance. Reduction of this fear, however, by presentations of suggestions to combat the dangers of pesticides coupled with reports of low physiological arousal, did not further facilitate persuasion, as hypothesized by the curvilinear effect in drive theories.

Leventhal's (1970) parallel response model is mainly rejected for its lack of specification. According to Rogers (1975), though he offers a valuable discussion of the separate cognition- and emotion-based coping mechanisms that handle fear processing, Leventhal fails to explain why or when one mechanism becomes dominant over the other, particularly in relation to message components that stimulate danger or fear control. Rogers continues his critique noting that danger and fear control are dismissed too hastily as unconnected processes that are activated and considered independently, and that their only relationship lies in competing with each other to produce a response. Consequently, the parallel response model is devoid of the value of practical application and deemed

untestable (Beck & Frankel, 1981) because its conditions and constructs are not clearly defined.

Finally, Sutton's (1982) combination of utility and probability values to predict persuasion is rejected by the theorist's own studies. In a combined analysis of data, which was derived from two studies measuring participants' intentions to stop smoking after viewing a fear-based videotape detailing a man's bout with lung cancer and health risks of smoking, Sutton and Eiser (1984) found no evidence to confirm the multiplicative effect of subjective expected utility theory. In opposition to the model's prediction that behavior change occurs through the union of utilities and probabilities, the reported fear aroused by the film prompted greater intentions to stop smoking; regardless of the negative utility value of lung cancer in participants' lives, the belief that smoking cessation reduces the risk of lung cancer, and confidence in successful attempts to stop smoking or smoking as reported by the participants. The researchers conclude that, as a result, the effect of the film was more emotion- and fear-driven than based on mediations by these variables.

In contrast to the aforementioned paradigms' lack of precision and missing proof of emotion-driven influence and effects of combined perceived values, Rogers' (1975) protection motivation theory simplifies and clarifies analyses of fear-based communications by concentrating on specific content units and the related cognitive appraisals that lead to a protective response in the form of attitude or behavioral change. This focus averts attention from fear as an emotional, inconsistently defined state to the message characteristics that produce its arousal. It also allows for much needed



specification by singling out distinct stimuli and the provoked thought-driven treatment that directs individuals to protection motivation.

### Protection Motivation Theory

Rogers (1975) proposed that, when confronted with a fear-based message, individuals will assess three major components of the communication's content: magnitude of noxiousness, probability of occurrence, and effectiveness of the recommended response. Respectively, evaluations of each factor are coupled with determinations of perceived severity, susceptibility, and response efficacy. During this appraisal process, individuals will assess the ability of the suggested activity to remove the threat and review the message to decide if it is sufficiently severe and likely enough to happen as to arouse protection motivation and warrant a change in attitude or behavior.

According to Rogers (1975), a fear appeal may present information on just one of the components, pairs of components, or a combination of all the components. However communicated, the interactive effect is multiplicative, as proposed in the general expectancy value framework. If any of the variables is registered at a level of zero, for example, no protection motivation is aroused. Conversely, higher levels of noxiousness, probability of occurrence, and coping response efficacy are compounded to produce increased persuasion.

An early study by Rogers and Deckner (1975) on the interaction between physiological arousal and situational cues to produce a fearful emotional state and lead to attitude and behavioral change uses protection motivation theory and confirms the



multiplicative effect. Two groups of participants, each of which received injections of either epinephrine or placebo to induce sympathetic or neutral emotional conditioning, were exposed to a high-fear film illustrating a smoker's discovery of lung cancer, consultations with a surgeon, and removal of the diseased lung. Two other groups receiving the same chemical treatment were shown the film's low-fear version, without the operation sequence. Half of the subjects in each group were also given a reassurance message telling of the reversible effects of smoking and reduced risk of lung cancer by smoking cessation. While the researchers found no significant differences in reported fear arousal, attitude toward smoking and post-test smoking behavior between participants who received epinephrine or placebo injections in either of the film conditions, exposure to the high-fear film produced overall increased fear and belief of the harmful consequences of smoking than exposure to the low-fear version. Additionally, participants who received the reassurance message, regardless of film or chemical conditioning, reported less cigarette consumption during three post-test survey intervals than those who did not receive the message. As the subsequent smoking cessation occurred among participants who viewed the high-fear or low-fear film versions, Rogers and Deckner assert that at least a minimally fear-inducing communication is needed to complement the persuasive effects of efficacy messages. This compounded interaction supports the multiplicative effect of protection motivation theory, and Rogers and Deckner point to its inclusion as an implication for anti-smoking campaigns.

Results of a following study (Rogers & Mewborn, 1976) investigating the interactive nature of noxiousness, probability of occurrence, and response efficacy in

threatening messages also uses protection motivation theory to highlight the value of efficacy messages in affecting persuasion, but refute the multiplicative impact found in the Rogers and Deckner (1975) study and proposed by protection motivation theory. Participants were shown high- or low-fear films on the dangers of either cigarette smoking, unsafe driving, or venereal diseases. They were then exposed to written messages indicating either high or low probability of the occurrence of the threat presented in the film and high or low effectiveness of recommended preventive actions to remove the threat. Rogers and Mewborn found minimal effects by threat topic, noxiousness, and probability of occurrence on intentions to adopt protective recommendations. When combined with high efficacy messages, however, these intentions increased significantly, regardless of the strength of the appraised severity and probability. Rogers and Mewborn cite the resistance individuals engage when they perceive a threat's high probability of occurrence coupled with a lack of personal coping ability, and the dissipative qualities of fear arousal to explain the rejected multiplicative hypothesis. Based on their results, Rogers and Mewborn also recommend that mass media appeals focus on communicating the capability of suggestions in effectively removing threats. For example, an anti-smoking message should emphasize the ability of smoking cessation to control state of health by eliminating the aversive effects of cigarette consumption. This may be accomplished through the incorporation of images that depict and text that describes energized individuals enjoying healthy activities such as brisk walks, vigorous tennis matches and spirited dancing as a direct result of their tobacco-free lifestyle.



Despite the differences found in the Rogers and Deckner (1975) and Rogers and Mewborn (1976) studies, a meta-analysis of 65 additional studies examining protection motivation stimuli and responses evaluated individual methodological quality, statistical procedures, sample characteristics, and attitude and behavior modifications. The meta-analysis revealed overall quantitative support for the direct relationship between increases in the communication components of protection motivation theory and persuasion (Floyd, Prentice-Dunn, & Rogers, 2000). Still, Rogers (1975) reconciled contradictions stressing the limitations of his theory. He asserted that it was not meant to be an exhaustive model for reviewing all the variables that may affect message processing and protection motivation, including familiarity with the content topic and cost of performing the recommended response. Rather, Rogers presented his theory to focus on a limited set of stimuli for social and communication scientists to manipulate and investigate in their studies and build on in their analyses.

