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Strategic Advertising Plans to Deter Drunk Driving

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16. Abstract Primary object of this study was to identify and profile subpopulations at highest risk for drinking and driving and persons who may be in a position to intervene in their drinking and driving behavior. A related objective was to explore media messages to determine which strategies may be most effective in motivating the target interveners. To obtain a greater depth of information about the attitudes, beliefs, behaviors and motivators of this high-risk group, focus group discussions were held in several cities across the country. Report subsections provide details on each stage of this work along with a summary of conclusions.					
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Overview of the Project

The primary objective of this project was to identify and profile subpopulations at highest risk for drinking and driving and persons who may be in a position to intervene in their drinking and driving behavior. A related objective was to explore media messages to determine which strategies may be most effective in motivating the target interveners.

A variety of methods were employed in pursuit of these objectives. An epidemiologic review of data in the Fatal Accident Reporting System (FARS) maintained by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) was the first strategy for profiling the subgroups most over-represented in alcohol-involved fatal motor vehicle crashes.

Next, the FARS database, which includes the zip codes of fatally injured drivers, was linked to a marketing database called CLARITAS to examine the demographic, lifestyle and media profiles of subpopulations within FARS.

Contemporaneous with the FARS and CLARITAS analyses, an extensive review was made of the literature on drinking and driving, particularly focusing on those portions that would address this project's aims. Numerous articles, book chapters and monographs were reviewed and summarized as part of this process.

A profile emerged from the FARS, CLARITAS and literature review analyses of a subgroup of individuals at high risk for involvement in drinking and driving. This subgroup is comprised of young, predominantly white, males (21-34) in blue-collar occupations with a high school education or less who most often drink beer.

To obtain a greater depth of information about the attitudes, beliefs, behaviors and motivators of this identified high-risk target, focus group discussions were held in several cities across the country. A key topic of these discussions was the young men's experiences with having other people intervene in their drinking and driving behavior, or of serving as interveners themselves. To complement the focus group investigations, a national survey was performed with young men ages 21-34 to explore similar topics. Based on the findings of this work, further focus groups were then performed with two specific subgroups of individuals who may make promising interveners: female significant others of the high-risk target, and the high-risk target males themselves.

A final round of focus groups with potential interveners focused in greater detail on their receptivity to "pro-intervening" messages and explored specific responses to variants of current anti-DWI campaign messages.

The subsections to follow provide further details on each stage of this work, along with a summary of conclusions.

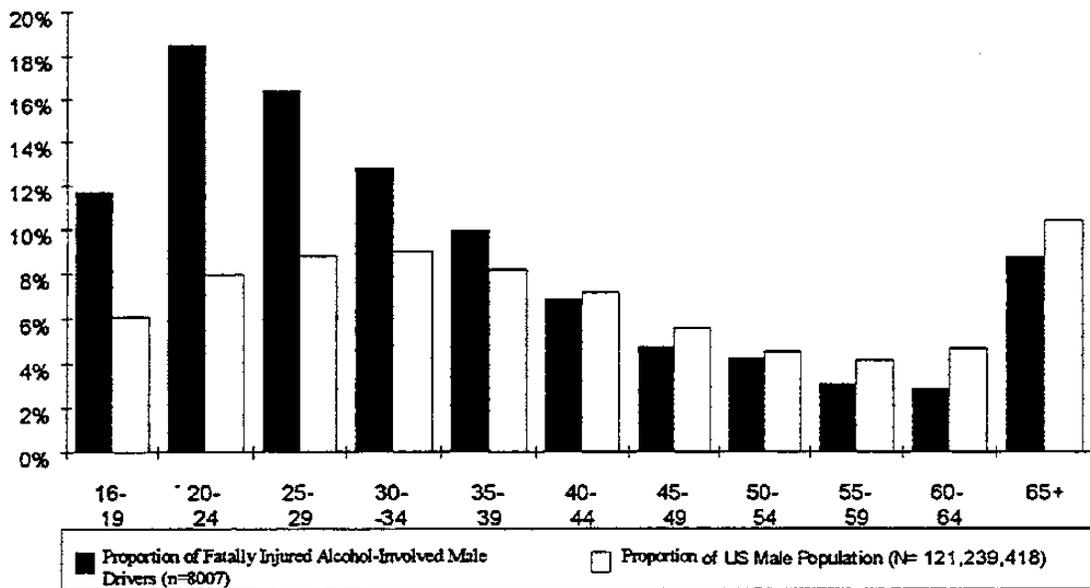
Analyses of the Fatal Accident Reporting System

To examine the subgroups at greatest risk to die in alcohol-involved motor vehicle crashes, we focused on the 29 states in the 1989 and 1990 FARS files that had the best reporting on the blood alcohol concentrations (BACs) of victims. In all 29 of these states, BAC measurements were available for 80 percent or more of all victims. BAC testing is seldom performed on individuals who survive crashes and is most reliable for drivers. Therefore, these investigations centered on alcohol-involved fatally-injured drivers, who make up the large bulk of all alcohol-involved crash victims. Numerous analyses were done to look at the gender, age, BACs, crash characteristics and driving histories of these cases. A few of the findings are highlighted here.

With respect to gender, the large majority of alcohol-involved fatally-injured drivers (84%) are men, and this proportion is essentially constant across all ages. Given the preponderance of men among alcohol-involved fatalities, the remainder of the FARS and CLARITAS analyses for the project were focused only on men.

In comparison to their representation in the adult male population (ages 16+), men ages 16-34 are over-represented among alcohol-involved fatally-injured male drivers (Figure 1).

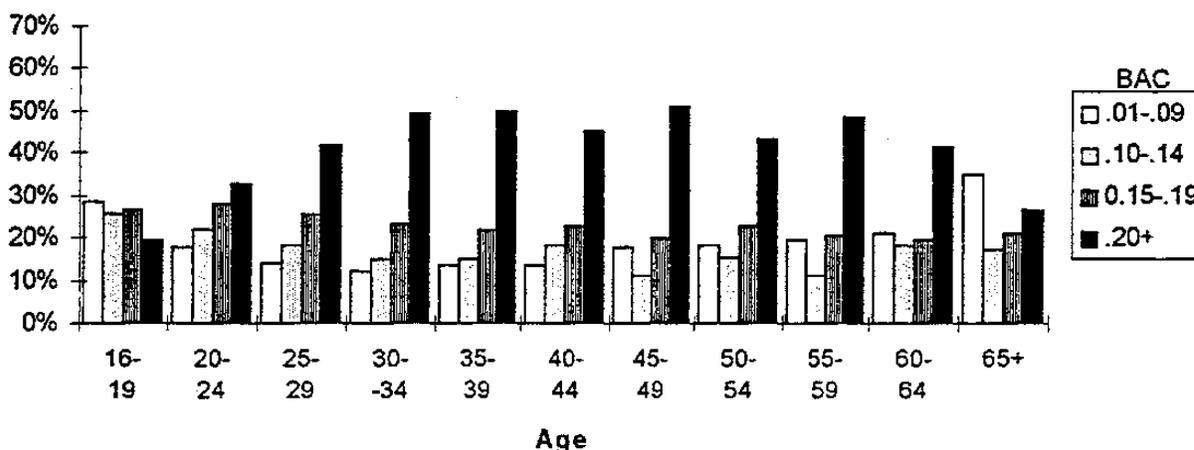
Figure 1. Age Distribution of Alcohol-involved Fatally-injured Male Drivers Versus Adult Male Census



In examining the degree of intoxication among male alcohol-involved fatally-injured drivers, it is quickly apparent that these individuals tend to have not just some alcohol in their systems, but very high blood alcohol concentrations (BACs). Figure 2 shows the BAC distribution, within age groups, for male drivers who were alcohol-involved. Among this entire group, 67 percent have a BAC of .15 or higher. To reach a BAC level of .15, a 170-pound man has to drink about eight

drinks in one hour . Very high BACs predominate across all age categories except the very young and very old, where they still make up about half of the cases. BACs as high as .20 or above (or twice the legal limit that defines "drunk" driving in most states) are also common.

Figure 2. Blood Alcohol Distribution for Alcohol-involved Fatally-injured Male Drivers, Within Age Categories



These data show quite starkly that alcohol-involved drivers are not for the most part dying in crashes after having one or two drinks, but after drinking substantial quantities of alcohol. These high blood alcohol levels do not result from what most of the U.S. population considers "social" drinking, and they are very uncommon in the general population of drivers. For instance, roadside surveys have found that only about one percent of drivers on the road on weekends have a blood alcohol concentration as high as .15.

Linking FARS to a Marketing Database

Following the initial analyses of the FARS database, we undertook a somewhat innovative process of linking this database to marketing information in order to gain further insights about the demographic, lifestyle and media preferences of men who are in alcohol-involved fatal car crashes. For these analyses, we linked the zip codes from FARS to a marketing database called CLARITAS. This database provides profiles of consumers based on the principle of "geodemographics" -- or the notion that "you are where you live." In other words, people of similar cultural backgrounds, circumstances and perspectives cluster in localities suitable to their chosen lifestyles. CLARITAS groups the 35,000 zip codes in the U.S. into 40 neighborhood clusters based on lifestyle preferences. The clusters can be ranked with respect to socioeconomic level.

An example makes the meaning of the clusters more vivid. The cluster known as "Shotguns and Pick-ups", for instance, represents people who live predominantly in exurban towns and satellite suburbs, are mostly white, and have blue-collar and farming occupations with a median household income of \$28,000. Based on lifestyle profiles, people in this cluster are more apt to buy country music, enjoy fresh water fishing, listen to golden oldies radio and read fishing/hunting magazines than the general census population. They are less likely to belong to a country club, have a passport, or read newspaper editorials. Individuals in this cluster may live in many, geographically dispersed parts of the country (such as Zanesville, Ohio, Molalla, Oregon or Monroe, Indiana), but they tend to share lifestyle and media habits that make them more similar to one another than to individuals in other clusters.

By linking the zip codes of male alcohol-involved fatally injured drivers (AIFIDs) to the CLARITAS database, we were able to determine those clusters that are over-represented. In the first set of FARS/CLARITAS linkage analyses, we used the zipcodes of male AIFIDs (aged 18-44) with BACs of .15% or more in the 29 states that had BAC reporting of 80% or better. In this first run, we examined whether or not the CLARITAS clusters varied by age groupings. These results are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Top Twelve CLARITAS Clusters for male AIFIDs with a BAC of .15% or more (29 States)

BAC .15+ Males, Aged 18-24				
Rank	Cluster	Index	Index	Index
		Base	Numerator	
		Percent of	Percent of	
		Population	.15+ AIFIDs	
1	Grain Belt (r1)	0.94	3.12	332
2	Shotguns (r1)	1.42	4.07	287
3	Agri-business (r1)	2.52	6.45	256
4	Hard Scrabble (r2)	0.76	1.90	250
5	Coalburg/Corntown (t2)	1.99	4.75	239
6	Mines/Mills (t3)	2.10	3.87	184
7	Blue-Collar Nursery (t2)	1.53	2.65	173
8	Middle America (t2)	4.70	7.12	151
9	Golden Ponds (t3)	2.79	4.00	143
10	Back Country (r2)	3.15	4.34	138
11	New Home Steaders (t1)	6.43	8.63	134
12	God's Country (t1)	2.87	3.60	125

BAC .15+ Males, Aged 25-44				
Rank	Cluster	Index	Index	Index
		Base	Numerator	
		Percent of	Percent of	
		Population	.15+ AIFIDs	
1	Grain Belt (r1)	1.16	3.04	262
2	Shotguns (r1)	1.81	3.92	217
3	Agri-business (r1)	3.01	6.28	209
4	Hard Scrabble (r2)	0.83	1.52	183
5	Coalburg/Corntown (t2)	2.40	4.28	178
6	Mines/Mills (t3)	6.84	10.66	156
7	Blue-Collar Nursery (t2)	5.02	6.88	137
8	Middle America (t2)	1.06	1.37	129
9	Golden Ponds (t3)	2.06	2.46	119
10	Back Country (r2)	3.15	3.73	118
11	New Home Steaders (t1)	2.33	2.61	112
12	God's Country (t1)	1.66	1.82	110

The index score provides a measure of the degree of over-representation. It is the ratio of the percent of the AIFID group in the cluster to the percent of the census baseline in this cluster, multiplied by one hundred. So an index score of 332 says that the adult male AIFID group is 3.32 times more likely to be in this cluster than the general adult male population. As can be seen in Table 1, the clusters rankings were the same for both the 18 to 24 year-old and 25 to 44 year-old fatally injured male drivers with BACs of .15% or more.

As relying on available BACs alone may have limited our dataset to states where very high proportions of drivers receive BAC tests, which in turn may have biased the CLARITAS findings based on geodemographic clustering, we next selected an AIFID sample of individuals who, in data from all 50 states in FARS (1989-90), were assigned a probability of .50 or greater of having had a BAC of .10 or above. This probability is generated using an algorithm developed by NHTSA to assign probabilities where actual BAC measures are missing. Where actual BACs were available, these data were used to include or exclude individuals from the .10+ BAC group. For these CLARITAS analyses, we included all male alcohol-involved fatally-injured drivers (AIFIDs) ages 18-44 with a BAC (real or estimated) of .10+.

Table 2 on the next page shows all 40 of the CLARITAS clusters, ranked from highest index score to lowest index score. The social group abbreviations (R2, T3, etc.) refer to the type of geographic region into which the cluster falls and the socioeconomic level within that type of region. The letters stand for Rural (R), Town (T), Suburban (S), and Urban (U); social group T1 has a higher socioeconomic level than group T2. A quick glance at Table 2 makes clear that the male alcohol-involved fatally-injured drivers (AIFIDs) are generally over-represented in rural and small town regions, and under-represented in suburban and urban regions. Figure 4 provides a summary of the clusters that are most commonly over-represented among the male AIFIDs.

Figure 4. CLARITAS Ranking by Index (Top 14 Clusters)

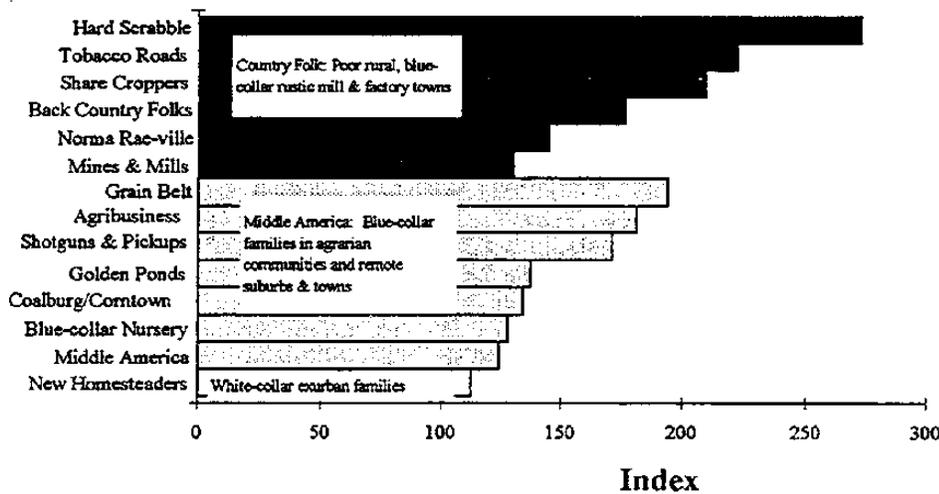


Table 2. Cluster Rankings for Male AIFIDs ages 18-44 with a BAC of .10+.

Social Group	Cluster	Index Base	Index Numerator	Index
		Percent of Population	Percent of .10+ AIFIDs	
R2	Hard Scrabble	0.81	2.21	273
R2	Tobacco Roads	0.86	1.91	222
R2	Share Croppers	3.16	6.62	209
R1	Grain Belt	1.05	2.04	194
R1	Agribusiness	2.83	5.14	182
R2	Back-Country Folks	3.36	5.94	177
R1	Shotguns & Pickups	1.69	2.90	172
T3	Norma Rae-ville	2.90	4.21	145
T3	Golden Ponds	3.07	4.22	137
T2	Coalburg & Corntown	2.30	3.09	134
T3	Mines & Mills	2.27	2.96	130
T2	Blue-Collar Nursery	1.93	2.47	128
T2	Middle America	4.95	6.14	124
T1	New Homesteaders	6.64	7.46	112
S4	Gray Power	1.13	1.19	105
U3	Heavy Industry	1.39	1.34	96
T3	Smalltown Downtown	1.74	1.62	93
S3	Blue-Chip Blues	7.58	6.83	90
S4	Rank & File	1.08	0.93	86
T1	God's Country	3.51	2.93	83
U1	New Beginnings	4.98	4.05	81
U3	Downtown Dixie-style	2.71	2.13	79
U3	Hispanic Mix	1.58	1.19	75
U2	Single City Blues	1.99	1.42	71
S4	Levittown, USA	3.28	2.32	71
S3	Young Suburbia	6.98	4.48	64
U2	Emergent Minorities	2.10	1.27	60
U2	Old Yankee Rows	1.58	0.94	59
T1	Towns & Gowns	2.97	1.76	59
U3	Public Assistance	2.02	1.10	54
S2	Pools & Patios	3.40	1.86	55
U1	Black Enterprise	1.11	0.59	53
S1	Furs & Station Wagons	3.45	1.79	52
S2	Young Influentials	3.30	1.63	49
S1	Blue Blood Estates	0.43	0.20	47
U2	New Melting Pot	1.07	0.38	36
S2	Two More Rungs	0.74	0.26	35
S1	Money & Brains	0.85	0.26	31
U1	Bohemian Mix	0.87	0.22	25
U1	Urban Gold Cost	0.33	0.01	3

These analyses indicated that the AIFIDs were over-represented in the same clusters that we identified in our analyses based on known BACs of AIFIDs in 29 states, indicating the robustness of the results. Relying on the index scores alone does not provide a sufficient picture of the cluster profile of AIFIDs, however. A cluster can be over-represented but not make up a very high proportion of the AIFID group as a whole. We also used the zip code data to determine the overall percentage of the male AIFID group that fell into particular clusters. A high proportion of the target fell into three geodemographic groups that can be categorized as follows:

- 1) Middle America: Blue collar families in agrarian communities and remote suburbs and towns (28 percent)
- 2) Country Folk: Poor rural, blue-collar rustic mill and factory towns (20 percent)
- 3) White-collar exurban families (19 percent)

These groups, which are comprised of 14 clusters in total, account for 67 percent of the male AIFID population.

It should be noted that the over-representation of the AIFIDs in these clusters likely results from a combination of the geodemographics of the cluster (i.e., a higher density of men who fit the high-risk profile) and factors that make fatalities in these regions more likely (e.g., the need to drive greater distances to get from one place to another; less proximity to high-level trauma services subsequent to a crash, etc.). The findings should not be misinterpreted to mean that individuals who drive after drinking do not live in other clusters. Nevertheless, if a major goal of anti-DUI programs is to reduce fatalities, these results point to clusters where fatal outcomes are more likely.

Next we used the media and lifestyle information attached to the CLARITAS clusters to examine what media sources and types of activities may be preferred by our high-risk male target. Tables 3a-c provide an overview of the types of media and lifestyle activities that profile individuals from the three broad groups described above (Middle America, Country Folk, and White-collar Exurban Families). This type of information may be useful in targeting intervention messages, though it should be interpreted with some caution given the aggregate-level nature of the data.

Table 3a. Media and Lifestyle Preferences -- Middle America

Middle America		
Media Preferences	Percent of Population	Index
Most Likely :		
Country radio	2.5	162
Fish/hunt magazines	4.3	154
Learning Channel	5.0	113
TV daytime drama	5.6	111
Cable Network News	57.9	104
Least Likely :		
News/talk radio	0.9	68
Women fashion magazines	2.4	63
Bus/finance magazines	2.0	59
Epicurean magazines	1.5	51
All news radio	0.4	41

Lifestyle Preferences

Most Likely to:	Percent	Index
Own stndrd size pick-up	14.7	161
Belong to religious club	2.1	126
Do outdoor gardening	31.7	122
Bowled 20+ times 1st yr	4.2	117
Go target shooting	4.0	110

Least Likely To:	Percent	Index
Go to gambling casinos	15.0	66
Belong to health club	4.4	65
Have a passport	11.3	60
Tennis 10+ times 1st yr	2.9	59
Buy new foreign car	10.6	50

Table 3b. Media and Lifestyle Preferences -- Country Folk

Country Folk		
Media Preferences	Percent of Population	Index
Most Likely:		
Country radio	2.5	179
Bottom 20% nwsppr reading	22.6	175
Fish/hunt magazines	4.3	157
TV daytime drama	5.6	148
TV wrestling	17.8	130
Least Likely:		
Bus/finance magazines	2.0	37
Science/tech magazines	1.5	34
News/Talk radio	0.9	30
Classical radio	0.4	21
All news radio	0.4	19

Lifestyle Preferences

Most Likely to:		
Use chewing tobacco	1.7	230
Use termite control srvc	3.5	163
Pro wrestling fans	17.5	130
Regular cola heavy users	19.1	127
Go target shooting	4.0	115
Least Likely To:		
Belong to health club	4.4	47
Have a passport	11.3	45
Go to gambling casinos	15.0	39
Buy contemp. jazz music	3.0	38
Downhill ski	4.1	36

Table 3c. Media and Lifestyle Preferences – White Collar Exurban Families

White Collar Exurban Families		
Media Preferences	Percent of Population	Index
Most Likely:		
Motorcycle magazines	1.1	140
Disney channel	6.6	127
Fish/hunt magazines	4.3	121
Radio college football	5.3	120
Home services magazines	3.8	113
Least Likely:		
Headline news	21.8	90
TV daytime drama	5.6	82
Classical radio	0.4	80
Learning channel	5.0	72
All news radio	0.4	67
Lifestyle Preferences		
Most Likely to:		
Go overnite camping	10.8	149
Own standard size pick-up	14.7	129
Buy contemp rock music	11.2	127
Go freshwater fishing	12.9	127
Buy country music	11.2	126
Least Likely To:		
Travel by bus	2.1	84
Use chewing tobacco	1.7	83
Play tennis 10+ times 1st yr	2.9	82
Buy gospel/sacred music	2.6	69
Belong to a religious club	2.1	61

The exurban towns and satellite suburbs predominantly consist of people who are mostly white, and have blue-collar and farming occupations with a median household income of \$28,000. Based on lifestyle profiles, people in this cluster are more apt to watch the Disney Channel, listen to college football on the radio, go freshwater fishing, and own a standard size pick-up than the

general census population. They are less likely to watch headline news, tv daytime drama, listen to classical radio, travel by bus, or belong to a religious club. Individuals in this cluster may live in widely dispersed parts of the country, but they tend to share lifestyle and media habits that make them more similar to one another than to individuals in other clusters. For instance, in the middle America cluster people are most likely to listen to country music, watch the learning channel, watch tv daytime drama, own a standard size pick-up, belong to a religious club, do outdoor gardening, and use chewing tobacco. This group is least likely to listen to news/talk radio, read business/finance magazines, belong to a health club, have a passport, or play tennis (10+ times) last year. The rural population are most likely to listen to country radio, read fish/hunt magazines, watch tv wrestling, use chewing tobacco, and go target shooting. This group is least likely to belong to a health club, have a passport, go downhill skiing, read science/tech magazines, read business/finance magazines, or listen to classical radio.

It should be emphasized that since these data are based on generalizations about the individuals living in a cluster (and may or may not describe any given individual), they should be interpreted cautiously with respect to their relevance to the high-risk drinking/driving target.

Findings from the FARS and CLARITAS analyses, in conjunction with a review of the drunk driving literature, allowed us to create a profile that fits many (though by no means all) members of a subgroup at high risk for drunk driving arrests and fatalities. The "typical" member of this high-risk group is a single, divorced or separated white male between the ages of 21 and 35, employed in blue-collar trades with a high school education or less. His drinking pattern is characterized by frequent heavy or binge beer drinking, usually on weekends, but often daily, at bars or in homes most frequently with friends who have similar attitudes and drinking patterns as himself. He has experienced alcohol-related problems in the past such as arrests, marital strife, job problems, or unemployment. He has poor coping skills and drinks to relax and reduce stress. He tends to be extroverted, impulsive, and aggressive, gets bored easily, and likes to drive fast and aggressively. He has a hostile/antisocial orientation, disrespects authority, and has a record of traffic and criminal offenses. Many if not most of these individuals could be characterized as problem drinkers.

Focus Groups: High-risk Males

In order to develop media messages and other intervention campaigns that are suitable to a particular target, it is important to pursue in-depth investigations of the target's beliefs, attitudes, behaviors and lifestyle. Marketers sometimes refer to this as the target audience's "psychodemographic" profile -- the values and motivators that may provide leverage points for advertising/intervention messages. Focus group research is a commonly employed method for exploring the beliefs, attitudes and behaviors of a given target audience.

In this phase of the research, we conducted focus groups with individuals who fit our "high risk" profile to further explore these individuals' attitudes and behaviors regarding drinking and driving, and to identify the significant others who might influence their decisions to drive (e.g., family members, friends, bartenders or other servers). A total of 14 focus groups were conducted in

different regions of the country (Framingham, Massachusetts, Fort Worth, Texas, and Davenport, Iowa) with males who met the high risk drinking-driver criteria: white; 21-35 years of age; blue collar occupation; drink in a bar or tavern at least once a week; have driven after 5 or more drinks at least once in the past year; believe they can drive safely after 5 or more drinks. All focus groups were facilitated by a professional market research consulting firm, Werby Marketing. Copies of the full focus group reports from all phases of the research are contained in Appendix A. Highlights from these focus groups are discussed here.

The focus group participants claimed to be able to drive safely after as much as 10-12 beers. They described a variety of obviously common behaviors used to compensate for driving while intoxicated: opening the window, blaring the radio, getting someone to ride with them, and closing one eye "to avoid double vision." One young man stated "I drive on the median strip, so I hit the bumps. It keeps me awake."

Many of the focus group participants had experienced serious consequences from drunk driving, including accidents and arrests. In the typical focus group of 7-9 participants about 4-5 had been in an alcohol-related crash as either the driver or a passenger. Though some described being "shaken up" by the event, they had typically returned to drinking and driving within several months. Participants who had had accidents frequently made rationalizations that ignored the role of alcohol:

"I should have paid more attention to what I was doing."

"I should have known I couldn't fit into that space."

"It was a judgment error on my part. I learned from it; so I just don't drive that fast any more."

Efforts at reducing drinking and driving through legal sanctions were also viewed by the participants as not very effective. They saw being caught more as a nuisance than as a serious offense and for most the threat of license suspension or heavy fines was not compelling: "If you take my license and I have to drive to get to work I'll drive anyway" was a typical sentiment. In general, the majority of the focus group participants maintained oppositional attitudes toward authority:

"If you tell me not to drink and drive I'll do the opposite."

"Nothing will stop people like us from drinking and driving if we want to do it."

Despite generally minimizing the risks of drinking and driving, in situations where they see a choice, the participants claimed to be anxious to avoid the risk. These situations most frequently involved alternative means of transportation or the presence of a close friend, girlfriend or spouse who was able to drive.

When asked which individuals would be the most likely to influence them not to drink and drive, the largest portion of participants in the focus groups stated that their girlfriends and spouses had the greatest potential influence over their drinking/driving behavior. According to the men, female partners make convincing interveners for several reasons: the men generally respect their partners' opinions; they believe that the women are concerned for the men's welfare; and they feel that their female partners are best at detecting the signs that they (the men) have had too much to drive.

The participants were adamant that for an intervener to be effective they had to have established some credibility with them vis-a-vis their drinking habits. This credibility is usually a function of the closeness of the interpersonal relationship. Intimate partners and close friends were regarded by the participants as being the most credible because they know the individual well and are most familiar with how much "liquor I can hold."

These focus group findings suggested that the best candidate groups to be targeted as interveners in subsequent portions of the research project were spouses and girlfriends and close friends of the high-risk males. These friends are usually drinking companions who engage in similar behaviors, and so are themselves part of the same population.

Survey of Young Males on Drinking and Driving

Focus groups provide a unique depth and richness of data but are obviously lacking in generalizability. In order to complement the focus group research, we performed a national telephone survey of young adult males to ask them about their drinking/driving behavior and experiences with being the target of interpersonal intervention. All of the 750 male respondents were 21-34 years old, were not abstainers, and were current drivers. We deliberately over-sampled young men who said that they had driven after 5 or more drinks at least once in the past two months (whom we refer to as "cases"), who comprised 230 of the 750 respondents. The survey was performed in the spring of 1994 and had a participation rate of 91 percent.

Tables 4-8 provide a demographic profile of the young men in the survey. The cases tended to have a lower level of education, were more apt to be single, and were more likely to be self-employed compared to the controls. These findings are consistent with the previous literature on traits that correlate with drinking and driving.

Table 4. Education Level

<i>Highest level of education completed</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
some high school	8	3.50	9	1.70
high school graduate	83	36.1	140	27.0
some college or associates degree	83	36.1	194	37.4
bachelors degree	43	18.7	125	24.1
graduate study/degree	13	5.70	51	9.80

Chi square, $p < .05$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Table 5. Marital Status

<i>Marital status</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
single	80	34.8	124	23.9
married	136	59.1	374	71.9
separated	3	1.30	5	1.00
divorced	11	4.80	16	3.10
widowed	0	0.00		0.20

Chi square, $p < .05$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Table 6. Employment Status

<i>Are you currently:</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
employed full time	166	72.2	422	81.20
employed part time	9	3.90	8	1.50
self-employed full time	39	17.0	53	10.20
self-employed part time	2	0.90	4	0.80
unemployed	14	6.10	33	6.40

Chi square, $p < .05$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding. Full-time students were excluded from the survey.

Table 7. Household Income

<i>Income level</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
<25,000	30	13.2	79	15.7
25,000-50,000	127	55.7	266	52.8
50,000-75,000	50	21.9	112	22.2
over 75,000	21	9.20	47	9.30

Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Table 8. Location of Residence

<i>Which best describes the community that you live in?</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
large city	16	7.00	34	6.60
suburb	50	21.7	119	23.0
small city or town	130	56.5	262	50.7
rural area	34	14.8	102	19.7

Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

According to Table 9, while both cases and controls show a clear preference for beer as their most commonly consumed drink, this preference is even stronger among the cases, who seldom consume wine. Both Tables 10 and 11 reveal the cases to be generally heavier drinkers than the controls. Two-thirds of the cases consume alcohol two or more days per week, compared to 31 percent of controls; and while 43 percent of cases usually consume 6 or more drinks per occasion, this is true of only 14 percent of controls.

Table 9. Most Common Drink

<i>Which do you drink most often?</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
beer	196	87.5	416	82.4
wine	5	2.20	37	7.30
liquor	23	10.3	52	10.3

Chi square, $p < .05$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Table 10. Number of Days Per Week Drink Alcohol

<i>In an average week, how many days do you drink alcohol?</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
zero	18	7.80	190	36.8
one	56	24.4	167	32.3
two	74	32.2	86	16.6
three	30	13.0	38	7.40
four	17	7.40	12	2.30
five	11	4.80	12	2.30
six	6	2.60	2	0.40
seven	18	7.80	10	1.90
two or more	156	67.8	160	30.9

Chi square, $p < .001$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Table 11. Usual Number of Drinks

<i>Usual number of drinks per occasion</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
1 or 2	26	11.3	265	51.1
3 to 5	105	45.7	181	34.9
6 to 10	84	36.5	64	12.3
> 10	15	6.50	9	1.70

Chi square, $p < .001$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Among cases, nearly 40 percent say it takes 6 or more drinks for them to feel any effects from alcohol, compared to 15 percent of controls (Table 12). Four out of ten cases say that they must consume over ten drinks before they feel "drunk," which is true for only 17 percent of controls (Table 13). Not surprisingly, cases were confident about their driving skills at much higher levels of alcohol consumption, as reflected in Table 14.

Table 12. Number of Drinks to Feel Effects of Alcohol

<i>How many drinks does it take for you to feel any effects from alcohol?</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
1 or 2	32	13.9	153	29.9
3 to 5	108	47.0	282	55.1
6 to 10	83	36.1	76	14.8
> 10	7	3.00	1	0.20

Chi square, $p < .001$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Table 13. Number of Drinks to Feel Drunk

<i>How many drinks does it take for you to feel drunk?</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
1 or 2	2	0.90	13	2.60
3 to 5	22	9.60	148	29.8
6 to 10	112	48.9	247	49.8
> 10	93	40.6	88	17.7

Chi square, $p < .001$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Table 14. Number of Drinks Before It's Too Dangerous to Drive

<i>How many drinks could you drink before it would be too dangerous for you to drive?</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
1 or 2	14	6.10	132	26.0
3 to 5	57	25.0	256	50.5
6 to 10	92	40.4	103	20.3
> 10	65	28.5	16	3.20

Chi square, $p < .001$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Table 15 contrasts some of the general attitudes toward drinking and driving between the two groups of young adult men. As has been seen in other research, men who drive after drinking are more likely to feel that some people drive better after a few drinks (though only about 9% believe this), to believe that penalties for impaired driving should not be made more severe, and to be confident that they can drive safely after a lot of alcohol "as long as I drive more carefully than usual" (also a minority position at 8% of respondents). An indication that those at risk to drive after heavy drinking also tend to socialize with others who do the same is reflected by the fact that significantly fewer of the cases said that their friends would disapprove of their driving after consuming six drinks in two hours.

Table 15. Attitudes Toward Drinking and Driving

<i>Statement</i>	<i>Agree with statement</i>			
	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
The chances of someone getting caught for drunk driving are slim.	71	31.7	176	34.4
Some people drive better after a few drinks than when they are sober. *	20	8.8	13	2.5
The penalties for violating drinking and driving laws should be more severe. *	109	49.1	355	71.9
It only takes a couple of drinks to be over the legal blood alcohol limit. *	157	70.4	420	84.3
My friends would disapprove of me driving after having 6 drinks in 2 hours. *	150	66.7	448	87.0
I can drive safely after drinking a lot of alcohol as long as I drive more carefully than usual. *	19	8.4	8	1.5

* Chi square, $p < .001$ for cases vs controls.

Close to a third of cases (30.5%) admitted that they drive after drinking most of the time or always (Table 16). Nearly one quarter of the cases said they had driven after drinking any alcohol six or more times in the past two months, a frequency of driving after drinking that was equalled by only 3 percent of controls (Table 17). Most cases believe that when they do drive after drinking, they rarely do so unless it is "safe," since only a small proportion of the cases said they had driven after "too much" more than once or twice in the past two months (Table 18).

Table 16. How Often Drives After Drinking

<i>How often do you drive after drinking?</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
never	0	0.00	236	45.6
sometimes	160	69.6	235	45.4
most of the time	51	22.2	28	5.40
always	19	8.30	19	3.70

Chi square, $p < .001$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Table 17. Times Drove After Drinking in Past 2 Months

<i>In the last 2 months, how many times did you drive after drinking any alcohol?</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
none	0	0	291	56.0
1 or 2	99	43.2	172	33.1
3 to 5	75	32.8	39	7.50
6 to 10	30	13.1	10	1.90
> 10	25	10.9	8	1.50

Chi square, $p < .001$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Table 18. Times Drove After Drinking Too Much

<i>In the last 2 months, how many times did you drive when you thought you drank too much alcohol to drive safely?</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
none	66	28.7	457	87.9
1 or 2	145	63.0	62	11.9
3 to 5	15	6.50	1	0.20
6 to 10	4	1.70	0	0
> 10	0	0	0	0

Chi square, $p < .001$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Substantial proportions of both cases (50%) and controls (79%) claim to plan ahead most of the time or always to avoid driving after drinking (Table 19), though controls are far more likely to do so "always." The large majority of cases (88%) and controls (96%) say that this planning ahead works most of the time or always (Table 20). As a means of planning ahead, the use of designated drivers was more common among controls than cases, with 76% versus 38%,

respectively, claiming to use a designated driver most of the time or always (Table 21). Large proportions of both cases and controls report that, when employed, the designated driver strategy works most of the time or always to avert impaired driving (Table 22).

The finding that more cases (22%) than controls (5%) said that designated drivers only worked “sometimes” supports the anecdotal reports of high-risk males in the focus groups, who reported that the designated driver sometimes becomes more intoxicated than anyone else. Given that high-risk (i.e., heavy drinking) young males often socialize with individuals who have similar drinking habits, this is not an unexpected result.

Table 19. Plans Ahead to Avoid Driving After Drinking

<i>When you know you are going to be drinking, how often do you make plans ahead of time so you won't have to drive after drinking?</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
never	56	24.5	56	10.8
sometimes	61	26.6	54	10.4
most of the time	93	40.6	151	29.2
always	19	8.30	257	49.6

Chi square, $p < .001$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Table 20. Effectiveness of Planning Ahead

<i>How often have these plans worked to keep you from driving after drinking?</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
never	1	0.60	2	0.40
sometimes	20	11.7	15	3.30
most of the time	90	52.6	135	29.4
always	60	35.1	308	67.0

Chi square, $p < .001$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Table 21. Use of Designated Driver

<i>When you know you are going to be drinking, how often do you plan ahead of time to use a designated driver?</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
never	58	25.2	49	9.50
sometimes	85	37.0	72	14.0
most of the time	59	25.7	141	27.4
always	28	12.2	253	49.1

Chi square, $p < .001$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Table 22. Effectiveness of Designated Driver

<i>How often have these plans to use a designated driver worked to keep you from driving after drinking?</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
never	2	1.20	4	0.90
sometimes	37	21.6	25	5.40
most of the time	76	44.4	145	31.2
always	56	32.8	291	62.6

Chi square, $p < .001$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

Most of the cases (70%) say that someone has attempted to stop them from driving after drinking at some time; this is also true for about half of the controls (Table 23). About one in ten cases have experienced intervening behavior in the past two months, and 43 percent have had this happen in the past year. The corresponding figures for the controls (3% and 12%, respectively), are substantially lower.

Table 23. Last Time Respondent Was Intervened With

<i>When was the last time anyone tried to stop you from driving after drinking?</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
never	67	29.4	267	51.7
within last 2 months	28	12.3	16	3.10
between 2 mo. and 1 year	69	30.3	48	9.30
1-2 years ago	25	11.0	68	13.2
more than 2 years ago	39	17.1	117	22.7

Chi square, $p < .001$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

The respondents were asked to give ratings to a variety of individuals as to whether these people would be not successful, somewhat successful or very successful in convincing someone not to drive after drinking. As reflected in Table 24, wives or girlfriends were most likely to be rated very successful. Other intervener categories with good or moderately good ratings were close friends, siblings, and parents. Poor ratings were given to bartenders, acquaintances or concerned strangers. These findings are very parallel to what was reported in focus groups. Individuals who are most likely to know the target well and have sincere concern for his welfare are rated best as interveners.

The largest portion of respondents rated a spouse or girlfriend as the best person to intervene in a situation where the respondent himself planned to drive after drinking (Table 25); spouses and girlfriends received the highest rating among both the cases (56%) and controls (63%). A "close friend" was rated best at intervening by 18 percent of cases and 17 percent of controls.

In a multivariate analysis of factors that predicted successful intervention with the survey respondents, wives or girlfriends were roughly twice as likely to be reported as successful at intervening as friends or others.

Table 24. Effectiveness of Potential Interveners

<i>How successful would this person be in convincing someone not to drive after drinking?</i>	<i>Cases (%)</i>			<i>Controls (%)</i>		
	<i>not</i>	<i>somewhat</i>	<i>very</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>somewhat</i>	<i>very</i>
close friend	3.9	46.1	50.0	2.1	41.2	56.7
brother/sister	5.7	49.8	44.5	5.2	44.8	50.0
parents **	15.4	43.9	40.8	7.8	46.8	45.4
wife/girlfriend	4.8	31.9	63.3	4.6	27.0	68.3
acquaintance	27.4	61.3	11.3	26.3	60.6	13.1
bartender	33.5	47.1	19.4	30.5	49.3	20.2
concerned stranger *	63.4	31.7	4.9	54.2	41.0	4.9

Chi square: *p=.05; **p<.01, for cases versus controls. Percents may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Table 25. Best Person to Intervene in Drinking and Driving

<i>In your opinion, who is the <u>best</u> person to convince you not to drive after drinking?</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
friend	40	17.5	86	16.7
family member	5	2.2	10	1.9
wife/girlfriend	130	57.0	325	63.1
bartender	9	4.0	6	1.2
sibling	11	4.8	14	2.7
myself	14	6.1	32	6.2
parents	13	5.7	20	3.9
stranger	1	0.4	4	0.8
children	2	0.9	6	1.2
other	3	1.3	12	2.3

Note: Answers other than first four items were elaborations of "family member" or "someone else" response categories.

Fortunately, according to the men's own self reports, wives and girlfriends are often present when men are out and drinking (Table 26). Though this is more often the case for controls (more of whom are married), close to half of the cases reported that wives or girlfriends are present most of the time or always, and another third said they are present sometimes.

Table 26. Presence of Female Partners

<i>When you are out and drinking, how often is your wife or girlfriend with you?</i>	<i>Cases</i>		<i>Controls</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
never	31	13.5	33	6.4
sometimes	77	33.5	106	20.5
most of the time	88	38.3	218	42.3
always	23	10.0	143	27.7
no girlfriend	11	4.8	16	3.1

Chi square, $p < .001$ for cases vs controls. Percents may not total to 100 due to rounding.