Several research projects following this guidance have resulted in modified versions of protection motivation theory. For example, in their review of participants' intentions to quit smoking following exposure to messages mediated by varying levels of severity, probability and efficacy, Maddux and Rogers (1983) discovered support for self-efficacy, belief in one's own ability to carry out recommended protective behaviors, as a fourth component of protection motivation theory. Participants in the study read essays indicating either the severity or triviality of smoking-related illnesses, likelihood or unlikelihood of smoking to cause lung cancer and heart disease, effectiveness or ineffectiveness of smoking cessation to deter major health problems, and personal coping ability or inability to stop smoking. An analysis of reported intentions to reduce or quit

cigarette consumption revealed self-efficacy expectancy as a significant influence on adoption of recommended behaviors, especially when accompanied by high levels of probability or response efficacy. According to Maddux and Rogers, however, only high levels of two of these three variables are necessary for persuasion as a threshold is reached in their combination that cannot be further augmented by the addition of a third variable.

Tanner, Hunt and Eppright (1991) conducted their revision of protection motivation theory by first identifying its limitations and proposing amendments to address them and then performing an experiment to test their new model. The researchers concluded that protection motivation theory denies the importance of the role of emotion in fear arousal by focusing mainly on the cognitive appraisal process and lacks an ordered sequence, consideration of maladaptive coping responses, and situational perspectives. Accordingly, Tanner, Hunt and Eppright suggest a protection motivation model that follows Rogers' (1975) fundamental principles but emphasizes emotion, presents processing of information as an ordered chain of events, regards possible adoption of responses that may reduce fear and not the threat, and includes social context as a key determinant of behavior. To assess the existence and strength of these alterations, they conducted a study of subjects' perceptions of and intentions to adopt responsible sexual practices, namely the use of condoms to eliminate the threat of sexually transmitted diseases, following exposure to written materials that included either high or low threat information with or without coping response messages, coping response messages alone, or no information. Tanner, Hunt and Eppright found support for their paradigm, particularly for emotion-based fear arousal as the group encountering



high threat and coping response information indicated the greatest level of learning and intention to adopt the protective behavior.

More recent studies combine protection motivation theory with other models leading to new insight on its composition and usage. Roser and Thompson (1995), for example, employ protection motivation theory and Grunig's (1982, as cited in Roser & Thompson, 1995) situational theory of publics to explore how fear appeals stimulate low-involvement audiences into action. Participants viewed a film on local environmental dangers, including plutonium contamination at nearby settings and indicated coping strategies to manage corresponding threats. In their investigation of the influence of pre-exposure to messages, affective and cognitive processing, and engaged coping mechanisms on public membership to environmental causes, Roser and Thompson found that fearful messages generate increased awareness about involvement, risk and self-efficacy. They also discovered that this emotion-based motivator is effective in prompting serious thought about and action against environmental dangers, regardless of pre-exposure to the message.

A study by Kline and Mattson (2000) also uses protection motivation in conjunction with a secondary paradigm to guide research. The researchers used principles from the health belief model to analyze severity, susceptibility, and efficacy messages in breast self-examination pamphlets. Their content analysis revealed that these publications provide unequal fractions of each component and are dominated by recommendations of mammography. Kline and Mattson suggest that breast self-examination pamphlets include increased communication about an individual's ability to

perform the test and strategies to combat the embarrassment and forgetfulness that may accompany it.

This thesis follows the course of past researchers (Maddux & Rogers, 1983; Tanner, Hunt & Eppright, 1991) by using the original protection motivation theory (Rogers, 1975) to generate new knowledge. According to the pioneer theoretical framework, individuals confronted with a fear-based message will gauge three major components of the communication's content: magnitude of noxiousness, probability of occurrence, and effectiveness of the recommended response. In turn, they will make assessments of perceived severity, susceptibility, and response efficacy. This appraisal will lead to protection motivation and a change in attitude or behavior if the individual decides that the threat is severe enough and likely enough to happen as to warrant such a change and determines the ability of the suggested activity to remove the threat. While fear appeals may introduce single or paired message components, high levels of noxiousness, probability of occurrence, and coping response efficacy presented together will be most effective in increasing persuasion.

### Truth

Advertisers' primary objectives are designing promotional campaigns to stimulate advocacy and generate sales. Their endeavors attempt to inspire pro-activity that leads to support and dollars. However, marketers face a unique challenge when called upon to persuade individuals to avoid a purchase or action. Termed "social marketing" (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971), these campaigns are often aimed at teens and include pushes against



drugs, drunk driving, and gang membership. Anti-smoking advertisements are the most recent pitch to join the roster of causes and with \$1.5 billion funding their latest and largest effort, an exploration and identification of the approaches used for presenting a product as the most unfavorable choice for satisfaction is merited.

According to an article recounting the challenge marketers face in tailoring the campaign's message, method, and media to teen preferences, "preventing smoking is a tough sell" (Fairclough, 2000). Teenagers' desire for social acceptance and independence draws them toward smoking as an activity that enhances their autonomy and image. Consequently, the commercials that will be examined in this study are produced by Truth, the nation's most massive anti-smoking campaign to date, and incorporate a variety of techniques in their plugs.

The American Legacy Foundation (ALF), the supervising organization under which Truth operates, was established in 1998 as a mandate of the Master Settlement Agreement (MSA) between 46 states, five territories, and the tobacco industry's largest manufacturers, including Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corporation, Philip Morris Incorporated, and R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company (Wilson, 1999). As part of the settlement, these companies will disburse \$206 billion over the next 25 years to fund promotional and educational anti-smoking organizations like the ALF. In accordance with the agreement, the foundation has initiated a nation-wide public education drive to promote tobacco-free living (ALF, 2000).

Truth is an essential element of this drive. It combines the ideas of teens across the country with the marketing methods of advertising agencies to produce anti-smoking commercials that reflect the trends of the nation's youth while educating them. Other

activities including organizing events, managing a Web site, and providing information for smokers who want to quit or researchers interested in the tobacco industry.

“Dedicated to exposing the truth about tobacco so that people can take control and make fully informed decisions for themselves” (Truth, 2000), the campaign’s commercials feature striking facts such as death tolls and tobacco advertising budgets amid slick pitches that mimic and mock popular culture. As a result, the advertisements have been deemed controversial and prohibited from broadcast by some television networks (Melillo and Warner, 2000). Truth maintains, however, that the stark information it presents is derived from reliable sources that specialize in health research, such as the American Cancer Society, and is too important to be ignored. Accordingly, the campaign will continue to spread its anti-smoking message through the television, radio, on-line, and magazine venues that have accepted it for exposure (Truth, 2000).

The first set of commercials released by Truth includes a medley of 30- and 60-second spots featuring spoofs of contemporary advertising and displaying the modern feel marketers hope teenagers will identify with. It presents creative and graphic ways to illustrate the assertion that tobacco is the only product that kills a third of its users (Truth, 2000). This set provides examples of the commercials that will be examined. A synopsis of each of the four promotions follows:

- “Splode Soda” is similar to commercials for soft drinks, which exhibit extreme-sports, music, and trendy clothing and language. In it, a trio of bungee-jumpers, clad in ski caps, glasses and vests, take turns diving off a bridge and grabbing a soda from the ground, drinking it as they recoil upward. Their success is backed by rock guitars and a narrator urging viewers to grab a can of Splode for its



intensity. However, as the third jumper plunges downward and retrieves the soft drink, it explodes in midair and he becomes a ball of fire. The screen fades to orange. A message presented onscreen for viewers to read warning that tobacco is the “Only ... product that actually kills a third of the people who use it” reveals that the commercial is not a pitch for the latest drink, but a social promotion. Another fade-out reveals the word, “Tobacco.”