In conclusion, the survey findings revealed results that mirror those of the focus group research, with the cases, or high-risk drinking drivers, sharing many of the same attitudes and behaviors as the focus group participants. The drinking patterns of the cases are indicative of heavy drinking on a frequent basis, with little forethought concerning driving after drinking. As with the focus group respondents, the cases indicated that the best person to intervene was a spouse/girlfriend followed by a close friend. Furthermore, these two groups were the most frequently identified as having intervened successfully in the cases' drinking-driving in the recent past. Thus, the national survey data gave us greater confidence in the general validity of our focus group results.

Focus Groups: Potential Interveners

Focus groups were next conducted with the wives and girlfriends of the high-risk drinking drivers to examine their attitudes toward drinking-driving and their motivations and behavior as interveners (see Appendix A for full focus group reports). The women's responses to previous anti-DWI media messages were also probed. In this phase of the research, six focus groups were conducted, two in Framingham, MA and four in Charlotte, NC.

The findings of the intervener focus groups suggested that although in general the women felt that driving after a "few" beers is okay, they did not share the same tolerant attitude toward drinking and driving as their husbands/boyfriends and were thus motivated to stop the behavior. The women were also more concerned about safety (they worry about their male partners hurting themselves or others) in contrast to the men, who focus on getting caught.

Many of the spouses and girlfriends of high-risk drinking drivers are frequently in a role of intervener, although at times reluctantly and only when there are obvious or flamboyant signs of intoxication. The women already have a variety of strategies for dealing with drinking-driving situations and when they are going to be present, they frequently try to plan ahead to avoid later confrontation. The success and comfort of this role varies as a function of each woman's

personality and that of her significant other and the norms governing male-female relationships in their various stages (e.g., dating vs marriage).

There also may be some regional differences in the acceptability of women intervening in men's drinking-driving. While women in both Massachusetts and North Carolina were concerned with being perceived as "controllers" or "naggers", this was especially true of the women in North Carolina, who appeared somewhat less confident as interveners compared to the women in Massachusetts. Given the limits of focus group research, however, these conclusions must be considered tentative.

The responses to prior anti-DWI public service announcements (PSAs) were somewhat mixed by region: The women in North Carolina responded more to a PSA that modeled intervening behavior itself, showing a girlfriend making the decision to intervene and insist on driving (the "Kevin" PSA). The women in Massachusetts appeared to be most affected by PSAs that showed victims of drunk drivers -- either home videos of children killed by drunk drivers or a photo gallery of innocent victims (these are both referred to as "Innocent Victims" PSAs). Both groups of women had a strong emotional response to the Innocent Victims PSAs, however the message to intervene was not clear to either group. This "emotional flooding" was also found in later testing with these PSAs in additional focus groups.

Although the women in North Carolina responded to the Innocent Victims PSAs, they felt that the message in Kevin was most appropriate for them. This is perhaps because they are more in need of hearing messages that validate their role as interveners. These findings suggest that PSAs that legitimize the role of women as interveners may encourage more women to intervene.

The focus group research with potential interveners (which also included two additional focus groups with high-risk males) also confirmed what has been found in prior market research -- that individuals tend to fall into one of three groups with respect to their tendency to intervene with the drinking/driving behaviors of others. These three broad groups are: 1) "true believers": those who are consistent and persistent in their intervening; 2) "attempters": a heterogeneous group of those who make attempts of varying frequency and seriousness, but are often dissuaded rather easily; and 3) "entrenched non-actors": those who refuse to intervene, usually in the belief that it is none of their business or not their responsibility to interfere in the deviant behaviors of others.

Intervener Media Messages

In the final set of focus groups for this project, we explored in greater detail the attitudes of potential interveners (both female partners and high-risk males) toward intervention messages in general as well as specific media tag-lines. Four focus groups were conducted in each of two cities -- Boston, MA and Charlotte, NC. Two groups with high-risk young men (as defined in previous focus group research described above) and two groups with young women who were partnered to high-risk young men were performed in each city.

In each focus group, participants were shown a current public service announcement (PSA) with an anti-drunk driving theme. The PSA shows a gallery of still photographs of individuals or

groupings of individuals (such as couples or families) who were killed in drunk driving crashes (the "Innocent Victims" PSA). Toward the end, the PSA contains a voiceover statement, which was varied as a means of testing different taglines. At the very end of the ad is the text statement "Friends Don't Let Friends Drive Drunk."

The various taglines that were tested all had messages intended to increase the viewer's proclivity to intervene with the drinking-driving behavior of others. For instance, one line said "If you don't stop someone from driving drunk, who will? Do whatever it takes." Another stated "It may be difficult to stop someone from driving drunk, but you must." There were a total of five lines tested.

The overall conclusion of this portion of the work was that the tagline message tended to get lost in the emotional impact of the PSA itself. The photos in the PSA are accompanied by very sorrowful, funereal music, and the sadness felt by the focus group subjects was obvious, even among the young men. In each focus group, after the very first viewing of the PSA, almost no one could remember that there had even been a voiceover at all. When asked what the PSA was attempting to communicate, most said "Don't drink and drive.", "Drinking and driving kills people." or something similar. It was not until two or sometimes even more viewings of the ad, where the subjects' attention was actually being drawn to the fact that the voiceover content varied, that more subjects heard the message to intervene.

The Innocent Victims ad clearly has a strong emotional impact and is memorable to viewers. It forcefully conveys the message that drinking and driving continues to be a major social problem that is costing many innocent people their lives. The message should be helpful in maintaining a high general level of public concern and a climate where anti-drunk driving policy measures will be strongly supported. There is some possibility that with greater exposure (i.e., once a given viewer is seeing the PSA for the third or fourth time), the message to intervene will emerge more clearly. However, this contention is not readily testable in the focus group environment.

No single PSA or tagline will be convincing to all audiences with respect to encouraging intervening behavior. It is likely that for some viewers an ad that models intervening by, for instance, showing a wife or girlfriend insisting on driving, will provide more specific guidance on a "how to" basis. An ad showing an intervener being supported in this action by another person in the group might also be helpful in reinforcing a pro-intervening social norm. And ads such as the Innocent Victim series keep in viewers' thoughts the potential for horrific outcomes if intervening doesn't occur.

The designated driver has become a widely used strategy for avoiding drunk driving. This "norm" was developed as the result of repeated exposure of the concept through multiple avenues including PSAs, posters, and incorporation of the behavior into the plots of popular television programs. The proliferation of other intervener behaviors is likely to depend on a similar concerted and continuing effort to define such behaviors as not just acceptable but normative.

Conclusions

A review of data on motor vehicle fatalities supports the conventional wisdom that young adult males continue to be a group at substantial risk for dying in alcohol-involved crashes. What is often less well appreciated is just how intoxicated the large majority of individuals are at the time of the crash. Fatality data and the extensive literature profiling drunk drivers support the notion that many of those who die in these crashes are problem drinkers.

The ability or willingness of many of these individuals to heed warnings to control their own alcohol consumption or to avoid drinking and driving is in serious doubt. Even where legal penalties for DUI are severe and enforcement is stringent, the rational judgment of any individual is impaired at the high levels of intoxication that are often reached by high-risk young adult men, thus limiting the ability for sanctions to have a meaningful impact once the drinking has occurred.

It may be, therefore, that a primary means of reducing these individuals' drinking-driving behaviors, short of extensive substance abuse treatment, is through intervention by others who are present at the scene. Given the likelihood that there will always be some subset of the population that abuses alcohol, and thus is at substantial risk for driving after drinking, the strategy of increasing the ability and willingness of others to intervene deserves greater attention.

Through focus group and survey research, this project found that high-risk drinking drivers themselves and their spouses and girlfriends are the individuals most likely to intervene in the drinking-driving behavior of high-risk young adult males.

The women are particularly good candidates as they already perceive themselves as responsible for the safety of their spouses/boyfriends and other friends. The women also tend to drink substantially less than their male partners, and are more focused on the potentially catastrophic results of drinking and driving (i.e., fatal crashes) than are the men (who seldom worry about consequences other than arrest). Finally, the men largely trust their female partners to care about their wellbeing and to recognize the behavioral warning signs that the men have had too much to drink.

The initial focus groups exploring women as interveners indicate that most have intervened with male partners, although at times reluctantly. They seem to be motivated both by feelings of responsibility and guilt over inaction. However, these motivating factors can be overridden or moderated by a lack of confidence in the legitimacy of their intervening, or not wanting to "spoil a good time" or be a "nag." Future efforts that legitimize and give credit to intervener actions (such as the statement "The designated driver is the life of the party.") are worthy of more attention.

There are some legitimate concerns, however, about a strategy that requires the female partners of young adult male drinking drivers to play a more active role as interveners. Among these are:

- Asking women to be interveners transfers responsibility for drunk driving away from the person who is really responsible (the young adult male);

- Some forms of intervening (e.g., going along on social outings only to act as a driver) may be viewed as enabling behavior, abetting the heavy drinking of the men, which is in other ways harmful to the men themselves and possibly to their female partners and families (e.g., if it causes physical disease, job loss, violence); and
- Intervening with individuals known to be heavy drinkers may put the women at risk for verbal or physical aggression, the chances of which may be elevated by intoxication. With respect to the issue of spousal violence, there were in fact some women in the focus groups who described fear of verbal or even physical retribution for intervening.

However, there are countervailing issues that must also be weighed in regard to whether women should act as interveners.

If a woman is socializing away from home with her partner, who becomes heavily intoxicated and insists on driving, she may be assuming substantial risk for injury in a motor vehicle accident if she chooses to get in the car. Only the woman herself can judge whether she feels that her safety and that of her partner are best served by intervening or not. In fact, it is a tenet of most domestic violence programs that women are the best judges of what they can and can not do safely with respect to their partners. It seems unlikely, therefore, that most women who are at substantial risk for abuse would choose to intervene in their partners' drinking/driving behaviors. It is important, however, that future efforts to encourage intervening are clear that the choice to drink and drive, and any negative consequences of these acts, are ultimately the responsibility of the drinking driver.

In conclusion, the promise of intervener strategies is significant. This project provides substantial groundwork for the development of further media campaigns and other programs that encourage intervening with high-risk young adult males, a group at continued high risk for being killed in alcohol-involved crashes.

Strong and consistently enforced legal sanctions against drunk driving will always be an important means of preventing this behavior. However, more attention might be usefully focused on "informal" means of social control, particularly with respect to addressing drunk driving by that portion of the population that shows a persistently problematic pattern of alcohol consumption.

IMPORTANT NOTE: The focus group reports should be read as a research series (Reports 1-7). Taking findings out of context from individual reports may lead to inappropriate conclusions.

**EXPLORATORY RESEARCH
ON POTENTIAL DETERRENTS TO DWI
AMONG YOUNG MALES**

Focus Group Report #1

Prepared for
Harvard School of Public Health

Prepared by
Werby Marketing

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Prepared as part of the research project "Strategic Advertising Plans to Deter Drunk Driving," funded by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration under Agreement No. DTNH22-92-Y-0547. The insights, opinions and conclusions expressed in the reports are those of Werby Marketing, and may differ to some degree with those of the principal investigators or other co-investigators in the study, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

Under a grant from the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, the Harvard University School of Public Health is exploring a specific target for DWI deterrents and communications. This target is described as blue collar males, 21-29 years of age.

Prior to developing actual communications concepts for this target, it was felt appropriate to explore the target's current drinking behavior and existing attitudes. In conjunction with this exploration, it was also important to compare and contrast attitudes among convicted DWI offenders, so that the potential for change – before conviction versus after conviction -- could be examined.

Therefore, the objective of the research reported herein was to explore the drinking behavior and attitudes of young blue collar males, and to examine the differences in these attitudes versus convicted DWI offenders.

METHOD

Four focus group interviews were conducted in mid-June, 1993.

Two of these groups were conducted among convicted DWI offenders at Beech Hill Hospital in Dublin, New Hampshire. Respondents ranged in age from 20 to 71, and consisted of both men and women. The total number of participants in these 2 groups was 34 people, 8 of whom were women. While this "sample" of people was self-selected, the groups provided a substantial diversity across socio-economic classes.

The other 2 groups were conducted in Framingham, Massachusetts, a Boston suburb. Each group comprised 7 men, who qualified as follows:

- White males
- 21-29 years of age
- Blue collar occupations
- Drink alcohol beverages in bars or taverns at least once a week
- Have driven a car after having consumed 5 or more beers on one drinking occasion during the past year
- Believe that they can drive safely after consuming 5 or more beers
- Possess a set of attitudes that position them as attitudinally appropriate
- (see screening questionnaire at end of report)

Key subject areas explored were:

- General Drinking Attitudes
- Attitudes towards Drinking and Driving
- Attitudes towards current and potential deterrents

A detailed topic guide can be found at the end of this report.

Groups were conducted on Saturday, June 19 (Dublin, NH) and Monday June 21 (Framingham).

A WORD OF CAUTION

The findings, conclusions, implications and hypotheses presented in this report are based on qualitative research.

Samples for qualitative research are generally small and are neither representative of nor projectable to a larger group of the population. In addition, because the primary goal of qualitative research is to obtain information in-depth, the questioning, techniques and wording can vary from group to group or from respondent to respondent, in order to maximize the amount of information obtained and to ensure that the questioning is tailored to each group's/respondent's needs and abilities.

Therefore, findings reported herein should be viewed with caution; conclusions, implications and hypotheses should be used as starting points for additional thinking on the particular subject or issue.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Blue collar men aged 21-29 drink for fun. Drinking is a happy, social activity. Drinking with friends is the norm, and they do so either in bars or in friends' homes.

They are marked by an attitude of invincibility. Thus, they test the "system" constantly, trying to determine the extent to which they can express their freedom, independence and individualism.

The car plays a major role in their lives. It is their most important possession. Because many men this age are not married, and because many are living with their parents, the car represents a key expression of their identities. It represents their freedom and their independence and it demonstrates that they are in control of any situation. It is definitely not mere transportation.

One of the ways in which they test the limits of their independence is by temporarily moving to a world of alcohol-induced fun, although they claim not to go so far that they can't get back.

"Home" is the door back to the real world. Getting home is the strongest motivator for driving after drinking, among both convicted and unconvicted offenders. While young men claim they don't consciously set out to drive drunk (some even park their cars where they can sleep, if necessary), driving for most is a natural by-product of their heavy drinking combined with the nearly obsessive desire to "get home" afterwards. The car is the mechanism used to go from one world to the other. They feel they have to use it. They see no alternative.

On the other hand, some tend not to drive long distances because they don't want to be stopped. Drinking (among the more responsible young men) tends to be done close to home in order to limit their exposure to arrest. They also believe they know:

- when they can not drive (although they tend to drive anyway),
- techniques which will keep their driving good enough to avoid being stopped,
- ways to avoid police

While a single DWI offense is not viewed as a "badge", per se, it does constitute another "war story" within their social framework. It becomes trivialized because recounting of the tale is done in a humorous manner.

This trivialization convinces other men in the group who might have been inclined to think of a DWI arrest as serious that it isn't; for the young men as a group, therefore, driving after drinking remains common and DWI is seen as a not-too-serious offense.

To this target, the most important consequence of driving after drinking is the "hassle" of being stopped and arrested. Notably, the same consequences to convicted offenders are seen much more seriously.

This difference in interpretation of the same penalties probably traces to the relatively less complicated lives led by the young men, in comparison to the (generally older) convicted offenders. Young men have greater amounts of discretionary income and fewer job, community and family responsibilities. In conjunction with their overall attitude of invincibility, their perception of DWI as a nuisance, rather than as a disturbing offense, is in some respects understandable.

Their feelings about deterrents are in concert with this attitude. Generally, preventive deterrents – those which appeal to their independence and their self-confident natures – probably have the best chance to succeed in deterring DWI among this target group. Laws, penalties and required behaviors become challenges (which are happily taken), while voluntary behavior that is made appealing will be accepted.

There seem to be no influencers who can keep them from driving after drinking, because they live private lives, allowing in few, if any, outsiders – especially at times of heavy drinking. They avoid contact with their parents, they drink predominantly with male friends, they tend to drink less when women are around. Even when servers shut them off, they move to another bar. [NOTE: See later focus groups for more on possible influencers.]

Like their older (convicted) counterparts, they know that driving after drinking is wrong. They even may be looking for a way not to engage in it – that is, a socially acceptable alternative to driving after excessive drinking. This acceptable method must allow them to retain their persona while also accomplishing deterrence.

Thus, "popular" deterrents among this group are those that prevent DWI, rather than those that punish it. Deterrents that the men saw as potentially effective include:

- Education, including advertising, focused at both high school and elementary school children
- (including use of "fright" materials: crashed cars, accident scenes, etc.)
- Breathalyzers or other devices that prevent driving, both in cars and in bars

Some preventive deterrents, however, were felt to be ineffective ways of dealing with the problem:

- Increased price of alcohol (impractical, may move drinking underground)
- Server-Set limits on drinkers (can be defeated by going to another bar)

When asked to come up with other ways to deter drinking and driving, the young men suggested:

- Community service for convicted (or non-convicted) offenders
- Public exposure of names of people stopped for DWI
- Private decision-making (a booth where one could use a breathalyzer and make a decision about driving, outside of the influence of friends)
- Find ways to render cars undriveable ("boot" on front wheel was cited as example)

INDICATED CONCEPTUAL DIRECTIONS

The impetus for refraining from driving after drinking for this target will have to come from the men themselves, not from outside influencers or threats of punishment.

Deterrents which act as preventers to driving after drinking, rather than as punishments for it, are most likely to work with this group. Breathalyzers in bars seemed to be the most acceptable measure; some said that private BAC testing (via breathalyzers) would be best, possibly so that the decision can be made without the influence of friends.

Disabling of cars (with boots) also would be an effective deterrent, but may cause some violent reactions.

For convicted offenders, a sentence of community service probably should be added to the penalties. Even the arrogant young men agreed that strictly punitive measures are not enough. Convicted offenders seem almost passionate about spreading their newfound faith. Both groups generally feel that the consequences of drunk driving need to be reinforced through work with those hurt or the survivors of those killed in accidents.

For communications directed at this target, two conceptual areas need to be explored creatively: the important role of their car and the near obsession with "getting home" after drinking. The use of one or both of these significant motivators will make communications far more relevant and therefore more likely to be persuasive.

CONCLUSIONS

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TARGET

General Psychology and Drinking Behavior

Blue collar men aged 21-29 are marked by an attitude of invincibility. They believe that they can do what they please, court danger and not endure long-term consequences. They see themselves as confident, independent and smart, able to handle almost any situation and absolutely certain of knowing when they can't. Essentially, they live on the edge of a cliff -- constantly testing the stability of the rim and how far they can lean over without falling. Thus, they test the "system" constantly, trying to determine the extent to which they can express their independence and individualism.

- "It's the idea of getting away with something you're not supposed to be doing. When you were 18 it was getting into bars. When you can get in, you move to other stuff."

They also recognize, however, that their current behavior is not a permanent part of their lives. They expect to outgrow it.

- "I won't do it (drunk driving) forever, because I'm growing up."
- "With age comes more responsibility, You get married, you have to think more. When there's more stuff on your mind, you've got to think more."

- "When I was 18, before I was married, it was a whole different ballgame. The only person you had to look out for was yourself. Now you've got 3 other people who are depending on you to make money and to survive, so now you have to do a little more thinking."
- "When I was 18, it was fun just to be able to get into bars. When I passed 21, it wasn't fun to get in, it was fun to do stuff."
- "You have less to lose when you're young."

Their attitude of invincibility includes a disdain for order. To their minds, the temporary chaos that alcohol can bring about is acceptable, because they eschew anything that restricts their movement or their perceived freedom. Thus, getting into some "trouble" (defined as fights, and drinking and driving) is a fairly common but essentially acceptable price to be paid for their ability to leave the real world. At this stage of their lives, the expression of their own independence is more important than the social good.

Drinking is described as fun. When they are asked to describe the ways in which it is fun, they talk about their changed states of consciousness and the "fun" induced by that change. Importantly, they recognize -- in a social (rather than clinical) way -- that drinking enables them to leave the real world temporarily and to enter a world less encumbered by responsibilities.

- "I like the buzz"
- "I like letting go"
- "I enjoy some of the fun things that happen when you're in an alcohol-induced buzz"
- "Drinking unwinds and relaxes you (from work and from girlfriends)"

They understand the negative side of excessive drinking as well, especially as regards hangovers.

Virtually all describe their own drinking as a social not an individual activity. Yet, several reported drinking alone on the way home from work (in their cars) or in their own homes.

There are people in their lives who could influence their behavior, even though most of the target group participants were single. The influential others in their lives are their friends (male), their parents and their girlfriends or wives. However, they tend to keep out people who are not male friends who share the same attitudes. Those who live with their parents are concerned about the implications of their behaviors on their households; they tend to shelter their parents from behavior that they think will be unacceptable and therefore engender anger. Those who are married also tend to want to shelter their wives from their drinking activities.

All say that the most meaningful consequences of being arrested for DWI are its effect on others or how others will view the drinker, not its resultant punishments of the driver. This is true among both young drinkers and convicted DWI offenders.

Drinking occasions are seen as male occasions, however. The presence of women seems to bring more control to a drinking situation, which the men understand, but regard as unwanted. In addition, the men recognize their own behavior as unacceptable to women, not appropriate when women are around.

- "My girlfriend doesn't want to be with me when I'm drinking. She says my attitude changes. She says I don't want to be near her, that I talk to people (other women) I don't even know. She feels abandoned."

Their solution to the perceived female control is not to bring girlfriends when they are "going drinking". It tends to be a strictly male affair among this target. [NOTE: See future focus group reports, which contradict this finding. It may be that when young men are specifically "going out drinking" they often choose to do this in all-male groups, and when asked about "when you go drinking" these are the types of occasions they focus on. However, when asked specifically in later focus groups how often female significant others are present "when you are out socializing and are drinking," the men report that women are often present.]

The young men believe that people's reactions to and capacities for alcohol are highly variable and depend on:

- size and weight of the drinker (large men can "hold" more than smaller men)
- the drinker's mood (depressed moods will produce worse reactions than happy moods)
- whether or not he is drinking on an empty stomach (recent meals will increase capacity)
- what one is drinking (beer is less intoxicating than spirits)

The best mood for drinking is described almost unanimously as "happy"-- mellow, calm, content. They all recognize that alcohol and unhappy moods do not blend well.

- "You can't be drinking for a purpose, to hide something, because there's a good chance that can lead to violence."

Bars are seen as the most pleasant places to drink because they are most likely to have people familiar to the drinker. However, friends' homes (not their own) are attractive because they are less expensive places to drink. Thus, the cost of drinking is considered in the decision about where to drink. Moreover, friends' homes are seen as safer in two ways:

- "You don't have to drive if you don't want to."
- "You can go crazy for a while without getting into trouble."

Based on the apparent attractiveness of a home as venue, a common drinking pattern is to split the drinking between bars and homes, some going to bars first and some to homes first. The rationale for going to bars first is that the heavy drinking will be able to occur in a safer (home) atmosphere. The rationale for going to the bar last is that "the places don't really start jumping until 10 or 11 o'clock. So why go there first?" Thus, there may be two distinct segments among these young drinkers, those who are cost-conscious and those who are good-timers.

The Role of the Car

The car plays a major role in the lives of young male drinkers. It is their most important possession. Because many men this age are not married, and because many are living with their parents, the car represents the only expression of their identities. It represents their freedom and their independence and it demonstrates that they are in control of a situation. It is definitely not mere transportation. While discussion did not focus on the relationships between these men and their cars, this relationship is well-known.

- I could have hopped in someone else's car (after a party), but I like to have my own car so I can bail out when I want to."

The implication of this observation is that focusing on cars, rather than drivers, could provide one key to effective deterrents for this group.

ATTITUDES TOWARD DRINKING AND DRIVING

Individualism Motivates Attitudes

The attitude of invincibility plays a major role in their driving after drinking. Two factors seem to justify driving after drinking for them and make it a relatively unimportant offense.

- a lack of perceived long-term consequences (the only consequence is getting caught -- recognized as a legal problem and "a hassle", but not a long-term consequence that is life changing)

and

- their confidence in their own ability to handle the situation (a reflection of their inflated self-confidence and invincibility; they see little chance of accidents)

They recognize that drinking and driving is a dangerous behavior for most people. Some even recognize that they will be caught eventually -- an example of the "living on the edge" that is characteristic of this group.

- "No one is exempt. If we keep doing it, we're going to get caught."

They also know that they are participating in dangerous behavior.

- "I think repeat offenders are repeaters because they've never gotten into any accidents. They just keep trying."
- "This is the prime age. This is where all the trouble is. Us. 21-25 year olds."
- "If you could smarten us up, then most of the drunk driving will be gone."

They describe the effects of alcohol on driving abilities in the terms used by the advertising and educational materials now available. This indicates that these materials are being seen and understood, although apparently not heeded by these men.

- "your judgment is impaired"
- "your reaction time is less"

They tend to believe, however, that their own driving abilities enable them to drive safely even after exceeding BAC legal limits. They excuse the potential danger of drinking and driving by convincing themselves that they know when they can drive and when they can't.

- "My friends call me the professional drunk driver. I'm good at it."

They also state that the laws are made for the worst drivers under the worst circumstances. They claim that they are not bad drivers (with a few exceptions) and that they know when they should not drive. Many admit having driven in situations when they knew they should not have.

Limits, Excuses and Techniques

Most of these young men realize that there are certain points beyond which they can not drive. They describe these points as:

- "when I fall down"
- "when I spill my drink"
- "when I see someone who is really drunk who's been driving"
- "when I can't find my keys"

They all have methods by which they believe that driving after drinking is enabled. These include:

- driving with one eye closed so that one does not see double
- having someone in the car to keep you alert and awake
- having someone in the car to watch your driving (who could be just as drunk)
- taking back roads
- concentrating on driving
- obeying the speed limit

One participant even suggested that doing a good deed -- giving a ride to an older woman and getting her home safe -- would provide a spiritual guidance that would get him home safe.

Some of the young men who participated in these groups appeared to think about or consider the risks of drinking and driving before they started drinking -- even if there were many cases where they found no way to avoid driving. Some said they didn't drive drunk because they wanted to, but because they had to. Several reported that they try to park their cars in places where they could stay if they drank too much. Others said they ended their drinking at someone's house so that if they drank too much, they had a place to sleep it off. Still others consider the drive home in determining where they will drink:

- "I'd never go drinking in Boston, because I know, with the traffic, I'd never get home alive."

They all have "war stories" about driving after drinking, many of which revolve around fooling the police or narrowly avoiding arrest.

The excuses used to justify driving after drinking centered on:

- "short distances"
- "I knew I could handle it"
- "good drivers are even better drivers after drinking because they concentrate better"
- "I knew the roads"

The Role of "Getting Home"

When young men are asked why they drove in situations when they knew they shouldn't have, the nearly unanimous answer was:

- "I had to get home"

"Home" is thus the most frequent destination and the focal point of the motivation for driving in that condition.

Home is the starting and ending point for excursions into a world they visit but know they will have to leave. So they recognize those visits as aberrant behavior. This behavior is almost a "place" that they like to visit, but they know that they don't want to stay there. There is always the desire to "go home", to end the behavior, to leave that place, no matter how high the risk of getting home. To these young men, it's worth the risk because they don't want to stay. To some extent, they may be even be afraid of staying because that behavior may become "home", instead of their real homes. Getting home is a very strong motivation.

- "You drive because you think you can do it. When you're in that state you say 'I CAN get home'. I may be 3 sheets to the wind, but I'm going to get home."
- "Many times you're nervous and you're thinking about (getting stopped). You don't want to get pulled over and you know you shouldn't be driving, but you do it just so you can get home to go to work in the morning or whatever."

One respondent said:

- "You gotta get home. You GOTTA get home. You gotta get HOME."

Home represents, essentially, the place to which they can escape from the unrealistic alcohol world they know they have been visiting. Most know that this world is not real and, therefore, they want to leave it. They also believe they know when to leave it.

Those who could articulate the feeling of home, did so in the following ways:

- "Home is like a security blanket. You feel comfortable at home."
- "You don't know how good the feeling is when you get home and climb into your own bed. It's like 'I'm ALL SET!'"
- "Even when I was driving and realized I shouldn't be, I kept going because I knew I had to get home."

The car is the vehicle by which their exit from this world, their escape to "home", is enabled.

DWI as a Rite of Passage

This research shows that the excitement quotient required by these men is substantial. They are always looking for new ways to have fun, because excitement makes for good camaraderie. Being drunk is exciting and fun. Trying to drive is even more exciting. And getting arrested is more exciting -- not at the time of the arrest, but later in the recounting of the tale. And the arrest is not significant enough to warrant long-term regret.

- "The damage is done, so why cry about it. You've already been busted."
- "I've laughed about it, cried about it, been mad about it, been mad at myself about it."
- "You're trying to make the best of a bad situation."
- "Why cry about it?"

People tend to continue in the kinds of behavior that has sustained their relationships. In the case of young male heavy drinkers, that behavior includes a maintenance of false bravado, machismo, sociability, independence – an attitude which leads to talking about the DWI arrest (to that same circle of friends) in a manner and tone that positions the arrest as inconsequential. Thus, the men in that group who might think of a DWI arrest as serious become convinced that it isn't, and therefore continue to take the same risks.

The younger and less mature (regardless of age) members of the Beech Hill groups seemed also to support this hypothesis by the manner in which they state their attitudes towards their conviction. Many of the older people, and/or those with families, on the other hand, seemed truly remorseful and reported that they had given up drinking entirely in the face of their DWI penalties. This would indicate that the entire drinking environment, including the social aspects, was being blamed for their problems; these people may view the social aspect of drinking as partially responsible. Therefore, the hypothesis may be supported among these people as well.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS DETERRENDS

Preventive Deterrents

Preventive deterrents probably have the best chance to succeed in deterring DWI among the target group, because preventive deterrents appeal to their independent self-confident natures. Laws and required behavior become challenges, while voluntary behavior that is made appealing will be accepted. They know that their behavior is wrong. They may even be looking for a way not to engage in it – that is, a socially acceptable alternative which will avoid driving after excessive drinking. This acceptable method will allow them to retain their persona while also accomplishing its deterrent goal. At least partially, this explains why pre-fact deterrents are more popular than post-fact deterrents.

Friendly Persuasion: Most have tried to convince others not to drive and have been the objects of such attempts as well. Specific methods included taking keys and verbal argument. Most reported that the attempts were unsuccessful. The successful methods involved actually giving rides and disabling cars (removing coil wires, removing batteries, flattening tires).

While influencers may have been useful in other age groups, they do not appear to be a viable alternative for this target [Note: See later focus group findings, which contradict this conclusion]. The reason for lack of viability is the attitude of the men towards people outside of their own circle of friends. They generally keep their lives to themselves, reflecting their attitude of independence and they keep details of their heavy drinking even more private.

Those who live at home tend to avoid contact with their parents and certainly would never call them for a ride. Their wives and girlfriends tend to act to reduce the amount of alcohol consumed. Servers, even the friendly servers known at familiar bars, are unlikely to be influential.

Therefore, the impetus for refraining from driving after drinking will need to come from the target themselves, not from outsiders.

Non-drinking Drivers: Most claim that Designated Driver system doesn't work because the DD starts drinking.

Most say that taking a ride from others involves difficult logistical problems:

- "How do I get my car back?"
- "It's too much of an imposition to call someone at 3 in the morning"
- "I'd have to get up early and ask someone to drive me in order to get my car back"

Many of these responses seem to imply an embarrassment in having to admit that excessive drinking took place. They may be ashamed of their behavior, don't want to be forced to reveal it or discuss it with others, and don't want to be lectured by people they perceive as self-righteous.

Advertising and Education: Some feel that more advertising will not help the situation.

- "You think about ads after you see them, but when you go out and have a few beers, you don't think about commercials."

This may be more of a reaction to advertising in general, however, since they do believe that the ads have educated people about the problem.

Both groups of respondents readily admit that educating younger drivers -- through commercials and school programs -- is working well. Even the young men say that high school kids are much more concerned about DWI than they themselves are or used to be. Some even feel that high school is "too late" -- that advertising needs to reach very young children so they grow up with the idea that DWI is bad. According to some Beech Hill respondents, some elementary schools are now educating students about DWI.

There was some feeling that overly dramatic advertising does not reach the people, especially young children, who need to be reached:

- "The ad with two beer glasses cracking together probably does better at winning advertising awards than it does in getting people to stop driving drunk."

Television was viewed as a relatively less effective medium for this kind of advertising, because the ads tend to get lost.

Respondents report, however, that fright will convince people not to drive drunk. They seem to feel that clever ads will be less effective than ads showing the consequences of drunk driving (accidents, etc.).

- "They should show a real life accident and say: 'Three people died here. They were 18 years old' and show the grieving mothers afterwards"

They also think that advertising should show people left behind by arrests and accidents, because kids are always thinking that they will only hurt themselves if they get into an accident. They need to be educated that the people who are left behind are also being hurt.

They believe that education in the form of displaying cars that have been in drunk driving accidents will make people stop doing it.

Breathalyzer interlock in cars: They believe that an interlock can be defeated easily. However, some think it will deter DWI and should be used for multiple offenders.

- "I think it's a good idea, even if it's nothing more than an embarrassment to have this machine in your car."
- "If nothing else, it would be a constant negative reminder, every time you get into the car."

One Beech Hill respondent suggested that attempting to defeat an installed interlock could become an offense in itself – "attempted DWI".

Breathalyzers in bars:

The idea of a voluntary breathalyzer in bars is received positively. For some, the idea of privacy is important and they suggest a booth in which to perform the testing. For others, in the more social crowds, the breathalyzer can become part of the drinking experience.

- "It'd be great with friends because if they didn't think you should drive, you can figure out right there who's right and who's wrong."

(The above young man obviously has been in situations where driving ability questions have arisen.)

- "It could be fun. You could say: 'Let's see who's most sober. Who's going to drive home.'"

Increased price of alcohol: Increasing the price of alcohol was seen as an ineffective way to combat DWI. Respondents felt that pricing would drive drinking underground (much like Prohibition did).

Server-Set Limits:

The idea of servers limiting drinks was seen as impractical to implement and easily defeatable by going to a new bar. Thus, they felt this solution would put even more drunk drivers on the road, instead of fewer.

LEGAL/PENALTY DETERRENTS

Increased punishments and penalties within the current framework are less likely to curb DWI within this age group, because their attitude is that there is a way to defeat almost everything. The perceived ability to defeat the system is a reflection of their perceived invincibility.

Severe punishments, however, are seen as effective deterrents, even though "unfair".

- "If you knew that if you got caught your pinky would be cut off, you'd think more about getting behind the wheel than you would with (the threat of) a \$2000 fine."

Loss of License: Most believe that the threat of a short-term loss of license neither deters drunk driving, nor works to prevent a second offense. Most who have lost their licenses (for any reason) have driven during the suspension period. A long-term suspension for repeat offenders (they suggested 5-10 years) was felt to be an effective deterrent, because such a suspension would be perceived as important enough to consider when drinking.

- "Your life is over if your license is revoked. You can't get to work, you can't do anything."

Lowered BAC Limits: This was received negatively because it was viewed as unfair to people whose capacity for alcohol is higher than the average.

Jail Sentences: A first-offense mandatory jail sentence was not liked, but was seen as a potentially effective deterrent. Respondents said that this was already in effect in Maine, which was singled out as having the toughest drunk driving laws in the country.

Fines/Monetary Consequences: For men who are young, fines don't work, for two reasons. First, for singles, most of their income is discretionary anyway, so no major financial hardships are imposed by fines. Second, several reported that parents would pay the fines.

For DWI offenders with more financial responsibilities, fines and monetary penalties have significant effect, as reported by Beech Hill respondents who talk about the costs of lawyers, treatment, insurance and fines.

- "Don't do it, it's too expensive."

Roadblocks: Young men reported that news of roadblocks spreads "like wildfire" through CB radios and word-of-mouth. Thus, the likelihood of additional roadblocks snaring more drunk drivers is small. In addition, all recognize that it is impractical from a cost standpoint.

Arrest and Conviction: A greater probability of arrest and conviction is seen as threatening and probably effective in making people think twice about driving. However, they also reported that these methods would encourage them to devise ways around police and roadblocks. Some of these methods are seen as impractical because they ignore the "innocent until proven guilty" axiom.

Deterrents Suggested by Group Responses

Community service: Respondents suggested the idea of "serious hours of" community service as a punishment for DWI conviction.

On judgment, this may prove a valid direction. Since young men appear to understand the potential danger of drunk driving, the dedication of such community service to areas relevant to drunk driving can serve to "drive home" the dangers.

Relevant community service areas could include:

- being on-call for drunk driving accidents, with mandatory appearance at the site
- hospital or home visits to people hurt in drunk driving accidents (including survivors of those killed)
- visiting bars and giving rides to people who need them
- teaching youngsters about DWI experiences

The idea of making this community service relevant to DWI is supported by their positive response to the idea of placing crashed cars in front of schools. Both dramatically reinforce the dangers.

Public Exposure: Several thought the idea of public embarrassment would deter people from driving after drinking. This could take several forms:

- Publishing in newspapers the names of people arrested and convicted
- Designations on license plates that the driver is a DWI offender

- "Tell-Tale" bumper medallions

The idea of public exposure is a strong motivator to this group. In words and actions, they constantly express their desire to be free of restrictions, but they also know that they will have to function -- either now or later -- in a society of law and order. Thus, to expose their "lawlessness" is severe punishment and may be a penalty deterrent worth pursuing.

Private Decision Making: One respondent suggested a private testing booth at bars, in which a drinker could make his own decision about whether or not to drive. For some more serious drinkers, this might work because they may be less subject to the pretenses required by a crowd. Requirements for success, however, are that:

- a majority can be counted on to make the correct decision
- an alternative to driving is available

Render Car Undriveable: The idea of placing a "Boot" on one car wheel, thereby rendering a car undriveable, was suggested by one of the young male drinkers and supported by the others in his group. While this would obviously require police support, it may provide a "last resort" solution for drivers who would refuse to turn over keys, accept a ride, call home, etc.

DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES BETWEEN UNCONVICTED AND CONVICTED DWI OFFENDERS

Convicted offenders tend to drink for the same reasons and in the same places as younger men. However, because their ages are more varied, and because some of their lives were more complicated, there are some major differences in how they view drinking, driving and deterrents:

Regarding Drinking

When convicted offenders are asked for their views of the good aspects of drinking, there is a somewhat greater ability to articulate the fact that "responsibilities are put on hold". The seemingly greater focus on "responsibilities" is probably because the younger men have fewer responsibilities and less complex lives. There is also a greater ability to draw (possibly as a result of the Beech Hill weekend) broader implications of heavy drinking than mere hangovers. Convicted offenders more frequently cite:

- "a change in your self"
- "empty wallet"
- "car accidents"
- "arguments with your spouse"
- "losing your goals"

Venues are more varied because their lives are more varied.

Regarding Driving

Among the offenders, the role of "Home" is just as strong as among the young men; however, there appears to have been more of a conscious decision made to take the risk to drive, even though they knew they should not have driven. Thus, there appears to be a real decision process, involving the weighing of several sets of consequences. A wife who is certain to be upset by a husband too drunk to come home has more import than the chance of being stopped for drunk driving. To a young female college student, the certainty of feeling uncomfortable meeting a boy's parents the next morning has greater weight than the chance of being caught driving home drunk:

- "He asked me to stay, but I didn't want to meet his parents the next morning."
- "I wanted to be in my own home."
- "I needed to get a person home who couldn't drive."
- "I felt compelled to get home because my wife would worry if I didn't show up. I thought about calling but I didn't want to upset her."

Regarding Deterrents

Beech Hill respondents generally parallel the opinions of young men in their attitudes towards deterrents. Preventive deterrents tend to be seen as having higher potential because they interfere with the process, rather than punishing the process after the fact. In other words, they want someone or something to stop them before they do it; they don't want to be told they will be punished and leave the decision to themselves. Some of the young invincibility is still present in these people, regardless of their present age. The challenge is still exciting.

- "I think the consequences are severe enough now that I don't think anybody says 'I'm drunk and I'm going to drive anyway because it's only a year's suspension'. They say 'I'm drunk and I'm going to drive anyway because I won't get caught'".

The noticeable difference between the Beech Hill respondents and the young men was the intensity and the emotion in their comments on DWI and possible deterrents. Convicted offenders who are remorseful are passionate about teaching others.

- "Everybody has to learn. We have to increase the learning curve. Everybody has to be aware of what happens when you drink and drive, what the penalties are, what your chances are of getting caught."
- "You'll pay the fiddler. There are long-term consequences."
- "If you're lucky you'll end up in a program and not in jail or dead."
- "If you're going to drink and drive, kiss your Mom good-bye."
- "If you're going to do it, you better have a big bank account."
- "It's just not worth it. It's too expensive, too embarrassing, too demeaning and too inconvenient."

Yet, there are still Beech Hill respondents who do not consider their offense to be serious in the social sense.

- "The worst part is getting stopped"
- "I could get around anything they tried to do to stop me from driving."