- “H-BOMM” resembles contemporary athletic gear commercials, which present sports stars endorsing brandname clothing and equipment while flaunting their talents. This segment features a trio of basketball players, introduced to a cheering audience as Dunkfest finalists, putting on a show of slam-dunk stunts and surrounded by bright strobe lights. As each player takes a turn showing off a move at the rim, a narrator describes the benefits of the hydrogen-sole shoes they are wearing. Claiming that “when you go up in your H-BOMM’s baby, you ain’t never comin’ down”, the narrator is interrupted by the sound of an explosion and the scene of the third player bursting into a fire ball when his feet touch the ground after a dunk. Following shots of debris on the court, the screen fades to orange and the message “Only one product actually kills a third of the people who use it” appears. A subsequent fade-out discloses the culprit, “Tobacco.”
- “RidaZit” presents a giggly trio of friends at a slumber party, standing before a Hollywood-style makeup mirror and discussing blemish problems. This situation, familiar to teenage girls across the country, is enhanced by a pink-painted room and light, bubbly background music. Upon the suggestion of one member of the group, the girls apply “RidaZit” blemish cream to their faces. The third

partygoer, however, complains of burning discomfort and, despite the reassurance of her friends, she blows up and becomes a fireball. The girls run out the room and the screen fades to orange as the sound of approaching ambulances is heard. The message “Only one product actually kills a third of the people who use it” appears and the word “Tobacco” follows a subsequent fade-out.

- “Tru-Ride” incorporates a catchy tune with a grinning salesman to tout a new airport service, which picks up weary travelers and their luggage at terminal stations and transports them to their cars in a climate-controlled van. Throughout the segment, Tru-Ride’s staff members appear friendly and helpful in their starched, coordinated uniforms as they assist a trio of businessmen being driven to their awaiting vehicles. Leaving the van, each man exchanges a pleasant wave or nod with the driver, gets in his car and drives happily away. The third traveler, however, starts his ignition and bursts into flames. Having observed the tragedy, Tru-Ride’s driver winces, then immediately flashes a wide grin at the camera. The jingle continues throughout the commercial and as the screen fades to orange. “Only one product actually kills a third of the people who use it” appears and after a second fade-out, the word “Tobacco” becomes visible.



## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

Based on the research citing the prevalent use of fear appeals to produce attitude change, particularly those including high threat noxiousness, probability of occurrence and response efficacy messages, the following research questions were developed to identify and isolate the communication components for analysis in this study:

- R1: What noxiousness messages are presented in the content of the commercials produced by the Truth campaign?
- R2: What probability of occurrence messages are presented in the content of the commercials produced by the Truth campaign?
- R3: What response efficacy messages are presented in the content of the commercials produced by the Truth campaign?
- R4: What is the proportional relationship among noxiousness, probability of occurrence, and response efficacy messages presented in the content of the commercials produced by Truth?

A content analysis of 12 Truth commercials, released and broadcast on television from the campaign's inception in January 2000 and viewed on the Truth website, was conducted to identify and isolate noxiousness, probability of occurrence, and response efficacy messages. Truth produced 12 sets of promotions, comprising several commercials which incorporated similar, if not identical, themes, formats, and messages. One commercial from each of these 12 sets was randomly selected for analysis. Consequently, the random selection of one commercial from a set provides a

representative sample of the persuasive material released by Truth.

For example, all the commercials in the “Daily Dose” set, as divided and labeled by the Truth campaign, are spots featuring teenage protagonists in everyday settings, such as diners and amusement parks, holding monitors with streaming numbers that reveal tobacco-related statistics. The random selection of one of these commercials provides a consistent representation of the theme, format, and message of the total promotional set. For sets containing only one commercial, that single commercial was viewed for analysis.

The gathered data were then analyzed quantitatively in terms of frequency to determine the proportions of noxiousness, probability of occurrence, and response efficacy messages; evaluate their comparative usage in relation to protection motivation theory, and provide a basis for campaign strategy recommendations.

The content analysis ensured objectivity and coding reliability by employing carefully defined categories of variables. For purposes of the study, the coding guide used by Kline and Mattson (2000) in their analysis of breast self-examination pamphlets, which was confirmed with .82 reliability using Cohen’s Kappa, served as the primary foundation for unit classification and was modified for application to anti-smoking promotional material. This was accomplished primarily by adopting their definitions of severity, susceptibility, and response efficacy, and altering them to coordinate with the subject matter of this study. For example, Kline and Mattson (2000) classify messages about susceptibility to breast cancer as statistics that indicate risk factors such as menstrual history, personal history of breast cancer, family history, etc. This definition was modified for relevance to the content in this study by including statistics on risk factors such as age, gender, lifestyle, cigarette consumption, family history, and peer



influence as indicators of teen susceptibility to the harmful effects of smoking. See Appendix A for the coding instrument that was used in this study and the material that follows for more detailed classifications of variables.

Noxiousness messages are designated as any textual or visual content that indicates the harmful consequences of smoking. This material includes words or images highlighting death, disease, unattractiveness, and social offense. For example, loss of life may be depicted by funerals, caskets, eulogies, sleep, extinction, explosions, termination, body bags, casualty and an inability of recovery. Disease may be represented by an individual's functioning with the partial or total impairment of body or brain, hospitals, doctors, vital organs, decay, ailment, complaints of health, cancer, and debility. Unattractiveness and social offense may be exhibited by the lack of aesthetic and social appeal of smoking characterized by foul breath and body odors, impairments to appearance such as yellowing teeth, and arrested relationships such as isolation and desertion.

Probability of occurrence messages are those that stress the likelihood of the aforementioned noxious consequences of smoking. They may be displayed in words or images introducing teen protagonists experiencing death, disease, unattractiveness, and social offense, as previously defined. Teen susceptibility will also be exhibited by text or visuals presenting related statistics on the harmful effects of smoking, cigarette composition, addiction development, and risk factors such as age, gender, weight, height, lifestyle, cigarette consumption, family history, and peer influence.

Response efficacy messages are identified as any textual or visual content that displays the effectiveness of not smoking in combating death, disease, unattractiveness,

and social offense. This material includes words or images that portray not smoking as the best alternative for deterring the harmful consequences of cigarette consumption such as the healthiness, vigor, fitness, activity, energy, strength, attractiveness, charisma, allure, charm, and well-being that accompanies tobacco-free living.

The units defined as indicating noxiousness, probability of occurrence and response efficacy were identified and isolated, and counted in terms of frequency by a coder using a revised coding guide entirely based on Kline and Mattson's (2000) measuring instrument, which has been proven valid and reliable. Threats to reliability in this study were minimized by employing consistent coding administration (i.e., coding all commercials in same room, viewing on same screen), clarity in categories and measuring instrument, and a search for mechanical errors. Additionally, the study's face, predictive and construct validity were preserved through concentration on the protection motivation theoretical framework.

In turn, solid qualitative and quantitative reviews of manifest content in a systematic and representative sample of Truth's promotions were secured. Collected data and coding evaluations were examined to provide answers to the research questions, specify the proportions of the protection motivation theory message components in Truth's television commercials, and presented as social marketing suggestions, discussed in the results and conclusion portions of this thesis.



## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

The review of Truth's commercials revealed a promotional strategy that is based on the combination of stark tobacco-related facts, commonplace settings, and the vilification of cigarette companies. Fear-based messages, as seen in the subsequent descriptions of each commercial and analysis of data, are conveyed by single, yet powerful, words or images that bring sobriety and validation to the satirical and comic platforms they are presented in. Rather than directly prompting the audience to stop or not start smoking for the sake of their health, however, Truth uses the fear-based messages mainly to create suspiciousness about the intentions and practices of "Big Tobacco" (Truth, 2000), foster a frenzied rebellion against cigarette companies born in resentment of being duped as consumers, and indirectly call for a boycott of cigarettes.

"Web Letters" is a set of spots showing teens reading messages that have been posted on Truth's website and responding to them by directly facing the camera and offering a tobacco-related statistic in a smart-alecky tone. "Responsibility," a 30-second promotion, was the randomly selected unit for analysis and features a male teen protagonist who introduces himself to the audience as "Big Mike from NYC." Mike is sitting at a computer desk in his bedroom wearing a T-shirt that bears the expression, "Whatever." An orange background border appears at the margins of the screen and messages from online postings are presented in text form as he reads aloud: "Tempest writes, 'My problem is the lack of people taking personal responsibility for smoking.'"

Mike replies by looking directly into the camera: "Ok Tempest. Let's make a little deal here. Smokers will start taking responsibility for smoking if Big Tobacco takes responsibility for selling a product that kills someone every eight seconds." He continues with a slight chuckle: "You need responsibility? That's what we're asking for." Following this final statement, the Truth logo and web address appear onscreen in bits and the commercial ends with a solid image of the logo.

"Responsibility" contains one noxiousness message manifested in death. The word "kills" is used in relation to the "product" used by smokers. The commercial extends the effect of this connotation by providing one probability message in the form of a statistic that stresses the likelihood of death and refers to the "product" used by smokers as one "that kills someone every 8 seconds." There is no response efficacy message and, despite having presented a pair of protection motivation components, this zero registration negates the arousal of protection motivation to warrant an attitude or behavior change as delineated by the theory's multiplicative effect (Rogers, 1975). According to Rogers (1975), then, no protection motivation would be aroused.

The "Kills 1/3" set of commercials display three characters engaging in the same usage of a product separately, such as teenaged females who are putting on blemish cream at a slumber party and basketball players competing in a slam dunk contest wearing the same shoes. One of the three characters, however, is harmed or killed by the product being advertised and used in parody, and the commercials end with the underlying and direct message that tobacco is the only product "... that actually kills a third of the people who use it."



“Splode Soda,” similar to commercials for soft drinks that exhibit extreme-sports, music, and trendy clothing and language, was the randomly selected promotion for review. In the commercial, which lasts 30 seconds, a trio of bungee-jumpers, clad in ski caps, glasses and vests, take turns diving off a bridge and grabbing a soda from the ground, drinking it as they recoil upward. Their success is backed by rock guitars and a narrator urging viewers to grab a can of Splode for its intensity. As the third jumper plunges downward and retrieves the soft drink, it explodes in midair and he becomes a ball of fire. The screen fades to orange and a message warning that tobacco is the “Only ... product that actually kills a third of the people who use it” appears. Another fade-out reveals the word, “Tobacco.”

“Splode Soda” contains one noxiousness message manifested in death. The image of the explosion is used to relay the fatal consequence of product consumption, providing a parallel to the risk of smoking. The teen protagonist who experiences this tragedy presents the first of two probability messages. His death highlights the susceptibility furthered by the statistic presented at the end of the commercial. This second probability message provides a more direct communication of the likelihood of the noxious consequence of smoking. There is no response efficacy message and, despite having presented protection motivation components, this zero registration negates the arousal of protection motivation to warrant an attitude or behavior change as delineated by the theory’s multiplicative effect (Rogers, 1975). According to Rogers (1975), then, no protection motivation would be aroused by the commercial.

The “Daily Dose” category features teenage protagonists in commonplace settings, such as diners and amusement parks. The teens, who are identified by the text

of their first names appearing onscreen, remain silent throughout the commercial and the only sounds in the commercial are the dulled background noises of their locale and the distinct ticking of the rapidly streaming numbers changing on the monitors they hold. Each commercial ends when the streaming numbers suddenly stop to reveal a tobacco-related statistics.

“Minty Fresh” presents “Joseph” standing in a stark, empty diner with wood panel walls and simple tables and chairs. Joseph is holding a monitor with streaming numbers and wears sneakers, shorts, a basketball jersey, chain necklace and hose cap. As he stands silent, the murmur of restaurant customers and clear ticking of the streaming numbers is heard in the background. The camera pulls back to reveal a full body shot of Joseph as the phrases “Every year” and “menthol cigarettes leave” appear on screen, replacing each other. Suddenly, the streaming numbers stop and the word “over” appears above the “33,000” on the monitor. “Minty fresh” appears underneath the monitor and the camera zooms in on Joseph, who is African American, as “African American corpses” is presented onscreen. The image fades out to reveal the “daily dose of truth” phrase, and Truth logo and Web site address.

“Minty Fresh” contains one noxiousness message manifested in death. The word “corpses” is used in relation to the end product of menthol cigarette consumption. The commercial extends the effect of this connotation by providing one probability message in the form of a statistic that stresses the likelihood of death, particularly of African American smokers: “Every year menthol cigarettes leave over 33,000 minty fresh African American corpses.” There is no response efficacy message and, despite having presented a pair of protection motivation components, this zero registration negates the arousal of



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protection motivation to warrant an attitude or behavior change as delineated by the theory's multiplicative effect (Rogers, 1975). According to Rogers (1975), then, no protection motivation would be aroused by "Minty Fresh."

The "Youth Voice" promotional set displays teen characters using props such as body bags and lie detectors at the offices and neighborhoods of tobacco company executives to inquire about tobacco-related facts. The images in the commercials, based on these props, visually illustrate the characters' messages.

"Lie Detector" introduces one male and one female teenaged protagonists, dressed in jeans and jackets, entering what is labeled as "inside a major tobacco company" onscreen. Carrying a lie detector, they arrive in the lobby area asking to speak with "Rita, the VP of Marketing." The characters are met by rude executives who are vague about Rita's whereabouts and they are told to wait or leave. A male executive enters the lobby and the female protagonist tells him that their purpose for being there is to clear up the confusion about the addictiveness of nicotine, as first denied and then confirmed by the tobacco industry. The male executive tells her to call and leave a message on Rita's voice mail. When the female character does call, she is hung up on. He and turns to the male executive to reiterate her reason for being there. He asks the pair to leave and mocks her saying, "Oh, you're great!" The minute-long commercial ends with the word "truth" appearing onscreen.

"Lie Detector" does not contain any noxiousness, probability or response efficacy messages. Rather, the commercial uses the lie detector prop and the tone of the executives to promote mistrust in tobacco companies and foster support for the pursuit of truth. While this approach is inconsistent with protection motivation theory, whereby

protection motivation is aroused if a fear-based communication is perceived as sufficiently severe and likely enough to happen (Rogers, 1975), it offers an alternative to attitude and behavior change. By vilifying cigarette manufacturers and their employees, the Truth campaign attaches a negative stigma to their work and products and issues a rallying cry against them.