**Focus Group Set #1
DISCUSSION GUIDE**

- I. Introductions and warm up
- A What a focus group is
 - B **FOR HOSPITAL GROUP:** What this isn't: therapy of any kind, legal material, punishment, or a way to make you ashamed in any way. It's a way for your experiences to provide learning. And that's all it is.
 - C Need for complete and honest answers, own opinions, don't be swayed by group or what you think is "the right thing" to say.
 - D Role of the moderator, completely objective, don't care what you think, only job is to learn what you think
 - E (As appropriate) observers, mirror
 - F Recording, assurance of privacy
 - G Self introductions (name, hometown, demographics, occupation, hobbies or interests, favorite alcohol beverage)
- II. Drinking
- A What's fun about drinking? How does it make you feel? The last time you went drinking, what was the mood? Is that mood a good feeling? What's so good about the mood when you go drinking?
 - B Where is the most pleasant place to drink? Why there? What goes on there that doesn't go on in other places? How does that make you feel? Why do you think that place makes you feel that way? Is that a good feeling? What's good about it?
 - C The psychologists tell us that there's a mental place to be drinking too. Where's the best mental place for drinking? What's the best mental state for drinking alcohol?
 - D Everything in the world has good aspects and bad aspects. And I guess that includes drinking a lot. What's good about drinking a lot? What else? What's not so good about drinking a lot? What else?

III. DUI

- A. Now let's talk about driving after drinking
- B. You know, if you listen to some of the TV ads, you'd think it was never OK to drive within 8 hours of drinking any amount of alcohol. Do you think that's true? Why (not)? How long is OK?
- C. What's really the biggest problem with driving after drinking? Why?
- D. Is it ever OK to drive after drinking alcohol? What circumstances make it OK?
PROBE FOR: situation, what you've been drinking, number consumed, alone or with others, distance to be driven, how you feel, time since last drink?
- E. You guys have been out there on the road. Realistically, how much of a risk is there of being in an accident after drinking. Do you think it's really as probable as they say it is, or do you think the risk is controllable in some way? Why do you feel that way?
- F. How much risk is there realistically of hurting someone else? How much risk is there of hurting yourselves? What matters more? Why?
- G. (FOR NON-HOSPITAL GROUPS) Being honest now, how many have ever driven after drinking? Think about that time, and I'd like to know the circumstances, just so you can contribute to the learning in this area. (GO TO SITUATION LIST)
- H. (FOR HOSPITAL GROUPS) When you were stopped for DUI, I need to know the circumstances, just so you can contribute to the learning in this area. (GO TO SITUATION LIST)

SITUATION LIST:

1. What were you drinking?
 2. How many drinks did you have?
 3. Where were you drinking?
 4. How far did you need to drive?
 5. Who was with you?
 6. What thoughts were going through your mind?
 7. What led you to decide it was OK to drive?
-
- I. Do you test yourself to determine if it's OK to drive?
 1. IF NO, what's your opinion about self-testing? Do you think there's a test you can give yourself? What would it be? Would you use it?
 2. IF YES, how do you know whether you can drive or not? Exactly what happens? What do you do?
 - J. Have you ever been convinced not to drive? What were the circumstances? What convinced you not to drive? Why did that work? Were other people involved? Who? Who was most influential? Why? Who least? Why?
 - K. Have you ever tried to convince anyone else not to drive? How did you do that? Did it work? Why/why not?
 - L. Have you known anyone who's been hurt or killed in a drinking and driving accident? Do you mind telling us about it?

IV. Deterrents

- A. Seen ads about drinking and driving? How do you react to those ads? Why that reaction?
- B. What methods do you think are the best ways to prevent driving after drinking? Why would those work? What methods don't work?

- C. There are lots of legal tangles that can result from driving after drinking. Which ones do you think actually work to prevent it? Which ones do you think about as serious enough to not want to get involved in? Which ones don't work to prevent driving after drinking? Why not?
- D. I'd like to find out if you think some proposed legal changes would work to prevent driving after drinking. Let's just do a vote as I mention each one. FOR EACH:
Why/why not?

1. More ads about drunk driving?
What should the ads say? Why? What should they show?
Why would that work?
What ads have you seen? Describe.
2. Increased probability of being arrested
3. More random roadblocks
4. Increased probability of conviction
5. Stiffer penalty for second offense
How stiff? Like what?
I've heard people say that one DUI arrest is not really a problem. What do you think? Is one DUI arrest OK? Why?
6. Immediate long-term suspension of license upon conviction
How long would work? How long doesn't really amount to anything?
Would you drive anyway?
7. Mandatory jail sentence for first offense?
8. Mandatory fine of one month's salary?
9. Lower Blood alcohol levels as legal definition of intoxicated
How low would work? (LOOK FOR WHETHER THEY KNOW LEVELS)
10. Increased price of alcohol
How much would it have to go up to prevent drinking and driving?
11. Servers in bars legally required to serve only a set number of drinks to any one customer?
12. Bars required to have breath testing equipment to determine the drinker's Blood Alcohol content?
13. Required interlock devices on cars so they won't start if the driver is too intoxicated?

V. Final

- A. If you could tell people about drinking and driving what would you say?
1. What's the worst part of drinking and driving?
 2. Who would you tell?

**Focus Group Set #1
SCREENER**

ASK TO SPEAK WITH MALE 21-30

Hello, my name is _____ from _____. We're conducting a survey and I'd like to ask you a few questions.

1. First, do you or does any member of your immediate family work for (READ LIST):
- a market research firm
 - a market research department
 - an advertising agency
 - a soft drink or alcoholic beverage manufacturer or distributor
 - a distillery or liquor or beer distributor
 - a liquor store, bar, tavern, restaurant or cocktail lounge
 - a publication related to food and beverages
 - a company that sells, manufactures or distributes any type of alcohol beverages

IF YES TO ANY OF THE ABOVE, TERMINATE AND TALLY

2. Have you ever participated in a market research discussion group?
Yes -ASK Q3 No -SKIP TO Q.4
3. When was the last time you participated in a market research discussion group?

**IF LESS THAN 6 MONTHS
_____ AGO, TERMINATE AND TALLY**

4. Which of the following categories includes your age?

Under 21 -TERMINATE
21-24 -----> CONTINUE
25-30 -----> WITH Q5
31-34 -TERMINATE
35-39 -TERMINATE
40-49 -TERMINATE
50 or over -TERMINATE

5. Are you presently married or not married?
Married Not married

RECRUIT FOR MIX OF MARRIED AND NOT MARRIED

6. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
- Some high school
 - High school graduate
 - Some college
 - College graduate -TERMINATE AND TALLY
 - Post graduate -TERMINATE AND TALLY

7. Are you currently employed or not?

Employed - ASK Q8
 Not employed - SKIP TO Q9a

8. What is your occupation? I need you to be as specific as possible.

INTERVIEWER: THE OCCUPATION QUESTION (Q8) IS CRITICAL. ALL RESPONDENTS RECRUITED FOR THIS PROJECT MUST BE TRUE BLUE COLLAR WORKERS. THIS COULD INCLUDE CRAFTSMEN, FOREMEN, SKILLED LABORERS, OR UNSKILLED LABORERS. ANYONE WHO WORKS IN AN OFFICE OR WHO USUALLY WEARS A SHIRT AND TIE TO WORK IS NOT QUALIFIED.

- 9a. Do you drink beer?
- Yes No

- b. In an average week, about how many times do you drink beer?

INTERVIEWER: QUESTION IS INTENDED TO GET NUMBER OF OCCASIONS, NOT NUMBER OF DRINKS ON EACH OCCASION

Once a week or less -TERMINATE
 2 times -TERMINATE
 3 times
 4 or more times

- c. During the past year, have you had the occasion to drink 5 or more beers during one drinking occasion?

Yes No -TERMINATE

- d. On the average, about how many beers can you drink and still be able to drive safely?

1 or 2 -TERMINATE
 3 or 4 -TERMINATE
 5 or 6
 7 or more

e. And during the past year, have you driven any distance after having 5 or more beers?

Yes () No ()-TERMINATE

10. On the average, about how often do you go to a bar to drink?

More than once a week ()
 Once a week ()
 2-3 times a month ()-TERMINATE
 Once a month ()-TERMINATE
 Less than once a month ()-TERMINATE

11. I'm going to read a list of statements that other people have made. As I read each one, please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each one, by using a number from 1 to 5, where 5 means you agree strongly and 1 means you disagree strongly. Of course, you can also use the numbers in between. (READ STATEMENTS IN ORDER. DO NOT ROTATE.)

	AGREE			DISAGREE	
	5	4	3	2	1
Life should be fun above everything else.	5	4	3	2	1
I often go drinking with my friends.	5	4	3	2	1
I'd like to drive a pickup truck.	5	4	3	2	1
It's good to have a few beers to unwind at the end of the day.	5	4	3	2	1
I live for today. I'll worry about tomorrow, tomorrow	5	4	3	2	1
Trying all these new drinks is not for me. I stick with the tried and true.	5	4	3	2	1
I'd like to have a life without the responsibilities of family or work.	5	4	3	2	1
*For some people it's OK to drive short distances after having 5 or 6 beers.	5	4	3	2	1

INTERVIEWER: AT LEAST 4 STATEMENTS MUST BE 4 OR 5. ONE OF THOSE FOUR STATEMENTS MUST BE * STATEMENT OTHERWISE, TERMINATE

12. And, just to switch gears for the last question -- Let's say you received a check for \$20,000 in the mail. You won a sweepstakes. How would you spend the \$20,000. What's the first thing you would do? Why?

INTERVIEWER: THE PURPOSE OF THIS QUESTION IS TO OBTAIN PARTICIPANTS WHO ARE ARTICULATE. IF RESPONDENT CAN NOT EXPRESS IDEAS CLEARLY AND THOUGHTFULLY, DO NOT RECRUIT. THAT RESPONDENT CAN NOT BE ACCEPTED FOR THIS PROJECT!

13. We're conducting a panel discussion with people like yourself to learn more about consumer opinions. This discussion will be held on (DATE/DAY) at (TIME) and will last approximately 2 hours. For participating, we will pay you (AMOUNT OF CO-OP).

b. Would you willing to attend?

Yes ()-SCHEDULE FOR GROUP No ()-TERMINATE

IMPORTANT NOTE: The focus group reports should be read as a research series (Reports 1-7). Taking findings out of context from individual reports may lead to inappropriate conclusions.

EXPLORATORY RESEARCH
ON POTENTIAL DETERRENTS TO DWI
AMONG YOUNG MALES

Focus Group Report #2

Prepared for
Harvard School of Public Health

Prepared by
Werby Marketing

November, 1993

Prepared as part of the research project "Strategic Advertising Plans to Deter Drunk Driving," funded by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration under Agreement No. DTNH22-92-Y-0547. The insights, opinions and conclusions expressed in the reports are those of Werby Marketing, and may differ to some degree with those of the principal investigators or other co-investigators in the study, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

Under a grant from the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, the Harvard University School of Public Health is exploring a new target for DWI deterrents and communications. This target is described as blue collar males, 21-29 years of age.

Prior to developing actual deterrents and communications concepts against this target, it was felt appropriate to explore the target's current drinking behavior and existing attitudes.

Prior exploratory research was conducted among young blue collar males in the Boston area in July, 1993. Several core ideas for development of communications and deterrents were uncovered in that session. It was recognized, however, that geographic diversity could produce different communications directions and/or intensities of response.

Therefore, the objective of the research reported herein was to explore the drinking behavior and attitudes of young blue collar males in the Fort Worth, Texas area, and to examine the differences in these attitudes versus East Coast respondents.

METHOD

Four focus group interviews were conducted in Fort Worth, Texas, in late August, 1993.

Each group comprised 7 men, who qualified as follows:

- White males
 - 21-35 years of age
 - 2 groups among 21-25 year olds
 - 1 group among 26-30 year olds
 - 1 group among 31-35 year olds
- Blue collar occupations
- Drink alcohol beverages in bars or taverns at least once a week
- Have driven a car after having consumed 5 or more beers on at least one drinking occasion during the past year
- Believe that they can drive safely after consuming 5 or more beers
- Possess a set of attitudes that position them as attitudinally appropriate (See screening questionnaire at end of this report.)

Key subject areas explored were:

- General Drinking Attitudes
- Attitudes Towards Drinking and Driving
- Attitudes Towards Potential Influencers
- Attitudes Towards Current and Potential Deterrents

A WORD OF CAUTION

The findings, conclusions, implications and hypotheses presented in this report are based on qualitative research.

Samples for qualitative research are generally small and are neither representative of nor projectable to a larger group of the population. In addition, because the primary goal of qualitative research is to obtain information in-depth, the questioning, techniques and wording can vary from group to group or from respondent to respondent, in order to maximize the amount of information obtained and to ensure that the questioning is tailored to each group's/respondent's needs and abilities.

Therefore, findings reported herein should be viewed with caution; conclusions, implications and hypotheses should be used as starting points for additional thinking on the particular subject or issue.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Basic drinking patterns appear to echo those discovered in the New England groups. Primary characteristics of this behavior among the youngest drinkers center on the use of alcohol as a means to get drunk. The alcohol allows these young men to approach new experiences (i.e., meeting girls) with more courage than they could muster without it. The fact that heavy drinking occurs almost exclusively with several (not 1 or 2) male friends, suggests that they are insecure in their new life roles [Note: See future focus group findings, as well as survey results, regarding the frequency with which female partners are present at drinking occasions]. Getting drunk together serves as a crutch in their experimentations with life outside of their parents' control.

Driving is a by-product of this environment. Deep within their consciences, they know that driving after drinking is risky. (In this region, in fact, there seemed to be even greater willingness to admit to the risks, possibly reflecting some "Heartland values".) In situations where they see a choice, they claim to be anxious to avoid the risk. In the majority of situations, however, they feel there is no choice but to drive. Driving after drinking further supports their perceived maturity, competence in handling life's challenges and their independence – which, to some of these Texans, is a value to be defended vehemently and at any opportunity. Driving after drinking also cements their relationships with their friends.

Driving after drinking also gets them home. As in the New England groups, "home" is the destination of choice. While they claim to be perfectly at ease in the world of intoxicated behavior, they nearly unanimously see "home" as a gate back to the real world. "Getting home", and to an even greater extent "getting into my own bed", represent safety and security and punctuate the end of an episode of drunken behavior. The concept of "home" continues to be a prime candidate for inclusion in new communications.

They believe that they know how to drive after drinking, as opposed to "youngsters" (ages 16-21, or so) who "haven't yet had enough experience to know how to do it". Their prime concern is not accidents, but getting caught by police.

They use their own methods to avoid communicating to police that they are driving while intoxicated (steadying one's arm on the armrest, closing one eye to keep in lanes, staying within speed limits, etc). And some will claim to administer self-tests to determine if they should drive or not. (Not one of the men who claimed a self-test ever failed that test.)

Aside from physical methods used to prevent driving (taking keys, damaging cars, fighting), two kinds of influencers seem to have some potential to be effective -- girlfriends and "Samaritans".

In spite of their fierce independence and significant machismo, these men seemed willing to listen to women, whom they describe as "sweet-talking" them into not driving. Thus, part of their very male roles was to be convinced by women. The women seemed to function as the men's voice of reason.

Acting as a "Samaritan" -- a stranger helping someone who needs help, such as someone too drunk to drive -- seems to have been a powerful and memorable experience for the several men who reported having served that role. It may be possible to convince drinkers that they can and should help others in situations where drunk driving is likely to occur. This is a logical extension of current advertising -- from preventing friends from driving drunk to preventing people from driving drunk.

The several deterrents presented to these groups, as in the New England sessions, met with severe resistance from several viewpoints: penalties are targets for expressions of rebellion, fines are temporary inconveniences, privilege suspension (driving) is defeatable and lack of license is largely ignored. Anything which smacks of law, regulation or exercise of control was rejected by the New England groups and is rejected by the Texans. Continuing the parallel attitudes, more positive response was seen for the more passive deterrents (breathalyzers in bars, bus services, taxis, etc.), but these were felt to have little or no potential to deter DWI.

One key to effective deterrence may lie in volunteerism. Convincing these drinkers to choose not to drive after drinking may have more potential for effectiveness than mandating it, because it avoids their characteristic rebellion against authority. Moreover, convincing prime offenders (convicted or not) to control voluntarily the behavior of others produces a feeling of self-worth and good citizenry. A by-product of this action is a reinforcement in the volunteer of the anti-DWI theme, while its primary deterrence function is served: new offenses are inhibited, recidivism is reduced.

CONCLUSIONS

DRINKING BEHAVIOR

Basic drinking patterns and attitudes are largely confirmatory of the previous round of research. Observed behavioral characteristics for the core target group generally follow the pattern established in the Framingham groups, as follows.

Young drinkers drink to get drunk.

- "I drink to have a good time and get drunk."

As drinkers get older, they admit to drinking to get drunk when they were young, but increasingly with age they deny doing so currently. Virtually all of the men over 25 years of age claimed that they used to drink to get drunk but that they have "moved on". One man stated this theme succinctly.

- "I think people in our age group have a little better handle on life. They've already experienced
- going out and getting so drunk that they are wasted. That's no fun, and we know it now."

In fact, the older groups claim that one of their activities while drinking is to observe the younger drinkers:

- "I go to see how crazy people can get."

Drinking is used as a way to both alter reality and to provide a way to deal with it.

- "If I'm in a good mood, I feel better when I drink. If I'm in a bad mood, it just makes me worse."

The youngest men see drinking as a way to express their new found independence and what they perceived as their maturity.

Drinking occurs almost exclusively with male peers at the early ages (21-25), although they claim that the object of drinking is to gain the courage to meet girls. The richness of comments about meeting girls is evidence of its importance as a criterion for drinking.

- "It makes you brave enough to go up to some girls"
- "It loosens you up. It makes it easier to talk to people."
- "Girls make you drink faster because you strap on courage. If you're nervous about meeting girls, it gives you the courage to talk to them."

There is little ability to differentiate a mood for drinking. When asked to state the best mood for drinking, the prime target group (21-25) talks only about the situation. The situation seems to require two characteristics -- conducive to drinking (defined by the drinker) and an atmosphere where they will not be threatened, especially by driving and police.

- "It's more the atmosphere -- pool tables, friends around, women there"
- "Good rock and roll music and bright neon lights"
- "A place where I can play pool and show off."
- "It could be any mood because I drink every day, so the mood depends on what you're doing that night."

Thus, for young drinkers, the drinking mood is driven by the environment, not by any internal need to address one's own mood as takes place among older drinkers. In other words, the bar or party has its own mood which the drinker adopts. Generally, the mood is upbeat, relaxed and happy.

Drinking is usually done at local bars and taverns, or at friends' houses. In fact, among older drinkers, there is some resistance to have people drinking at one's own home, because of recognition of potential negative consequences.

- "I think you can drink anywhere, as long as it's not your own house. People will tear your house up."

Choice of bars is driven by atmosphere (light level, "party-ness", music), cost of drinks/offering of specials and promotions and familiarity.

- "A place that has 10 cent beers."
- "Loud, with lots of music"
- "Lots of laughing"

- "People are loose"
- "I like it quiet and intimate sometimes."

Interestingly, few cite proximity to a safe haven as a criterion for selection, although they refer to safety as a benefit of the place they choose. Several said later that they drink at places that are close to home or that are close enough to a friend's house so they can "sleep it off" if necessary. Thus, while driving safety is not a primary criterion for drinking venue, its importance can be increased because awareness exists on a secondary level. In other words, the need exists, but they are not aware of it.

- "A place where you don't have to worry about whether you're going to get arrested if you get drunk."
- "A place where I can sit for a while, cop a buzz, and not have to worry about driving home 20 minutes after I'm blitzed."
- "Sometimes you don't drive home. Sometimes you drive a little bit and either sleep it off, or you go to a friend who lives close by and stay there. Or if you have enough money left, you can get a cheap motel room."

Homes are seen consciously as "safer" places to drink because they provide a place to stay if one drinks too much. This, by itself, is evidence that they recognize the dangers of driving after drinking and would welcome an acceptable alternative. This attitude is confirmed in later discussions of potential influencers and deterrents.

Typical responses include:

- "I like to drink at home with friends, because if you get too messed up and you don't know what you're doing — you're home."
- "You don't have to worry about getting home."

DRIVING AFTER DRINKING

Similarly, the primary attitudes towards driving after drinking confirm previous findings. While they recognize the dangers, they feel that they know how to drive after drinking and the circumstances under which driving will be safe.

- "We've done it more (than younger people), so we're better at it. I've driven more than some youngster has. It's a new thing for them. You just pay attention to driving. But some kid will try to show off."
- "It's not a problem unless you're one of those chronic drinkers."
- "I don't really believe in drinking and driving, but I do it."
- "I can't drive when I'm whiskey drunk, but when I'm beer drunk I can drive: I just put both hands on the wheel and concentrate, and I'm OK."

They tend to excuse the danger of driving while intoxicated by shifting the focus.

- "I've seen sober people who can't drive."
- "When I'm driving drunk, it's 2:30 or 3:00 in the morning. There's nobody else on the road, so it's safe."
- "When you're drunk, you're more relaxed. So if you hit something, there's a better chance of hurting the other person or vehicle, than there is of hurting yourself."

- "I'd rather have convicted drunk drivers out there, than some other people out there now."
- "What's the sense of putting drunk drivers behind bars and letting drug dealers go free?"
- "I'd rather pass somebody on the freeway who's been drinking, than pass some dude with a gun."

They use some rather crude self-tests to convince themselves that they are not impaired.

- "If you can see what you're doing."
- "If you can concentrate"
- "If you can't walk to your car, you shouldn't drive."
- "Walking to your car tells you everything. If you get there and start fumbling with the keys, that tells you pretty much everything."
- "If I can't unlock the door, I can't drive."

They use specific driving techniques to prevent them from being stopped by police.

- "Close one eye, to avoid double vision."
- "I keep my arm on the door rest to steady my arm."
- "I slap myself, to stay awake."
- "Play the radio loud, sing along to stay awake."
- "Smoke a cigar."
- "I drive on the median strip, so I hit the bumps. It keeps me awake."

They recognize the risk of accidents, but they believe that focus and concentration can substantially reduce or eliminate the risk. Estimates of risk of accident range from 0% to about 40%, but they all believe that circumstances can change the probabilities, especially if others are with them.

- "If I'm by myself, the chances increase by 10-20%, but if I'm with friends chances of getting into a wreck are slim."
- "If you have people in the car with you, you'll be more careful because you're responsible."
- "Sure I think about it. But I say 'OK, I got to drive. You are all going to have to help me out. Make sure there's no cops behind me. Keep me going straight, not swerving.'"
- "I tell everybody in the car to watch my speed."

Few make plans to avoid driving, but those who do so, do it infrequently and with only mixed results ..

- "I was at a concert one time and handed my keys to my brother-in-law and told him I was going to get drunk and he'd have to drive home. Then he got so drunk he fell in the pool. I learned from that, that you don't give the keys to nobody."
- "We may not have a designated driver, but we have a designated light drinker, So if I was falling down drunk, they'd still have their senses."
- "Sometimes I'll take on the responsibility, just by myself. Instead of having 3 or 4 beers an hour, I'll drop to 2."
- "If I have to wake up early (the next day), I'll set my (internal) alarm so I stop at a certain time. I'll stay, but I'll start drinking water."

One man, who appeared genuinely concerned about the risk of accident, drives after drinking only to a point where he has a safe haven before driving home. He said:

- "I usually go to (a restaurant) after I drink and stay there for an hour or an hour and a half. I drink coffee and eat. Even if I'm not sure I'm that intoxicated, I'll do it just in case. Let all the people who are drunk get home. Then I'll go."

Their primary fear is not accidents, but arrest and conviction. They convey that they are aware of, and take certain steps (noted above) to avoid, the dangers of driving after drinking. In doing so, they are repressing their fear of accidents, as part of their characteristic invincibility. On the surface, they deny that accidents are fearsome, but subconsciously they do indeed fear such accidents.

- "I just drive."
- "I don't (want to) think about it."
- "I'll drive if I have to. But if somebody else is willing to drive, let them take the risk (of getting stopped)."

Communication of their fears probably would be ineffective in controlling their driving behavior. Under normal consumer psychology, communication of their prime fear should raise its awareness and move them to avoid the risk. With this group, there probably would be a reversal of this axiom: communication of their primary fear will likely act to move them further away from the desired behavior rather than towards it, because of their characteristic rebellious response to authority and their aura of invincibility which they must maintain for their peers. Thus, any communication perceived as admonishment or as authoritarian in tone would probably be ineffective.

Several focus group participants had been in drunk driving crashes, several had known people who had been hurt or killed, and several had been arrested (one man 7 times). Several related probably apocryphal horror stories about drunk drivers.

They recognize the dangers of driving after drinking whether they are driving or just passengers in the car. Fewer recognize the danger (or are willing to admit that they recognize it) prior to getting into the car.

- "I've told someone who's driving that they're doing a bad job of it; so I drive, even though I've been drinking."
- "We were driving down the road. He was swerving. I say, 'Hey man, want me to drive?' He says, 'If you think you can do better than I am'. I say 'move over' and I drive home."

The vast majority, however, continue to drive after drinking and dismiss the lore and the mishaps -- convinced that they are less drunk than legal tests might show.

Driving after drinking simultaneously constitutes:

a readily-accepted challenge and an expression of their own abilities to be independent and cope with difficult situations, and

- a statement of the inappropriateness of the law (which according to several, is merely "designed for the worst case scenario, stupid people, not for me").

Although several had been in alcohol-related accidents, they tended to blame the situation or their own lack of skill, rather than the alcohol. Typical comments include:

- "I should have paid more attention to what I was doing."
- "I should have known I couldn't fit into that space."
- "As I thought about it afterwards, I could have died. I was scared to go near a car for a long time, but I got over it. Now I'm back to driving after drinking -- no problem."
- "It was a judgment error on my part. I learned from it; so I just don't drive that fast anymore."
- "That was a while ago. I'm much more responsible now that I'm 22."

The perceived invincibility of the drunk driver was stated succinctly by one 23 year old:

- "When you're driving, you lose all your nervousness and you're relaxed. It all fits in if you think about it. You're selfish, you don't think about the world or reality. You're not afraid of nothin'."

Moreover, their confidence grows as their own experience grows (i.e., no crashes, no arrests), to the point where they become convinced that drunk driving requires skill, but is not dangerous – either in producing injuries or in getting arrested.

- "I thought about it (after the accident). But I still do it."
- "I think about it when I'm sober, but when I'm out in that situation, I don't think about it at all."
- "When you're drunk, nothin' can hurt you."
- "I try not to think about it before I get in the car. If you think about getting in a wreck, chances are you might. The chances are increased."
- "If you think in the back of your mind 'Hey, I might hurt somebody', you totally dismiss the thought."

There seems to be a greater tendency in this geographic area, however, for the target group to state (though not heed) the dangers of over-drinking and driving after drinking. Young men in the Northeast had a clear attitude of invincibility and abided nothing antithetical to that attitude. The young men in Texas, however, while clearly possessing the same attitude, also seemed to recognize their own responsibilities as well as the dangers and consequences, even though they felt that they were immune.

- "They're concerned about our personal safety too, though; there's all them statistics behind it."

This is not to say that this age group's characteristic fierce independence did not exist among the Texans. To the contrary, in some cases, this feeling is demonstrated vehemently – to the point where some admit that they will engage in anti-social behavior simply because it is anti-social. (This was almost a violent rebellion, going beyond mere rebellion against parental or other authority.)

- "I don't respect anybody who tells me what I've got to do. Them saying you can't drink and drive is like them saying you can't go out and buy (liquor)."
- "If you tell me not to walk out that door, you can be damn sure I'm going to walk out that door."

In other cases, peculiar to this part of the country, they see any laws regulating personal actions (whether to control anti-social behavior or not) as infringements on their Constitutional rights. So their own characteristic independence is combined with the independence of the region. Any personal anger added to this volatile mix (as seemed the case for several men) multiplies the potential for rebellious behavior, which would include driving while intoxicated.

- "They can't tell you when you can and can't drink. It's like having more parents."
- "If we make our own money and we want to spend it on alcohol, we should have the right to do that."

They see "the problem" of DWI as traceable to "young kids" (i.e., 16-21), not to themselves.

They have confidence in their own abilities to drive after drinking (although a few recognize that they can't under certain circumstances and don't). Like the Boston men, they feel that young drinkers just don't know how to drive, while they do.

- "If you're a young punk, you'll get into an accident 99 out of 100 times. But people can condition themselves to learn to drive drunk, because they have been doing it for so long."

As in the Northeast, driving after drinking is related strongly to the need to get "home". Home represents security; it is the place from which one needs to leave for work the next day; it is a place where one can safely sleep off the effects of excessive drinking.

- "You gotta get home. There's no choice."
- "You can't fly, you can't walk, you have to drive."
- "When you're driving drunk, you're not thinking about hurting other people. You're just thinking about getting home. It's kind of selfish, but..."
- "You have a homebound instinct. You just keep going, even if you run into something. Nothing's going to stop you."
- "It's a safe place. Once you get home, you know you're OK."

This confirms the strength of this destination as the "door" through which these men can escape back to the real world. Some report trying to drive "home", but realizing that they can't, sleep in their cars by the roadside or go to a friend's house.

INFLUENCERS

Because they are aware of the risks (even though many will admit the risks only grudgingly), they worry about driving and seem to want to be relieved of the "responsibility". Virtually all had experienced, at one time or another, another person trying to convince them not to drive. Several had even invited a non-drinker along so that they (the drinker) would not have to drive.

- "My buddy conned his old lady (wife) into going with us. She kept us on the straight and narrow path. And we told her she's going to drive because we know we'll get too blitzed to drive."
- "If you're with someone who just gets high, not drunk -- I'll let them drive anytime."
- "If there's someone else who can drive, I'm more than willing to let them. But it doesn't always work out that way. As a matter of fact I'm all for it. I'd rather sit back drinking beer and not have to worry about driving."

Many had been convinced at some time not to drive. The primary method used by the influencer was removal of keys, but all who said their keys had been taken told of voluntarily relinquishing them.

On the other hand, many had also taken the keys of friends whom they judged to be unable to drive. In the situations where the friend was able to respond, the keys had to be taken by force.

- "I had to threaten to hit him."
- "I said 'I'm driving'. He said OK because he was doing the sideways surf."
- "I've had to hit a friend in order to get the keys away. But I'd rather have him not like me for punching him than have him get in a wreck."

Most of the younger men reject any organized (i.e., legal, governmental, social organizations, etc.) attempt to stop them from driving after drinking. They believe that if any persuasion is going to take place it will have to occur on a personal basis, not on the basis of a mass attempt to convince them as a group. It is instructive to look in detail at verbatim responses to the question of how to convince people not to drive after drinking. (Note that they provided these responses about "the people out there who can't hold their alcohol".)

- "Show them wrecks and dead people."
- "I don't think there is a good way."
- "Talk about their family or their kids. Tell them about something they're going to miss if they die in a wreck. Tell them they're not going to see their kid smile tomorrow."
- "Experience will convince them, the experience of a wreck. People need something to kind of slap them in the face. Then they'll wake up."
- "Nothing can help. If they want to do it, they will."
- "A dead family member would convince them."
- "For most people, nobody will succeed. If everybody in this room is like me, when somebody tries to convince me, I'm going to try to prove them wrong."

They do not believe (with some exceptions) that current legal ramifications are effective. Driving without a license is rampant. Fines, jail and the like are ineffective to people whose minds focus only on the present, not at all on the future -- on resolving the current problem, not on the implications of the problem.

- "When I got my first DWI, they just tried to scare the s ___ out of me. That just pushed me further away. That's my attitude."
- "I got out of jail in 3 hours. They try to make it a big deal when, really, in the long run, all you do is pay them money. That's all it's about. I'm sure someone out there is concerned about people's well-being, but as far as the law goes -- all it is is money."

Yet, some appear genuinely torn between the need to act out with their peers and the responsibility they know they should have.

- "My lawyer said that 20 years ago all you got was a slap on the wrist. Now there's MADD. It's mind-boggling how many people get killed in these accidents. You could have done it, but now these mothers are in the way. What they're doing is right, but it's still not going to stop anybody. It might make the penalties worse, though."

Many referred to the car as an influential device. This is similar to the Boston groups in which the car was seen as an extension of themselves -- for the youngest men, virtually their only method of expressing their independence.

- "Talk to them about their great car and the possibility of getting into a wreck."
- "You like your car, but you don't realize how much you like it until after it's gone."

- "I like my car, so somebody talking to me about my car in a wreck would be about the only way I'd give up my keys."

"The police" were potentially the most persuasive influencer presented to the groups (in a list with several family members and various authority figures). This reflects the young men's greater concern with arrest than with accidents. They understood, however, that police would not be able to convince them not to get into the car, but rather would be able to stop them from driving once they had started.

Girlfriends were reported to have significant influence, from two viewpoints: they drink less and are therefore better able to drive; and the young men seem more easily accepting of a girlfriend's demand that they not drive. (None will fight with a woman over the keys being taken, but several have fought with a man over the same act.)

- "If I was with my girlfriend, I'd be a lot more careful about the chances I took with her."
- "My girlfriend could convince me – not that I'm going to cower down to a woman or anything. Just her sweet-talking me into not driving would work. It's the softness that works. If you tell me not to do something, I'm going to do it. But if I'm convinced not to do something, I won't."

Several reported having allowed their girlfriends to drive on more than one occasion, and of taking along a girlfriend or wife so that she could "keep them on the straight and narrow and then drive home".

The concept of the "Good Samaritan" may also be useful in influencing potential DWI occurrences among these men. Several older respondents reported having seen younger people too drunk to drive and helping them to get home. They reported feeling good about themselves in having done those good deeds. Even younger (26-30) men reported helping people whom they recognized as being in trouble because of trying to drive after drinking too much.

The act of helping someone, whether the helper is drunk or not, appears to be a powerful and memorable emotion, one which could be retained to reinforce the dangers of driving after drinking.

The Samaritan stories related by the men in these groups were almost universally about helping a "girl". Interestingly, the men reported responding to the influence of a girl in their own accessions to influence.

Thus, a key to this influence medium may be the interference of a member of the opposite sex. Even one fiercely (almost violently) masculine respondent said:

- "It's not like I'd knuckle under to a woman or nothing; it's just that I didn't want to fight."

However, the concept of Samaritan as influencer can not be institutionalized because it will then represent "authority". It would seem possible, however, to convince drinkers that they can and should help others when they see potential trouble involving driving. Whether they actually do it or not, the idea is an acceptable (non-authoritarian) communication of the dangers of drunk driving. This is a logical expansion of existing communications – from helping friends not to drive drunk, to helping strangers not to drive drunk.

DETERRENTS

As in the prior groups, preventive deterrents seem to hold substantially more promise for effective control than do punitive measures. Penalties do not work for several reasons:

- a) all penalties supported in law represent targets for expressions of the independence/rebellion of the youngest drinkers -- virtual gauntlets which they are being dared to accept
- b) monetary penalties are seen as temporary inconveniences to the youngest drinkers, primarily because they represent merely another expense to people whose income is almost entirely discretionary
- c) privilege suspensions (driving, or the actual car) are seen as defeatable and ineffective.

The exceptions, of course, were the penalties so harsh (and probably impractical to implement) that young men would not take the risk of incurring them. These included long-term mandatory jail sentences, increases in roadblocks, heavy fines, car impounding, etc.

They also felt that the heavy-handed tactics that they themselves have used to prevent others from driving -- flattening tires, hiding keys, fighting -- would also work, but only on a case by case basis, with no long-term effect.

More positive response was seen for the more passive deterrents -- breathalyzers in bars, bus service, taxis, etc. They even suggested a driving simulator video game designed to test driving abilities and to inform the drinker whether he could drive or not.

AGE GROUP DIFFERENCES

There are clear attitudinal and behavioral differences exhibited by the three age groups studied. By and large, the older the men become, the more they seem to recognize the risks of excessive drinking and driving after drinking and the less they are willing to assume those risks.

As men age, their positive response to punitive deterrents increases. This reflects their increasingly complex lives and multiplying responsibilities. As they age they seem to understand that their jobs, their incomes and other peoples' lives can be affected by their driving behavior.

Younger men, by contrast are far more self-centered in their views, believing their driving behavior is a matter of their own choice and does not affect others or even other parts of their own lives. For example, they believe that there is no problem driving home after a night of heavy drinking, going to work the next morning and performing just as well in their jobs as they would without drinking.

The youngest men, 21-25 year olds, respond to peer pressure and drink for the effects of drinking: they want to get "buzzed" so they can meet women and demonstrate their "maturity" to the women, to themselves, and to their own peers.

The men aged 26-30 say they used to drink to get drunk, but claim now that they drink because it enhances sociability: conversation, being with friends.

The oldest men interviewed (31-35) claim that they have completely outgrown drinking to get drunk and that they rarely if ever become intoxicated: they claim they drink now only occasionally and then only small non-intoxicating amounts.

These differences in attitudes towards drinking extend to attitudes towards driving after drinking. The youngest men claim they do it now and will continue to do it because they know how. The 26-30 year olds claim they can do it, but have outgrown taking chances because their lives have changed and their responsibilities have increased. The oldest men are almost righteous in disclaiming any driving while intoxicated and in their criticism of those who do. (One man said that the solution to DWI was to start training children not to drink alcohol. Interestingly, this is close to the opinions expressed by several older Beech Hill respondents in the first phase of research. The commonality suggests that either age or conviction or both produces the required understanding of the realities of the risk.)

In spite of the denials, all three groups contained a substantial majority of men who continue to drive drunk. The behavior may not occur as frequently as previously among the older men, but they still do it. The major difference is that the older one gets, the less risk they are willing to assume.

If the new communications program is to be optimally effective, its message will need to be relevant to all members of the target; that is, the message will need to address all of the target's attitudes and beliefs. Therefore, the variation in beliefs that may exist (subject to confirmation) will need to be addressed in designing the program. This can be accomplished either by narrowing the target so that the message is cohesive, or by ensuring that messages encompass the full scope of attitudes held by all sub-groups of the overall target.

GEOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES

Unlike the Northeast, where beer was not only the most frequent drink, but also the drink of choice, the older Texas men tended more to name whiskey drinks (particularly Crown Royal) as their favorites while beer was their most frequent drink. The difference is explained by cost.

The legendary fierce independence among Texans is demonstrated in these men's attitudes. In Texas, fierce independence seems to be more than a transient attitude among young men. Most believe sincerely that their rights are being violated when government attempts to control anti-social behavior. Several cited seat belt laws as violations of civil rights. (It is suspected that helmet laws -- both motorcycle and bicycle -- smoking bans, full package labeling and the like, would be viewed similarly.)

Both the initial and the current waves of research indicate that preventive deterrents would probably be more effective than deterrents involving increased penalties, because they allow the independent attitude of these men to be exercised. In Texas, this will be even more important in effecting a solution because the region seems to possess its own independence. Thus, "independence" is almost an institutionalized personality and would be very difficult to alter.

IMPORTANT NOTE: The focus group reports should be read as a research series (Reports 1-7). Taking findings out of context from individual reports may lead to inappropriate conclusions.

**EXPLORATORY RESEARCH
ON POTENTIAL DETERRENTS TO DWI**

Focus Group Report #3

Prepared for
Harvard School of Public Health

Prepared by
Werby Marketing

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BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

Under a grant from the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, the Harvard University School of Public Health is exploring a new target for DWI deterrents and communications. This target is described as blue collar males, 21-34 years of age.

Prior to developing actual deterrents and communications concepts against this target, it was felt appropriate to explore the target's current drinking behavior and existing attitudes.

Prior exploratory research was conducted among young blue collar males in the Boston area in July, 1993. Several core ideas for development of communications and deterrents were uncovered in these sessions. It was recognized, however, that geographic diversity could produce different communications directions and/or intensities of response.

The exploration of geographic differences was explored initially in Fort Worth Texas in late-August and continues with this set of groups in the Midwest.

The specific objective of the research reported herein was to explore the drinking behavior and attitudes of young blue collar males in the Davenport, Iowa area, with particular emphasis on the potential for interveners to change the behavior patterns of men who drive after drinking.

METHOD

Four focus group interviews were conducted in Davenport Iowa in early November, 1993.

Each group comprised 8 men, who qualified as follows:

- White males
 - 21-35 years of age
 - . 2 groups among 21-25 year olds
 - . 1 group among 26-30 year olds
 - . 1 groups among 31-35 year olds
- Blue collar occupations
- Drink alcohol beverages in bars or taverns at least once a week
- Have driven a car after having consumed 5 or more beers on at least one drinking occasion during the past year
- Believe that they can drive safely after consuming 5 or more beers
- Possess a set of attitudes that position them as attitudinally appropriate (See screening questionnaire at end of this report.)

Topics in the 2 sets of prior sessions were comprehensive in covering a range of relevant topics – general drinking attitudes, driving after drinking, the roles of possible influencers and potential deterrents. In this set of groups, discussions intentionally focused more on the role of influencers in the decision to drive after drinking.

A detailed topic guide can be found at the end of this report.

A WORD OF CAUTION

The findings, conclusions, implications and hypotheses presented in this report are based on qualitative research.

Samples for qualitative research are generally small and are neither representative of nor projectable to a larger group of the population. In addition, because the primary goal of qualitative research is to obtain information in-depth, the questioning, techniques and wording can vary from group to group or from respondent to respondent, in order to maximize the amount of information obtained and to ensure that the questioning is tailored to each group's/respondent's needs and abilities.