“Making Blacks History” is a series of commercials featuring “Making Blacks History Moments,” short television segments hosted by “Phil Lamar,” a sophisticated African American male who dresses in dark business suits, drinks tea and wears wire-rimmed glasses. The segments provide information on tobacco-related issues and take place in a formal office, where Phil is surrounded by leather chairs, dim lighting, and a massive library. In contrast to reserved setting and grim data offered, he uses unexpected guests and props such as an angry mother who loathes lying and a tailpipe emitting dangerous fumes to illustrate the severity of the presented statistics.

In “Tailpipe” Phil appears onscreen walking down a flight of stairs into his lavishly adorned office as soft harp music plays in the background and a deep voice announces, “This is a ‘Making Blacks History Moment’ with your host Phil Lamar.” He slowly walks over to the lit fireplace and states, “In 1998, black people bought more than \$2 billion worth of tobacco stuff. So people are paying a lot of money for a lot of cancer.” Suddenly, Phil’s prim manner changes as he dives down onto the ground and places his face next to the tailpipe of a running car that has been placed in his office. He exclaims excitedly, “Shoot! If that’s what you want to do, give \$1.37 and you can suck the tailpipe of my car until you’re as cancer-y as you want to be!” He continues, “And if you’re digging menthols, I’ll even throw a mint in there for you ... no charge!” As Phil



winks at the audience and flashes a toothy grin, gold calligraphy appears onscreen revealing "Tobacco is Making Blacks History" and the Truth logo and Web address follow to conclude the 30-second commercial.

"Tailpipe" contains three noxiousness messages manifested in disease and death. The word "cancer" is used in relation to what is being bought by and the service that is being provided to African American consumers by "tobacco stuff." The tailpipe emitting the dangerous fumes further illustrates this poisonous and harmful effect. Finally, the statement that "Tobacco is Making Blacks History" represents the gradual deterioration and decay of a population. These noxiousness messages are substantiated by the commercial's one probability component, the statistic divulging the gravity of the situation using a dollar amount to quantify it. There is no response efficacy message and, despite having presented several protection motivation components, this zero registration negates the arousal of protection motivation to warrant an attitude or behavior change as delineated by the theory's multiplicative effect (Rogers, 1975). According to Rogers (1975), then, no protection motivation would be aroused.

The "Truth in the Barrio" promotions show teen protagonists scouring neighborhood venues such as downtown streets and supermarkets in search of tobacco advertisements. In particular, they aim to identify the placement of the ads in their community, or "barrio". The teens indicate their outrage at the abundance and visibility of the promotions.

"Kid's Eye View" shows three male teens preparing a young male child they refer to as "Agent Paco" to enter a supermarket equipped with a hidden camera to prove how vulnerable children are to being exposed to tobacco advertisements. The 30-second

commercial is filmed in choppy, black and white footage that recalls amateur camcorder videotaping and captures Paco's trip through the store. Watching from a hand-held monitor outside, the teenagers can see Paco's kid's eye view of the establishment and comment, "I think he's penetrating the evil man's stronghold." The camera switches between the hidden camera shots of the store and color images of the characters outside, who display disgust at the advertisements that have been dropped on the floor and those that are placed outside the candy aisle. "Gumballs and cigarette ads," they observe. "They go good together, right?" One of the teenagers faces the camera and states, "We're tired of it. Us kids are taking it back. Ok tobacco companies, we're taking it back." The spot ends with a shot of a black and white gumball machine containing bright orange gumballs and with a sticker of the Truth logo on its exterior.

"Kid's Eye View" does not contain any noxiousness, probability or response efficacy messages. Rather, the commercial uses the viewpoint of a young child to emphasize the ruthless advertising practices and carelessness of tobacco companies. This strategy continues Truth's disparagement of "Big Tobacco" using non-fear-based means and instead appealing to the audience's aversion to the callousness and neglectfulness of the corporate world.

"Nametags" is the only commercial in a group of the same name, as segmented by Truth. The minute-long spot starts with a close-up of blank "Hello, my name is ..." nametags. In the background, sounds of scribbling are heard. The camera switches to shots of teen protagonists filling in the nametags with phrases such as "Sales Spike," "Profit Margin," and "Potential Customer." They put the labels on their chests as the screen reveals that they are standing in a bleak room with a simple table and few chairs.



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A female narrator introduces the characters: "Hello Big Tobacco. We just wanted to introduce ourselves. But we figured there's no reason to use our real names. After all, this is how you see us anyway." The commercial cuts to a shot of a nametag bearing the appellation "Increased Revenue" being placed on an individual's chest. The narrator continues, "Well, here's a new one for you." A hand writing in marker reveals "Your Worst Nightmare." The camera focuses on the nametag, which also contains Truth's Web address in small letters at the bottom, and fades out to be replaced by the Truth logo.

"Nametags" does not contain any noxiousness, probability or response efficacy messages. However, the promotion does indicate the devious nature of the tobacco industry through its portrayal as a greedy, profit-driven and self-interested entity. Moreover, the collective introduction of the characters in the commercial as "Your Worst Nightmare" is an ominous symbol of the teenagers' displeasure and proactivity. It points to future exploits that go far beyond a group introduction.

"Memorial" is the only commercial in a group of the same name, as segmented by Truth. The minute-long promotion begins with an aerial shot of Capitol Hill, the Washington Monument and Lincoln Memorial. The location "Washington, D.C." appears on screen as teen protagonists are seen building their own memorial out of body bags. Separate groups review blueprints, prepare the ground of an enclosed area, and drag heavy black closed plastic tubes, labeled as "Body Bag[s]" out of the back of a large truck. The latter group loads the body bags onto a conveyer belt, which deposits them into tall piles. Meanwhile, crowds of downtown tourists, businesspeople, and families stop to watch and take pictures of the memorial. The background music throughout the minute-long commercial is an upbeat swing-style song with horns and trumpets that

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complement the jovial tone of a male teen acting as narrator. As the teens continue their frenzy of activity, he excitedly proclaims, "My fellow Americans! As you know, Washington is full of memorials of people who've died. Well, today we're building a new one that's kind of important ... the Tobacco Memorial! 1,200 loyal customers dead every day and the cigarette companies just keep cranking them out!" When asked by a woman on the street, "What are those?" he responds, "Oh, they're just mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, friends. You know." He continues, "This is so everyone in American can see what Big Tobacco is really up to." The camera pulls back to reveal the image of a massive pile of body bags. Truth's logo is unveiled on a large red flag hanging from the side of the building next to the memorial. Suddenly the music stops and the narrator's voice becomes sober and solemn, "If anyone finds this offensive, so do we." Truth's web address appears on the screen as it fades out.

"Memorial" contains three noxiousness messages manifested in death. The images of the body bags separately and then combined in the finished memorial are used to relay the notion that "cigarette companies" do not only produce tobacco products, but casualties as well. The word "dead" describing the daily condition of customers solidifies the illustration and the statistic that substantiates the description ("1,200 loyal customers dead every day ...") provides the first of two probability messages. The second communication of susceptibility is presented in the narrator's listing of who the victims are. He indicates the probability of death by reciting a register of individuals the audience can identify with and feel anxious for: "Oh, they're just mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, friends." There is no response efficacy message and, despite having presented several protection motivation components, this zero registration negates the arousal of



protection motivation to warrant an attitude or behavior change as delineated by the theory's multiplicative effect (Rogers, 1975). According to Rogers (1975), then, no protection motivation would be aroused by "Memorial."