Therefore, findings reported herein should be viewed with caution; conclusions, implications and hypotheses should be used as starting points for additional thinking on the particular subject or issue.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

1. The credibility of the intervener determines the effectiveness of the intervention. Girlfriends will be most credible because they previously will have demonstrated their caring for the individual. Friends who are credible will be so because they are familiar enough with the drinker (in the drinker's mind) to know whether or not he can or should be driving. Admonitions by people who have not previously established credibility with the young drinkers are likely to have little influence over their driving, because they will be seen as self-appointed authorities trying to control the drinker's life -- less concerned about the drinker than about control of someone else. This is the precise attitude which is the source of rebellion in this age group.

Parents and bartenders (the other two potential interveners discussed at some length in these groups) do not have inherent credibility to young drinkers unless it has been established previously. A bartender will be influential only to a drinker who is a "regular". Otherwise, the bartender is not believed because his real motive is thought to be to sell drinks; his cautionary statement, therefore, is perceived as vacant. Parents, by and large, are seen as authoritarians by the key target group, and not as people who understand the drinker; their cautionary statements therefore are generally ineffective.

2. The primary target group (21-25 year old men) sees their girlfriends (or other significant females in their lives) to be the major potential influence in convincing them not to drive after drinking. The requisite credibility has been demonstrated by care for the individual and by the men's perception that a girlfriend "knows me when I'm drunk". Their potential as effective interveners at the time of the driving decision traces to the combination of 3 facts: a) women are frequently part of the drinking group, b) the women are unlikely to be as intoxicated as the men in the group (a fact which the men recognize), and c) men are willing to relinquish their machismo if a woman asks them to do so. (In fact, acquiescence to a woman's wishes is seen as a *part* of machismo.) These facts can combine to produce a believable admonition to not drive. Men seem to give themselves permission to believe a woman who persuades (not tells) them not to drive.

3. Friends are also important in this age group as potential influencers, although the kind of friend will determine the amount of influence wielded. If a friend is "close", drinkers would be likely to listen to admonitions not to drive. If a friend is merely an acquaintance, however, the likelihood is that he would be unable to influence the driving decision (and may, in fact, actually promote driving because of the

rebellious response to a warning from someone who is not respected -- not credible). Since men report that many drinking occasions include friends who are not considered "close", friends, as a group, are less likely to be effective interveners.

4. Credibility seems to have played a major role, however, in the one group of key target men who thought that parents could be influential in their decision not to drive. Some men in this group claimed close relationships with their parents, although the relationship seemed somewhat idealized as compared to how they really felt about their own parents.

They described this relationship by saying that they did not feel they were being told what to do, but merely advised. Thus, parents can be credible, and if they are, they can be influential in the decision not to drive. A non-rebellious relationship with parents among this age group, of course, is rare, but this observation (even though it is based on an idealized, not a real, relationship) demonstrates that credibility, not just the role of the intervener in the drinker's life, determines the potential effectiveness of the influencer.

5. As drinkers get older, as seen in the groups conducted among 26-30 year olds and 31-35 year olds, significant females may become less singularly important as potential interveners. Instead, as the drinkers' lives become more pluralistic, the potential influencer also becomes pluralistic; the intervener can be anyone who has the ability to be believed by the drinker: parents and bartenders (among the interveners we discussed) may increase in importance. Men become more able to recognize and accept advice and assistance than when they are younger. Thus, belief or disbelief becomes determined less by the drinker's perceived credibility of the intervener (as among 21-25 year olds), than by what is being said; so, reaction to the advice not to drive is determined less by rebelliousness than by rationality (to the extent that rationality is possible when intoxicated).

This is not to say that as every man ages, he will begin to accept the advice of others. Even in the older groups interviewed, there were some men who continued to carry the rebellion and fierce independence that is characteristic of men 10-15 years younger. Those men were not only less likely to be influenced by others, they were also more likely to defend their driving after drinking by saying they "know how to do it". Therefore, the influencer that likely would be most effective for these men is the influencer likely to be most effective for the 21-25 year olds -- girlfriends.

6. The potential of Samaritans to influence drinkers, especially young drinkers, seems limited, even though previous research hypothesized that a Samaritan-based program might hold promise. While the prime deterrent to their effectiveness is the perceived potential for violence and/or crime, Samaritans also lack the requisite credibility (due to their inability to know or care about the drinker). Thus, intervention by a stranger is perceived as unwarranted interference.

CONCLUSIONS

DRINKING BEHAVIOR

Several Characteristics noted in previous groups are confirmed in these groups.

1. As shown in previous research and confirmed in this series of interviews, drinking among the primary target -- 21-25 year old blue collar males -- takes place in a tight peer group which is usually composed of the same people each time.

2. One of the primary results of engaging in drinking (and its most frequently mentioned purpose) is "to meet girls", even though upon additional probing, they admit that there are as many occasions in which they drink just to get drunk as there are occasions in which they meet girls. Thus, the drinking occasion is an opportunity for bonding -- whether that bonding results in meeting girls or not probably doesn't matter. The bonding takes place nonetheless.
3. They believe that drink produces the courage to meet girls.
4. Drinking is a social activity.
5. They see the bad side of drinking to include hangovers, fights and being stopped (while driving). For some, DWI arrest is mentioned only after the physical effects on the drinker. For others, arrest is the first-mentioned negative. This priority of mention may relate to whether or not they have been arrested previously. (About half of the men who participated in the groups reported they had been arrested, though not necessarily convicted, at least once for DWI.) Previous research has suggested that convicted drivers are at least more aware of the financial consequences, if not of the potential risk for bodily harm.

B. In Iowa, and especially among older men -- whose lives are more complex than those of the younger target members -- small towns and farming communities are the canvas on which a somewhat different drinking scene is painted, compared to men in larger cities.

The local taverns in small towns are men's central meeting places. They replace the Town Hall as a place where local issues are discussed. The tavern is the center of social activities in these communities. Thus, one does not need to form drinking groups beforehand in order to have a group with which to drink. The camaraderie is open and available because of the local nature of the tavern.

- "You can always go to the tavern and know somebody when you walk in. It's just like Cheers."

This is not to characterize these men as not having their own drinking groups. On the contrary, they profess to belong to these groups as much as do Texas and Massachusetts men. And even among the older men, there are still those who drink to get drunk, while most of their contemporaries claim more temperate lives.

Generally, however, Iowa's older men, whose lives tend to be agriculture-involved, if not agriculture-dependent, view drinking as a mere by-product of the socialization process which is facilitated by the tenor of the local tavern. Potential interveners in these communities, therefore, may be less actual members of a drinker's group than neighbors and acquaintances; this is significantly different from the larger cities in which interveners who are not members of a drinker's group have little probability of intervening effectively.

C. Women are not excluded from the peer group which engages in drinking, in spite of the fact that target men claim that they "go drinking with the guys" and that they go to drinking venues "to meet girls". Many of the drinking groups, in fact, include women on a frequent basis.

These women are not necessarily girlfriends and can include acquaintances. The youngest men seem to have an ambiguous attitude to women's inclusion in their drinking groups. On the one hand, they are viewed

as "part of the crowd" because they are frequently present. On the other hand, the youngest men (and even some of the older men), deny that they add to the festive mood.

Certainly, they recognize that the presence of women in the initial group works against their stated "meeting girls" purpose. They deal with this contradiction by stating the unimportance of women to the occasion and their inability to participate in the male activities that occur during the drinking occasion. The drinking occasion is still seen as a male activity and the women who are present are recognized only as non-men.

- "They can't play pool."
- "If they play darts, they miss the board."
- "They can't follow a man's conversation because all you're talking about is sports and cars."
- "They're just there."
- "They are the drivers."

On this basis, in the men's eyes, the women are unable to fully participate in this male bonding occasion -- a position which gives the women significant potential to affect the situation. This is discussed in detail in Section III, below.

DRINKING AND DRIVING

They believe that there is a (relatively short) waiting period after which driving can be done safely, regardless of the amount of alcohol consumed. They believe that if they don't drink for 1-1/2 to 2 hours, they can drive.

For the relatively few who actually make a decision about whether or not to drive, they recognize that judgment plays a major role in that decision; they do not recognize, however, that their own judgment to make that decision has been impaired.

- "It's a judgment call."
- "You're always saying 'maybe I should and maybe I shouldn't, but I don't want to leave my vehicle here. I won't be able to get to work in the morning. I don't trust someone else to drive it.'"
- "I can tell when I can drive and when I can't."
- "Everybody looks around the table and decides who's the soberest. It's the driver's decision. He'll hand the keys to someone who he wants to drive."
- "I knew by how I felt and how my friends acted towards me, that I was OK."
- "I said, 'Should I do this? I don't feel that bad. I can do it.'"
- "You know when you can't. There's a little guy in the back of your head, going 'Hey, don't do that.'"
- "You can drive when....
 - ...you've spread the drinks out."
 - ...you're not tired."
 - ...you've eaten something."

Most, however, do not make a decision to drive. They simply get into their cars and drive off.

- "You don't think about it. You just do it."
- "I just need to get home. So I went home."
- "I didn't decide at all. I just had to do it."
- "I had to. I had to be at work in the morning."

- "I didn't think about it."

3. Iowa men also seem to recognize more the primary reasons for the danger of DWI. (It is also possible that Texas and Massachusetts men recognized these elements, but were less willing to admit their awareness.)

- "I've done it before, but I really try not to."
- "I have a designated driver now. He's a recovering alcoholic. So I can get smashed and he drives. He's along all the time."
- "Somebody is always the soberest, that person becomes the driver."
- "You have slower reaction time."
- "You think you know how to drive when you don't."
- "It could be any of us tomorrow. Just because it hasn't happened to us yet doesn't mean it isn't going to happen to us."
- "Whenever I think I shouldn't drive, I'll just sleep in my vehicle for a couple of hours."
- "When you think, you don't think right."

Inability of some drinkers to admit recognition of the risk -- essentially a manifestation of the characteristic attitude of invincibility -- may have to be recognized by any potential intervener.

4. The idea of "getting home" continues to be highly involved in the driving situation. For some men, the need or desire to get home is a conscious reason for deciding to drive. For others, though, it seems to be a post facto excuse.

5. Except for extremely serious or fatal injuries, most say that being involved in alcohol-related accidents does not change attitudes towards driving after drinking.

- "If it's just a fender bender, or even a bad accident where the people walk away, it's just an 'Oops'."
- "I was almost passing out, so I was the passenger. My friend hit a wall and died. That's the reason I have a designated driver constantly. I like to drink."
- "I was 16. At the time, I thought it was pretty neat, because I walked away."

6. Iowa men agree that the risk they most fear is not accidents but getting caught, not because of the effect on their personal records, but because of the cost. The substantial cost of a conviction may have turned the fear of DWI from injury to cost. Thus, less attention is paid to alcohol-related accidents and more fearsome stories are generated by the cost of lawyers and fines and the potential for lost jobs.

While they recognize the accident risk, they have greater fear of the financial risk.

- "It's so damn easy to get a DUI conviction these days. And it's awfully costly."
- "That's the biggest worry."

Even the younger men, who talk dramatically, almost enjoyably, about accidents involving alcohol, speak far more seriously (soberly?) about the financial consequences of losing a job because of a DWI conviction.

POTENTIAL INTERVENERS

A. Women

1. The role of women in the drinking group suggests their potential to influence men, when driving after drinking becomes a possibility.

Women do not seem to be considered as an integral part of the drinking group, even though they have been present. Their lack of full integration means that they probably have enough credibility to exercise control, but have not participated so fully that they are seen as just as "bad" as the male drinker.

(Prior research showed that younger men know that they are engaging in antisocial behavior. The motivation to participate in this behavior is camaraderie. There is therefore a reticence to withdraw until the group agrees it is over. They also know that they want a road back to the real world. The women who are part of the drinking group can provide that road.)

So, in spite of the fact that they may reject the presence of women in their male bonding situation, men recognize that the women can both prevent them from going too far and prevent loss of camaraderie in the group. For example, a young man can use the excuse that his girlfriend wants to go home, in order to extricate himself from a situation which he believes is risky: he will not have lost "face" to his friends, but he will have withdrawn to more comfortable ground for himself. The woman provided the ability to do that.

The reason that the women can accomplish this task is that women's abilities to persuade are accepted by men. They are not viewed as demeaning to one's masculinity, nor threatening to one's independence. Being convinced of something by a woman is viewed, instead, as a part of being a man. They snicker together about the ability of women to convince men to do something. Recognition that women have these abilities thus becomes part of "male bonding".

In fact, women are facilitating this process now.

- "(I know that) if you're going to drink more than your limit, have someone else drive. Most of the time the women are the ones that don't drink, so they drive. I just go along for the ride."
2. There appear to be some criteria which define the women who are part of the peer group.

When men were asked the kinds of women who could be effective interveners, three characteristics are most frequently seen to be required. All three suggest that, in determining the potential for a successful intervention, respect for the female intervener may be at least as important as what is being said:

- a sincere and caring, down to earth attitude -- one worthy of respect
- good looks, prompting the unintended fantasies as a reason to accede to the woman's wishes
- familiarity with the drinker, which will give credibility to the admonition not to drive

Women who do not possess all three characteristics are unlikely to be effective interveners. Likely ineffective women were described as:

- "Snobby", "loudmouths", "airheads", "drags"

- "No common sense", "not in touch with reality"
- "Just as drunk as you"
- "One-nighters"

Men who would not be affected by the right woman's intervention were described in extremely negative terms.

- "stubborn"
- "Bull-headed"
- "Abusive, don't respect women"
- "Chauvinistic"

B. Friends

1. Friends are probably second level interveners, less effective than women, but more effective than parents or bartenders.

The major strength of friends as potential interveners is that they know the drinker. This produces a credibility in the cautionary statement which is the result of perception that the friend is trustworthy, caring and is familiar with the situation; this credibility makes the caution likely to be heeded. The primary weakness of friends as potential interveners is that they are likely to be at least as drunk as the drinker, a condition which severely dilutes the credibility they would otherwise have had.

2. Friends who are seen to be effective potential interveners were perceived as:

- "Close, see them often"
- "More sober than you, sober, non-drinkers"
- "Having a personality similar to yours, like you, someone who knows your habits when drinking"
- "Someone who's been there, been arrested, believable, knowledgeable"
- "Caring, not demanding, sincere and open with you"

3. The primary characteristic of friends who would be *ineffective* interveners is that they are just as drunk as the drinker. This indicates that full participation in the drinking occasion negates one's potential to intervene.

C. Parents

1. Parents are unlikely to be effective interveners. The respect for parents (whether real or claimed) prompts some claimed respect for parents' cautions. However, parents as a group suffer from two limitations which severely inhibit their ability to influence driving after drinking.

First, their presence at the drinking occasion is infrequent, if ever. If they are at the drinking occasion, they are likely to be members of the group, not "above" it. Their membership in the group probably prohibits their ability to rise above the behavior mode and command enough respect to be listened to. Thus, parental admonitions to not drive would take place before drinking begins or after it is finished, neither of which are effective timing, according to the men interviewed.

Second, among the youngest men, parents are frequently the target of the rebellion being manifested by drinking. The drinking behavior is part of the pattern intended to express their independence from their parents. Rebellion against their authority is occurring among most of the youngest drinkers (and, to a lesser extent, in the older drinkers, as well). Thus, while the credibility of a parental caution against driving after drinking is understood on an intellectual level, it is unlikely to be heeded on a behavioral level.

2. Parents who are seen as potentially effective interveners have the characteristics of a fantasy parent -- almost an idealized parent:

- "Loving and understanding"
- "Not overly protective"
- "Parents who are more like friends"
- "Parents who use reverse psychology"

This idealization is clearly not a realistic view of their own parents, as demonstrated by the richness of response to the question of the kinds of parents who would not be effective interveners:

- "Alcoholics, drunks, drink themselves"
- "Over protective, think you can't do anything for yourself, overbearing, too strict, controlling"
- "Too sure of themselves, too set in the old days and not in touch, preaching, have the mentality that they're always right"
- It may be that men want parents to have the characteristics of effective interveners, but the reality is that their parents do not have that credibility.

3. Not coincidentally, men see parental cautions as being effective among men who are...

- "From close-knit families, have a good upbringing, have a good home life, communicate openly"
- "Respectful, trustworthy and open-minded"

...and ineffective among men who are:

- "Single-minded, set in their ways, unwilling to admit they're wrong, rebellious against parents"
- "People who never listened to their parents when growing up"
- "People who don't like parents telling me what to do" (the mixed grammar suggesting that the speaker identifies with this statement)
- "People with no responsibilities, from bad neighborhoods, from a lower social class"

Again, the strong descriptions of potentially ineffective parent interveners suggest that parents are unlikely to be able to serve this role (at least for this particular target of young adult men who are persistent drinking drivers).

D. Bartenders

1. Bartenders are least likely, of the 4 relationships discussed, to be effective interveners in the most dangerous situations. Their ineffectualness lies in the lack of credibility in their statement to stop drinking. It is seen to be insincere and patronizing, because their business is to sell drinks.

Men feel that lighter drinkers and women *would* listen to bartenders, but that men who get drunk would not, unless the drinker was well-known to the bartender (in other words, unless the bartender had the characteristics of a friend). It may be that female bartenders would have more credibility than male bartenders, but would probably have less credibility than women who are part of the drinker group.

2. Potentially effective bartenders are described as:

- "Friendly, sincere, caring, understanding"
- "Outgoing, talkative, likes people"
- "Knows the drinker"

The suggestion here is that bartenders have an idealized persona desired by the drinkers. Bartenders as effective interveners have many of the same characteristics as friends who would be effective interveners.

3. Bartenders, however, are unlikely to be able to intervene effectively because of the strong descriptions of bartenders who would *not* be effective. Particularly for younger drinkers, who may have been insulted or embarrassed by bartenders, they are not seen as "nice" people and therefore lack credibility.

Bartenders who are seen as ineffective interveners are described as:

- "Rude, obnoxious, smart ass"
- "Heavy drinkers, already drunk"
- "Treats people like they're nothing, big egos, commanding instead of understanding"
- "Uncaring, insincere"

FOCUS GROUP REPORT #3
DISCUSSION GUIDE

- I. Introductions and warm up (10 minutes)
- A. What a focus group is.
 - B. Need for complete and honest answers
 - C. Role of the moderator
 - D. (As appropriate) observers, mirror
 - E. Recording, assurance of privacy
 - F. Self introductions (name, hometown, demographics, occupation, hobbies or interests, favorite alcohol beverage)
- II. Drinking (10 minutes)
- A. What's fun about drinking? How does it make you feel?
 - B. Who do you usually drink with? Out of every 10 times you go drinking, how many are with just the guys. How often with wives or girlfriends along? How often with guys who are related to you -- like Dads, uncles, brothers-in-law and so forth?
 - C. Is there a bad side to drinking? What is it? What other bad sides are there? (Look for unaided mentions of driving/having to drive/ effect of driving on other people.)
- III. DWI (20 minutes)
- A. Now let's talk about driving after drinking
 - B. What's the biggest problem with driving after drinking? (getting hurt or getting caught?) Why?
 - C. Is it ever OK to drive after drinking alcohol? What circumstances make it OK?
PROBE FOR: situation, what you've been drinking, number consumed, alone or with others, distance to be driven, how you feel, time since last drink?
 - D. Being honest now, how many have ever driven after drinking when you knew you probably shouldn't have been behind the wheel? Think about the last time, and I'd like to know the circumstances. Tell me how you decided it was OK to drive? What was going through your mind?
 - E. How many of you have ever been involved, whether you were driving or not, in an accident involving alcohol. Tell me briefly about it. Did it change your attitude afterwards? Do you think about that time when you're driving?
- IV. Influencers (60 minutes)
- A. Has anyone ever tried to convince you not to drive? The last time someone tried to convince you not to drive
 - Where were you,
 - What were you drinking,
 - Who was it that tried to convince you,
 - What did they do,
 - Did it work?
 - Why or why not?
 - IF NO, Do you think that if it had been someone else, it might have worked?

- B. Have you ever tried to convince someone else not to drive? How did you do it? What did you say to convince that person not to drive? Did it work? Why do you think it worked/didn't work? If you had it to do over again, would you do anything different? What? Why?
- C. Think about the people out there who can't hold their alcohol and who drive anyway. Could somebody convince them not to drive? Who would that person be? Why do you think that would work? What would have to be said for those people to be convinced? In other words, what buttons would have to be pushed?
- D. If someone were able to be convinced not to drive, where would that convincing have to be done -- at the place where drinking is done (at the bar or club or party, etc.) or outside of where the drinking is done? Why?

IF IN DRINKING VENUE: When would that convincing have to be done -- at the time the drinker is getting ready to drive, before starting to drink, during drinking or some other time? Why then?

IF OUTSIDE DRINKING VENUE: Where? Why there? Why would it work there? What is the mind set of the drinker at that point that might convince him?

- E. EASEL As I told you, other groups have been talking about this subject. They have mentioned several people who might have different levels of influence in convincing people not to drive. I want to find out how influential you think each of those kinds of people could be in convincing people not to drive after drinking. Take a piece of paper and a pencil. As I mention each of these people, I want you to write down a grade from A to F on how influential you think they could be in convincing people not to drive after drinking too much.
ENSURE UNDERSTANDING.