"What if Cigarette Ads Told the Truth" is a series of commercials that brings to life the scenes commonly depicted in cigarette advertisements. These include beaches with bright blue skies and water, rugged earthy ranches, and strobe-lit nightclubs. The bubbly group of beachgoers, tough cowboys, and urban merrymakers, however, are absent in the commercials. Their roles are replaced with body bags.

In "Cowboys," a minute-long spot reminiscent of classic Marlboro promotions, a faraway church bell commences shots and sounds of galloping horses running through a dry, mountainous region. Two male and one female protagonist emerge in the distance walking slowly towards the horses. Old time Western music with grim whistling and bells surrounds them as they begin unloading body bags from the back of a truck and place them on the backs of the horses to replace the cowboys that once rode them. The teens are shown sweating and struggling with the heavy bags in the hot sun. When they have completed their task, the protagonists pat the horses and yell at them to "Go on! Be a cowboy!" The music is drowned out by the sounds of a stampede and a pulled-back camera shot reveals a cloud of dust kicked up from the horses' hooves covering the vast terrain. The camera cuts to the female character standing in front of a wooden fence, flanked by cactuses on either side, and holding a sign that reads, "What if cigarette ads told the truth?" She is replaced onscreen by the silhouette of a lone ambling horse still carrying the body bag on its back and an image of the two male teens commenting on the sight of the horse. "Let's see them put that in a magazine," says one of them. The

camera returns to the lone horse who begins to walk more rapidly, causing the body bag to fall on the ground. The horse continues running and the female character appears bearing a second message on her sign, which she flips over to reveal "Truth." The Truth Web address is shown and the camera fades out.

"Cowboys" presents an approach similar to the designation of death in the "Memorial" commercial. The promotion uses the body bags as its one noxiousness message to highlight the grim reality of tobacco consumption and allude to the fatal consequences hidden by "cigarette ads." There are no probability or response efficacy messages and, despite having presented a noxiousness component, these zero registrations negate the arousal of protection motivation to warrant an attitude or behavior change as delineated by the theory's multiplicative effect (Rogers, 1975). According to Rogers (1975), then, no protection motivation would be aroused.

"Body Bags" is the only commercial in a group of the same name, as segmented by Truth. It starts with a busy downtown scene and shows a truck pulling up to the curb of what is labeled onscreen as "Outside a major tobacco company." The minute-long commercial suddenly adopts a frantic pace as sounds of a man yelling out, "Let's go! Let's go! Let's go!" are heard. The frenzied environment is enhanced by teens who come running down the city streets and from around corners of buildings, opening the backs of trucks and pulling out white, zipped up plastic tubes marked as "Body Bag[s]." The teens drag the body bags in the streets and pile them outside the entrance of the "major tobacco company" as executives and security personnel watch from their windows. A male character with a blow horn directs his attention to them saying, "Excuse me! Sorry to bother you, but we've got a question. Do you know how many



people tobacco kills every day? I mean, what would you say? Twenty? Thirty? A hundred?" As he talks, the frenzy of activity carries on around him and the teens continue piling up the body bags. Suddenly the background noise fades to an eerie gust of wind blowing and the camera provides an aerial view of the massive pile the characters have built. The commercial returns to the protagonist with the blow horn, who is standing in front of the pile saying, "You know what? We're going to leave this here for you so you can see what 1,200 people actually look like." The camera cuts to another aerial shot of the pile that has grown to cover an entire downtown street. The busy city noises return and the teens are shown posting up simple black and white signs that bear the Truth logo and read: "Every day 1,200 people die from tobacco." The spot ends with the male character addressing his cohort ("Let's keep piling them up guys!"), another sudden sound change to a gust of wind, and a final faraway view of the pile surrounding the building of the "major tobacco company." The Truth logo and Web site address appear onscreen.

"Body Bags" continues the campaign's manifestation of noxiousness in death. The use of the body bags and the words "kills" and "die" directly indicate loss of life and comprise the commercial's three noxiousness messages. The presented statistic that recounts the daily death toll at the hands of tobacco introduces the one probability component, emphasizing susceptibility to harm. There is no response efficacy message and, despite having presented several protection motivation components, this zero registration negates the arousal of protection motivation to warrant an attitude or behavior change as delineated by the theory's multiplicative effect (Rogers, 1975). According to Rogers (1975), then, no protection motivation would be aroused by "Body Bags."

“50% More” is a set of promotions focusing on the message that 50 percent more African Americans are afflicted by tobacco-related illness than Caucasian men. This fact is illustrated by groups of African American teenagers going into urban venues, such as downtown basketball courts, streets and markets, and offering the individuals they encounter 50 percent more of what they are using or purchasing to display the magnitude of the statistic. By offering 50 percent more bass in a car stereo and 50 percent more groceries, for example, the teens graphically depict the significance of the amount and foster an image of benevolence for Truth.

“Throat” presents “Tika” and “Trevor,” two African American teen protagonists who introduce themselves as Truth representatives to a man buying albums at a record store. The commercial is shot in black and white footage with hints of bright yellow, red, and orange shown on the clothing of customers and in the carpet of the store. In the 30-second spot Trevor tells the man that “tobacco gives black men 50 percent more lung cancer than white men.” The fact is highlighted by text that simultaneously appears onscreen. He further relates, “So we’ll try to make this up to you by offering you 50 percent more stuff that won’t give you lung cancer. We’re prepared to give you 50 percent of whatever you just bought.” Tika chimes in, “Meaning you go pick out more records.” As the man considers their offer, Trevor continues, “Vinyls do not cause lung cancer” and inquires, “You know anybody with lung cancer?” The man replies and his response is presented onscreen as well: “As a matter of fact, I have a father. He has throat cancer from ...” Trevor interjects to complete the sentence in chorus with the male character. “Tobacco” they both say. The commercial ends with the Truth logo and Web site address displayed on screen.



“Throat” contains two noxiousness messages manifested in disease. The statements about “lung cancer” by Trevor and “throat cancer” by the shopper identify the harmful effects of tobacco consumption on health. These accounts of two types of disease also introduce the two probability messages in the commercial. The statistic that “tobacco gives black men 50 percent more lung cancer than white men” presents a specific susceptible population and the shopper’s consideration of his father establishes a sympathetic personification of tobacco-related affliction. The promotion’s one response efficacy message is less direct. According to protection motivation theory (Rogers, 1975), a response efficacy component presents an alternative that is displayed as capable of removing a noxious consequence. The offer of 50 percent more of “stuff that won’t give you lung cancer” presents this alternative to tobacco consumption. In “Throat” the alternative is symbolized by the vinyl records, further described as products that do not cause lung cancer and, thus, conversely producing a cancer-free state of well being through their usage. By offering more records, Truth presents the shopper with an opportunity to avoid the consequences of smoking, as highlighted by the aforementioned noxiousness and probability messages. Additionally, according to protection motivation theory (Rogers, 1975), the presence of at least one of each protection motivation component is compounded to arouse assessments of severity, susceptibility and response efficacy. Protection motivation would be stimulated by the commercial.

“April Fools” is the only commercial in a group of the same name, as segmented by Truth. The minute-long spot introduces a business suit-clad executive identified onscreen as “Robert Fitzgerald, Tobacco Industry Chairman.” The date “April 1, 2001” also appears to indicate the commercial’s production period. Robert is shown standing in

a lobby area with shiny marbleized walls. He puts his fingers together in a tent position, looks directly at the camera, and begins his speech in a serious, formal tone: "Hello. With the mounting evidence linking cigarettes to cancer, addiction, emphysema, heart disease and premature death, I want you, the American public, to hear directly from me what the tobacco industry is doing to take responsibility for this very serious problem." He points to the audience and wrinkles his brow for emphasis as he continues, "Effective immediately, we are issuing a cigarette recall. Every single cigarette in America is being pulled off the shelf and will remain off until we can, with a clear conscience, offer the American public a cigarette that poses absolutely no health risk. Because if there are two things the tobacco industry cares about, it's your health and your trust. Thank you." The conclusion of the character's speech is highlighted by a black screen. Suddenly the text "April Fools" appears and a woman's voice expresses the phrase in a mocking, sing-songy pitch that gives away the hoax. The text changes into the Truth logo, and the Web site address and "sponsored by Truth" appears onscreen.

"April Fools" contains one noxiousness message displayed collectively as the listing of the health risks of tobacco consumption. By naming "cancer, addiction, emphysema, heart disease and premature death," a record of consequences emerges that clearly and jointly indicates harm. There is no probability message. The commercial's one response efficacy message presents a "cigarette recall" as an alternative to the possibility of putting a product out for consumption that jeopardizes the well being of the "American public." This alternative deters smoking behavior by prohibiting the sale of the product and, thus, combats the harmful consequences of tobacco consumption, as listed in the promotion's noxiousness message. Additionally, despite having presented a



pair of protection motivation components, the absence of a probability message and its related zero registration negates the arousal of protection motivation to warrant an attitude or behavior change as delineated by the theory's multiplicative effect (Rogers, 1975). According to Rogers (1975), then, no protection motivation would be aroused.

In total, three of the 12 randomly selected and viewed commercials, or 25 percent of them, did not contain any noxiousness, probability or response efficacy messages. According to protection motivation theory (Rogers, 1975), then, these commercials would not prompt assessments of perceived severity, susceptibility or response efficacy by the audience and protection motivation would not be activated. The "Lie Detector," "Kid's Eye View," and "Nametags" promotions rely instead on changing attitudes about smoking through the vilification of the tobacco industry for its deceptive, ruthless, and neglectful marketing practices and fostering a desire for a mass rejection of its products.

Of the entire 28 protection motivation components that were identified, 16, or 57 percent, were noxiousness messages. This majority was founded in presented words and images that connoted death and disease. Alternative messages that would have comprised noxiousness, such as unattractiveness and social offense, were non-existent. According to protection motivation theory (Rogers, 1975), the presence of these components stimulates assessments of perceived severity. However, commercials featuring noxiousness messages and no other components or messages from only one other component, whether it is probability or response efficacy, would void any arousal of protection motivation. This was the case with eight of the nine commercials, or 89 percent, presenting noxiousness messages.

Of the 28 protection motivation components in the promotions, 10, or 36 percent, were probability messages. These were mainly introduced in the forms of statistical data or personification of victimization by showing direct harm or having a protagonist identify victims. According to protection motivation theory (Rogers, 1975), the presence of probability components activates perceptions of susceptibility to harm. However, promotions with probability messages and no other components or messages from only one other component, whether it is noxiousness or response efficacy, would cancel any stimulation of protection motivation. This cancellation occurred in six of the seven commercials, or 86 percent, presenting probability messages.

Within the commercials' total 28 protection motivation components, two, or seven percent, were response efficacy messages. Individually, these components presented alternatives to tobacco consumption through the usage of another product and the recall of cigarettes. More direct messages indicating the ability of deterred smoking to produce healthiness, attractiveness, and overall well being, for example, were non-existent. In relation to protection motivation theory (Rogers, 1975), the presence of the response efficacy components prompts assessments of the ability of the suggested activity to remove harmful consequences. However, commercials featuring response efficacy messages and no other components or messages from only one other component, whether it is noxiousness or probability, would void any arousal of protection motivation. This was the case with one of the two commercials, or 50 percent, employment a response efficacy message.

Only one commercial in the entire set of 12 viewed promotions, or eight percent, would arouse protection motivation to warrant an attitude or behavior change, according



to protection motivation theory (Rogers, 1975). This commercial, "Throat" would prompt the audience to review personal perceptions of the severity of lung and throat cancer and the likelihood of contracting the diseases based on the presentations of a statistic and family member account. The promotion would also cause the audience to evaluate the ability of focusing on the consumption of alternative products to combat the harmful consequences of smoking. According to Rogers (1975), stronger perceptions of each component would be amassed to produce protection motivation and stimulate a change in smoking behavior or attitude. Table 1 provides a summary of these results.

Table 1. Protection Motivation Components and Aroused Protection Motivation

Commercial	Noxiousness Message	Probability Message	Response Efficacy Message	Aroused Protection Motivation
Responsibility	1	1	0	0
Splode Soda	1	2	0	0
Minty Fresh	1	1	0	0
Lie Detector	0	0	0	0
Tailpipe	3	1	0	0
Kid's Eye View	0	0	0	0
Nametags	0	0	0	0
Memorial	3	2	0	0
Cowboys	1	0	0	0
Body Bags	3	1	0	0
Throat	2	2	1	1
April Fools	1	0	1	0
Total (12 commercials, 28 protection motivation components)	16 (57% of 28 protection motivation components)	10 (36% of 28 protection motivation components)	2 (7% of 28 protection motivation components)	1 (8% of 12 commercials)

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

The goal of this thesis was to examine the fear appeals being employed by the Truth campaign, the nation's largest anti-smoking initiative that has touted itself as being "developed for teens, by teens" with the purpose of changing attitudes about the appeal of cigarettes and sounding an alert to tobacco industry schemes among the 12- to 17-year-old audience (ALF, 2000). Specifically, the study sought to investigate Truth's television commercials and the roles of presented threat and efficacy messages in initiating attitude or behavioral change. Through the qualitative, quantitative and proportional analysis of material, guided by elements of noxiousness, probability and response efficacy; the potential arousal of protection motivation by each commercial was assessed. As revealed in the results, a minimal number of the promotions would prompt an attitude or behavior modification based on the arousal of protection motivation. This is mainly due to the absence of the complete trio of components necessary for activating perceptions and change.

According to protection motivation theory (Rogers, 1975), anti-smoking promotions must incorporate messages that indicate magnitude of noxiousness, probability of occurrence, and effectiveness of the recommended response to be persuasive. Furthermore, these messages must be introduced as a compounded effort. While a fear appeal may present information on severity, susceptibility and response efficacy alone or in pairs, the effective activation of protection motivation assessments



and change occurs through the presence and interaction of all the components. The absence of even one negates the entire protection motivation process.

In the case of the Truth campaign, several commercials appeared to be persuasive with the presentation of strong noxiousness and probability messages. However, they fell short regarding response efficacy. This clear deficiency voided the multiplicative effect of the numerous body bags and statistics, for example, and weakened the fear-based portions of the material. In order to secure a successful campaign, then, social marketers must be careful to concentrate on incorporating each content unit in their overall communication so that the audience does not only assess how severe or probable an occurrence is, but how effective the campaign's suggestion is for removing or deterring the harmful consequence.

In addition to being scarce, the response efficacy messages in Truth's commercials were virtually imperceptible. Relying on indirect implications of symbolic activities that parallel the cessation of smoking, such as focusing on alternative product consumption or initiating a cigarette recall, requires the audience to unnecessarily search for a link between suggestion and meaning. Consequently, the response efficacy theme messages in social marketing promotions must be distinct and direct so that there is no uncertainty about the composition or the effect of the recommendation.

While these limitations to protection motivation point to a malfunctioning campaign comprised of unbalanced communications, they also highlight the importance of evaluating a promotional strategy through a variety of lenses and introduce the heuristic value of this study. First, Truth's indirect usage of information through satirical plots and characters may promote a reverse reaction to its intentions of generating

awareness of and support for the anti-smoking cause. Without an obvious and unmistakable introduction to a commercial's purpose, viewers may not realize they are watching an anti-smoking advertisement. As a result, they may be left confused, annoyed and no more educated at its conclusion, or may invoke their consumer sovereignty by refusing to be barraged by another televised attempt at persuasion and simply changing the station. These possibilities can be explored in an examination that goes beyond studying the content of the social marketing campaign and evaluates Truth's choice of media channels; which also include radio announcements, print advertisements and Internet promotions; and their independent or interactive impact on campaign effectiveness.

Secondly, Truth's constant presentation of words and images that disparage "Big Tobacco", such as a pile of body bags left outside a "major tobacco company" and a pair of protagonists inquiring about the addictive qualities of nicotine with a lie detector in hand, suggests a persuasive approach that seeks to rally support for one camp against another. The cries against deception, neglect and greed issued in Truth's commercials promote a division of "sides" that may, perhaps, best be reviewed using a fantasy theme analysis or other paradigm founded in vilification. This alternative scheme is acknowledged as a further necessary and significant probe into the promotional inner workings of the country's most massive antismoking campaign to date.



## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

Using social marketing, fear appeal, and protection motivation theory research to guide a qualitative, quantitative and proportional content analysis of Truth's anti-smoking television commercials revealed a campaign that fails to arouse protection motivation. Particularly, the absence of substantial response efficacy messages negated the assessments and potential persuasion stimulated by strong noxiousness and probability components. Accordingly, it is stressed that social marketing campaigns, founded in attitude or behavioral change through protection motivation arousal, must incorporate communications of the effectiveness of recommended responses with severity and susceptibility messages in their material. Failure to do so or the inclusion of indirect messages jeopardizes the success of the campaign.

With the abundance of research citing the countless variables that impact threat and fear processing, communication scientists may want to focus on the rationale behind Truth's overwhelming emphasis on graphic severity and lack of obvious and feasible recommendations. An in-depth look at the teenage audience may reveal a group that views suggestions as commands and is, thus, unappreciative of directions. A case study of the nature of Truth's funding by tobacco corporations may expose a sponsorship environment guided by the constant balance of discouraging teen smoking and the resistance to offend. Further still, a look at the composition of television commercials

from a marketing perspective may indicate the need for a verbal and visual relationship that cuts through primetime clutter and captures the attention of barraged viewers.

The possibilities for supplementary studies are boundless and their disregard in this thesis presents its major limitation. The single focus on three components of fear-based messages in the campaign uncovered units of communication but failed to probe their usage and impact. Still, the isolation and identification of these units provide valuable starting points for future research that assesses the aforementioned extended topics and brings to light the truth about the nation's most massive anti-smoking campaign.



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## APPENDIX

...content that indicates the harmful  
 ...hands or images highlighting death,  
 ...for example, loss of life may be depicted  
 ...explosions, termination, body bags,  
 ...may be represented by an individual's  
 ...of their body or brain, hospitals, doctors,  
 ...health, cancer, and debility. Unattractiveness  
 ...lack of aesthetic and social appeal of smoking  
 ...impairments to appearance such as  
 ...isolation and desertion.

...of noxiousness messages:

...textual form: describe each



## APPENDIX A: CODING INSTRUMENT

Commercial Category: \_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Length: \_\_\_\_\_

Brief description of commercial:

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**Noxiousness messages:** any textual or visual content that indicates the harmful consequences of smoking. This material includes words or images highlighting death, disease, unattractiveness, and social offense. For example, loss of life may be depicted by funerals, caskets, eulogies, sleep, extinction, explosions, termination, body bags, casualty and an inability of recovery. Disease may be represented by an individual's functioning with the partial or total impairment of their body or brain, hospitals, doctors, vital organs, decay, ailment, complaints of health, cancer, and debility. Unattractiveness and social offense may be exhibited by the lack of aesthetic and social appeal of smoking characterized by foul breath and body odors, impairments to appearance such as yellowing teeth, and arrested relationships such as isolation and desertion.

**Use tally marks to count and record the number of noxiousness messages:**

**Record each noxiousness message presented in textual form; describe each noxiousness message presented in visual form:**

**Probability of occurrence messages:** those that stress the likelihood of the aforementioned noxious consequences of smoking. They may be displayed in words or images introducing teen protagonists experiencing death, disease, unattractiveness, and social offense, as previously defined. Teen susceptibility will also be exhibited by text or visuals presenting related statistics on the harmful effects of smoking, cigarette composition, addiction development, and risk factors such as age, gender, weight, height, lifestyle, cigarette consumption, family history, and peer influence.

**Use tally marks to count and record the number of probability of occurrence messages:**

**Record each probability of occurrence message presented in textual form; describe each probability of occurrence message presented in visual form:**



**Response efficacy messages:** any textual or visual content that displays the effectiveness of not smoking in combating death, disease, unattractiveness, and social offense. This material includes words or images that portray not smoking as the best alternative for deterring the harmful consequences of cigarette consumption such as the healthiness, vigor, fitness, activity, energy, strength, attractiveness, charisma, allure, charm, and well-being that accompanies tobacco-free living.

**Use tally marks to count and record the number of response efficacy messages:**

**Record each response efficacy message presented in textual form; describe each response efficacy message presented in visual form:**

## VITA

Cristina Isabel Henley was born in Washington, D. C., on December 19, 1977. She attended Congressional Schools of Virginia and Bishop Dennis J. O'Connell High School, graduating with honors from both institutions. She received a second high school diploma from the Argentina School for completing advanced Spanish language and literature studies. Following graduation, she entered American University and in May 1998, received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Print Journalism with a minor in education studies after only three years at the university. She enrolled in Austin Peay State University in January 2000, and in December 2001 received a Master of Arts degree in Corporate Communication as a summa cum laude graduate.

She has designed and coordinated marketing, fundraising and community initiative campaigns for Austin Peay State University, the Clarksville/Montgomery County Economic Development Council and the Adult Literacy Council of Clarksville/Montgomery County. Additionally, she has worked as a freelance journalist for several publications across the country and head writer for an aviation technology corporation.