Parents
Bartenders
Friends
Wives or girlfriends
A stranger who happens to be where the drinker is,
(at the bar, at a party, etc.)

FOR EACH POTENTIAL INFLUENCER:

What grade given?
Why that grade?
What kinds of people could _____ influence?
Why would those kinds of people be influenced by _____?
What would be said or done by _____ to convince those people?
Where would the convincing take place? Why there?

What do you think are the characteristics that would make _____ influential to some people? What is that person like?
What kinds of people would _____ not be able to influence?
Why would those kinds of people not be influenced by _____?
What do you think they would say or do that wouldn't work?
What do you think are the characteristics that would make _____ unable to influence some people? What is that person like?
Who's missing from the list we discussed, who might have some degree of influence in this area?

V. Final

(15 minutes)

- A. If you had to make a commercial about DWI, what would you say? What would you show? What would your main message be? How would your commercial be different from the commercials on TV now?
- B. IN WRITING: Complete this sentence in 5 words or less.
I'd think twice about driving after drinking if _____. Why said that?
- C. If you could tell people about drinking and driving what would you say?
1. What's the worst part of drinking and driving?
2. Who would you tell? Why them?
- D. IF NEGATIVE STATEMENT IN "C": If you'd say that, then why do you do it?

IMPORTANT NOTE: The focus group reports should be read as a research series (Reports 1-7). Taking findings out of context from individual reports may lead to inappropriate conclusions.

**EXPLORATORY RESEARCH AMONG
POTENTIAL DWI INTERVENERS**

Focus Group Report #4

Prepared for
Harvard School of Public Health

Prepared by
Werby Marketing

March, 1994

Prepared as part of the research project "Strategic Advertising Plans to Deter Drunk Driving," funded by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration under Agreement No. DTNH22-92-Y-0547. The insights, opinions and conclusions expressed in the reports are those of Werby Marketing, and may differ to some degree with those of the principal investigators or other co-investigators in the study, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

Under a grant from the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, the Harvard University School of Public Health is exploring strategies to reduce DWI incidents among a high-risk target: blue collar males, 21-29 years of age. A prime objective is to determine the identity of potential interveners and the circumstances under which intervention can be accomplished.

Prior exploratory research has been conducted among young blue collar males in Boston, Massachusetts, Dallas, Texas and Davenport, Iowa. The purpose of that research was to determine current attitudes towards driving after drinking and to determine the extent to which potential interveners would be accepted and therefore effective in changing behavior patterns of those target men. In fact, several core ideas for development of communications and deterrents were uncovered in those sessions. Moreover, the women in the target men's lives were identified as the interveners with greatest potential for effectiveness.

With a broad understanding of the target men, the project now turns to developing a full understanding of the attitudes and motivations of two potential intervener groups: the women in the lives of the target men and the high-risk drivers themselves. Against this goal, this pilot project explores these attitudes among the women, prior to broader exploration.

The purpose of this research, therefore, is to explore the attitudes of potential female interveners towards driving after drinking and towards acting as interveners, as well as to assess issues involved in communicating with these people.

METHOD

Two focus group interviews were conducted in Framingham, Massachusetts in late February, 1994. These 2 groups were intended as pilot research for the second phase of the NHTSA project.

Qualified respondents were defined as women who are girlfriends, fiancées or wives of men who have driven any distance after drinking 5 or more beers during the past year. The women did not currently attend college, and were employed either part time or full time. Their boyfriends, fiancées or husbands were blue collar workers who had not graduated from a 4 year college. The women drink with their male partners at bars or taverns at least 2 times in an average month (this criteria was included so that the women interviewed would be individuals with a known degree of opportunity to intervene, whether they chose to do so or not).

Topics in prior sessions were comprehensive in covering a range of relevant issues -- general drinking attitudes, driving after drinking, as well as the roles of possible influencers and potential deterrents. In this set of groups, discussions intentionally focused more on women's roles as interveners in men's decisions to drive after drinking.

A detailed topic guide is at the back of this report.

A WORD OF CAUTION

The findings, conclusions, implications and hypotheses presented in this report are based on qualitative research.

Samples for qualitative research are generally small and are neither representative of nor projectable to a larger group of the population. In addition, because the primary goal of qualitative research is to obtain information in-depth, the questioning, techniques and wording can vary from group to group or from respondent to respondent, in order to maximize the amount of information obtained and to ensure that the questioning is tailored to each group's/respondent's needs and abilities.

Therefore, findings reported herein should be viewed with caution; conclusions, implications and hypotheses should be used as starting points for additional thinking on the particular subject or issue.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Women seem more concerned about the safety hazards of driving after drinking, while the men were more concerned about getting caught. However, women seem to have the same notion as men that a "few" beers will not produce driving problems and believe in the same mitigating factors as the men: time between drinks, body weight, food consumption. They also are more willing to recognize the duality of problems with driving after drinking: the more serious problem of hurting or killing someone, the more immediate problem of getting caught.
2. The personality segment into which the 2 people fall is likely to determine the effectiveness and tenor of the intervention. Thus, there is the possibility of a clear segmentation in the intervention arena, based on the personalities of the intervener and the target, as shown below. Hypothetical segment descriptions are detailed later in this report.

	<u>MEN</u>	
<u>WOMEN</u>	<u>Stubborn</u>	<u>Resisting Yielding</u>
	"Straight Talkers"	
	"Negotiators"	
	"Postponers"	

Moreover, based on this pilot research, there is the possibility that personality factors can vary with marital status; that is, marital status can change one's segment (a man who is a "stubborn" before marriage may become less so upon engagement; a woman who is a "postponer" when single may become a "negotiator" when married). This can be explored as the project continues.

3. All of the women have intervened in potential DWI situations (several with other women). They dislike doing so, however, and therefore intervene only in situations where they are sure that a potential

problem exists. They all are torn between the rights of others to enjoy themselves and their own concerns about physical safety. The married and some of the engaged try (not always successfully) to address the problem before leaving for the drinking occasion; the singles tend to address it only when the problem is imminent, even if they know beforehand that it will occur. Regardless of their own experience, most seem to believe that trying to reason with all but the most placid of intoxicated men is difficult at best, impossible at worst.

4. In almost all cases (the exception being only the most self-confident of the women), they are reluctant to intervene because it has potential to be misconstrued as interference. This takes several forms: among the married, some want to avoid the arguments that they know will occur if the behavior is mentioned (even though apologies inevitably occur); among the engaged and singles, there is anxiety about appearing too controlling in front of friends and "rocking the boat" in their own personal relationship situations. In addition, those who are in difficult situations admit to becoming intimidated by men who sometimes resist intervention vehemently.

5. Deterrents used include driver-designation (which some of the women, unlike the majority of the men, report as effective) and -- when driving is imminent -- removal/hiding of keys, physical restraint, help from bartenders/bouncers, and delay of leave time to allow alcohol to metabolize and for food intake.

6. While all of the women dislike having to deal with their men driving after excessive drinking, the wives especially seem to feel that it puts a burden on them to be constantly "on duty" while the men don't have to worry about it. They resent having to be in charge; they feel they have to be in charge because the men are not.

7. Those who suspect (specifically admitted or not) that their men have drinking problems have developed conscious strategies to stay in control of the situations and to deal with the resulting potential for trouble -- including, but not limited to, driving after drinking; argumentativeness, and the potential for (at least) verbal abuse also exist. Primary strategies involve trading ego-satisfaction for control of driving.

8. Women also can have influence beyond their own male companions for the evening, since many drink as part of a group (of couples among the married, of friends among the singles). Some claim to have spoken to the wife/girlfriend of another man in the group, in order to force them to notice a potential behavior problem. They do not want to intervene directly with others because many see the behavior of others as "none of my business".

9. The PSA's shown to participants in these groups produced high emotional involvement. One woman said she cried when she first saw one. While most felt they were more effective than "Crashing Glasses", there was not full agreement that they would be effective in convincing women to intervene. However, use of real victims was seen as highly effective. There was the indication that the target message -- i.e., to intervene -- was not completely clear. Aside from clarifying target and message, suggestions for improvements involved showing victims' families, using voice-overs, implying that the person who intervenes could be saving a life, and depicting the debilitating physical conditions resulting from surviving DWI accidents. (Surviving a DWI accident with physical impairment may be more of a motivator than dying in one.)

The one most important hypothesis observed is the confirmation that women see themselves as the guardians of safety in these situations. While they don't want to do it, they recognize that they must. If

confirmed, then women will, indeed, be able to be convinced to intervene. New communications will need only to legitimize (i.e., remove the negative aspects of) behavior that is already occurring.

DETAILED FINDINGS

DRINKING PATTERNS

Women see virtually the same benefits to drinking as the men do.

- "It relaxes you"
- "Makes you feel good"
- "Loosens you up"
- "Makes you forget a stressful situation"
- "If you were shy before you started drinking, you're not afterwards."

Women seem able to know the point at which they should stop drinking. (This is not to say, however, that several of these women did not admit to excessive drinking on occasion.)

- "People tell you"
- "People stop talking to you"
- "You get obnoxious and loud. You can tell by other people's reactions."
- "You just feel it. You have that buzz."

They claim to drink with their boyfriends or husbands and rarely is there only the two of them drinking. Virtually all claim to drink with other couples (for the engaged and married) and with male and female friends (for singles), supporting the social aspects of drinking. This is in marked contrast to target men who initially claim to drink "with my buddies"; even though, when asked specifically, they will say that there are some/many drinking occasions in which the women in their lives are present.

[Note: Some of these differences may arise from the way questions were worded or understood in other focus groups. For instance, when men are asked about "drinking" they may be most inclined to focus on those occasions when they "go drinking," that is, the primary reason for the occasion is to drink in the company of (for the most part) male peers. This does not preclude the veracity of other focus group findings, which indicate that on many occasions when these same high-risk men are out socializing and are drinking, their female partners are present.]

Confirming responses among the men, women know that they are with their boyfriends/ fiancés/husbands less than all the times that the men are drinking. Significant differences are noted according to marital status. Single women claim they are with their boyfriends 5 or 6 out of every 10 times. Engaged women claim slightly more, while married women claim they are with their husbands about 8 out of every 10 times the men are drinking. In addition, several of the women claim that their men are not with them at all of their own drinking occasions.

When the women are present with their men at the drinking occasion, the mood can become contentious because the women will be thinking about the drive home -- a subject which can produce problems when the men are drinking. Some women simply accept the role of driver and drink accordingly.

"I'm the kind of person who likes to be in control, so I don't drink as much as my husband does. But I say to myself, why does he drink so much. Why can't he just have 2 -- like me?"

- "We just argue about who's going to drive home. Most of the time I'll drive."

When the men are drinking without the women present, most (but not all) women worry. They worry about fights and driving. The women who don't worry claim confidence in their boyfriend's ability to know when to stop, and trust that they will do so.

- "You just get very nervous."
- "...if he's smart enough to stop before he drives"
- "I don't worry about him. He'd just sleep someplace if he couldn't drive."
- "I end up staying awake. I'll go to bed but I'll be sleeping lightly just so I can hear that door open."
- "When he's with the guys, it's not the same as when he's with me. We've had discussions about when he goes out. He doesn't have to drive very far at all, but I worry. I don't know why he does it."
- "I've even called him at the bar and told him it's time to come home."
- "I worry about other people. I try to drive it into his head that it may not be you that gets hurt but some innocent person."
- "I'm not really worried about it because the guys normally go out together and they designate a driver."

The tone of some comments even suggest that they may feel guilty about worrying, as if worrying were a negative personality trait. They probably see it as only one step removed from nagging. This suggests the opportunity to reinforce worrying as a positive trait, which might move women to action by positioning worry as the precursor of change.

DRIVING AFTER DRINKING

On a spontaneous basis, only a minority say that the worst consequence of driving after drinking is hurting or killing someone. Of course, once this is mentioned, everyone agrees that it is the most serious problem. Thus, women seem to tacitly recognize a duality of problems -- getting caught is the most immediate problem while hurting someone is the more distant, yet more serious, problem.

Several respond initially by citing symptoms of driving difficulty caused by excessive drinking:

- "You can't see straight, your vision is blurred."
- "Your reactions are slow."
- "Not being able to stop."

Others talk about getting caught and its financial impact. Most think that their men believe that getting caught is the most serious problem -- a theory confirmed by the target men in previous groups.

- "Women are more conscious of the (implications) of hurting or killing somebody. The men are more conscious of getting caught. It's just a natural thing."
- "Getting caught is the problem because you pay a 6 year surcharge. You end up paying a \$5000 fine - it's just not worth it."
- "The driver is not thinking about hurting someone. They're more concerned about cops and that's what they're looking out for."
- "For my husband, the biggest problem is getting caught -- again."

Like the men, they recognize some situations that they claim lessen the dangers of driving after drinking.

- "After a couple of beers."
- "As long as you feel in control."
- "How much you've been drinking."
- "How far you have to drive."
- "How much time between drinks."
- "How much you ate."
- "How much you weigh."

When the women see a situation in which a drinker is about to drive, they feel fear -- fear for others if they are not a passenger, fear for themselves if they are ...

- "I think: 'God, I hope they make it home.'"

...and, apparently more frequently, they experience a frustrated anger:

- "Most of the time, you can't get these idiots not to drive."
- "I think about how stupid they are."
- "I get mad because they're not just taking their own lives into their hands, they're taking other people's lives too. And it's not responsible. If they're old enough to drink, they should be old enough to be responsible when they drink. I yell, scream, kick, throw (him) out of the house. But unless they're going to help themselves there's nothing you can do."

This reflects some frustration in their inability to stop what they know is dangerous behavior. They believe that the drivers do not think they are impaired.

- "They say 'I'm fine'."
- "It's just denial."
- "Stubbornness is what (differentiates) people who say they can drive from those who know they can't. They talk like a hero -- invincible."
- "They feel fearless."

INTERVENTION

While they recognize that others have the ability to persuade a potential drunk driver not to drive, they seem also to recognize that women can play a substantial role. While response counts are inappropriate for this kind of research, it should be noted that 6 out of 10 in each group *volunteered* that women intervene most of the time.

- "Friends"
- "Bouncers and bartenders."
- "Usually me" (much agreement)
- "In my circle of friends, it's pretty much the women who try to convince the men not to drive. I think it's a majority of the time that happens, no matter which circle of friends I'm with."
- "Every time I've been in a bar and I've seen a guy like that -- out of control -- there's always some girlfriend or friend that can calm him down and turn him into a pussycat in 2 minutes. Maybe they just feel safe with this person."

What they say to a potential drunk driver depends on their own personalities and on the personalities of the men they are dealing with. Effectiveness will vary with these two factors. A hypothetical segmentation of women and men might be as shown below. In this matrix, each box would represent a different result of an attempted intervention -- the product of the 2 interacting personality types.

	<u>MEN</u>		
	<u>Stubborn</u>	<u>Resisting</u>	<u>Yielding</u>
<u>WOMEN</u>			
	"Straight Talkers"		
	"Negotiators"		
	"Postponers"		

STRAIGHT TALKERS: women who are direct and straightforward in making known their feelings about and desire to avoid driving after drinking (self-described by one participant as a "control freak")

NEGOTIATORS: women who recognize the potential problem and act more indirectly or subtly (than "Straight Talkers") to address it, many with the strategies that they have developed to obtain positive results

POSTPONERS: women who deal with the problem (if ever) only when it becomes imminently dangerous, because of their inability to confront the men or their own fear of failing at such a confrontation

STUBBORN: men who refuse to accede to what they know is the correct behavior because of their own immaturity, images of masculinity, etc.

RESISTING: men who want to engage in the correct behavior, but for whom other motivations (masculinity, bonding rituals, etc.) mitigate the desire to participate in that behavior

YIELDING: men who want to engage in the correct behavior, and who respond readily to the suggestion that their own behavior requires change

The personality segment into which an individual falls is likely to vary with marital status; that is, marital status can change one's segment (a man who is a "stubborn" before marriage may become less so upon engagement; a woman who is a "postponer" when single may become a "negotiator" when married).

The women recognize the potential negative reactions to their intervention and recognize that not all men will react the same way to a woman intervening.

- "The last thing a man wants to hear is 'Nah,nah,nah' (nagging noises, finger shaking). Give me the keys! Don't you dare drive!' But if his friend says 'Hey man, you're too drunk to drive', he'll give up the keys in a second."
- "Nagging is embarrassing to them."
- "I don't think they like to feel so vulnerable that alcohol can get to them. And they certainly don't like to show their buddies that it has. So when a woman intervenes, it bothers them."
- "It's a macho thing."

Women use various techniques to convince men not to drive, using their own knowledge of how the man will react and how likely they are to be successful. They advise soft, not firm, approaches.

- "joking about it"
- "Be calm. Make light of it."
- "Make it sound like you're doing them a favor."

Obviously, the women's own personalities come into play -- as described above -- in determining what they say and do to intervene. The segments in play in each of these situations may be hypothesized:

- "If it's a close friend, you can say 'Hey give me the keys, let me drive. I'm fine and you're not.' But if it's somebody you don't know, you can't be that blunt."
- "If it's somebody you don't know well, or if your trying to convince him doesn't work, you speak to his friends and say 'See what you can do to get his keys.' Usually they'll listen."
- "Sometimes I'll tell them I'm not going to go with them and that will convince them. I say 'I'm not going anywhere with you until you sober up, so you'll just have to leave me here.'"
- "I usually try to take a soft approach. I say 'Don't you think it would be better if I drove, or leave the car here, or take a cab. If that doesn't work, I threaten that I won't go with them. Most give in and say 'I'm sick of listening to you.'"
- "I just say that 'if you want to drive, I'll call my father for a ride'. That works 9 out of 10 times. When he calls the next morning, I yell at him."
- "I took the keys and drove home without him. I just left him there. The next day, he knew I was right, so there were no consequences."
- "He usually thinks he can drive and I usually tell him he can't. And we have a fight. I left him once. He's apologetic afterwards, but it never gets resolved. It's an ongoing problem we have."
- "I just tell him he's not walking straight and not talking right and to let me drive. And he does."
- "I've intervened, but he's easy. He just grunts, 'OK'."
- "We end up yelling, taking a cab. I just insist. There's screaming, yelling, swearing."
- "I usually don't say anything until we get outside. If I say something in front of his friends, he gets really mad. But if I wait, there's no argument. I drive."

Most believe that intervention prior to the end of drinking would be ineffective.

- "It ruins the night"

- "It would just start a fight"
- "You go from a good time to a lousy time."
- "I've done it in the middle, but it's less effective because they have that euphoric alcohol feeling, so they don't want to stop the buzz. They just want more. Their excuse is 'It's only 9:00'"

They are also more likely to believe, however, that intervention needs to take place earlier rather than later, because of the difficulty of dealing with someone who is irrational. This is supported by the fact that women report men as contrite when sober, even after vehement argument about driving after drinking. Thus, they feel that the men recognize the danger but are unwilling to discuss it while drunk.

- "Once they're already that way, it's too late to do anything."
- "There's no way to stop it unless you get rid of all the alcohol."
- "You'll end up getting in a fight if you start on him that night."
- "You can't reason with a drunk person."
- "It's best if you do it before."
- "You need to make the choice when you're sober. If you've made the choice beforehand, then if you haven't driven to the bar, you can't drive home from the bar."

Some women are intimidated by men's negative reactions to their intervention. Some discontinue the intervention, others wait for another time to try again.

- "If they get angry, yelling -- there's no point to pursuing it. It'll only get worse."
- "He's in a different state. I know it's gone to another point when my husband says to me 'Don't tell me what to do'. I back off, but I'm really trying to look out for him because I love him. But he doesn't see it like that."
- "They get defensive because they think you're trying to control them."
- "First I'll say something. Then I'll wait. Then I'll come back and say 'what do you think?'. Before it's time to go, I'll say 'Maybe it's time to slow down'. And he's good if there's nobody else there. But if somebody's listening to what I'm asking him, he gets really aggravated."

ADVERTISING

A. Most were aware of advertising on the subject of DWI in the form of billboards and/or TV ads. Several recalled UNAIDED the "Innocent Victims" ads, especially "Andrea". Reactions were highly emotional.

- "I cried."
- "I couldn't stop watching it."
- "I see that little girl and I cry."

B. Even after recalling "Andrea", however, most continued to believe, however, that advertising in general is relatively ineffective against this problem.

- "Most people have to have a situation that was close to them -- a friend being killed in an accident -- in order to have an effect."
- "I'm not convinced by the ads. I'm convinced by the laws getting much stricter."

C. Comments after the exposure of "Andrea" and "Brendan" yield the following observations:

1. Use of home video and real victims has greater impact than analogical devices (glasses, dummies, etc.)
 - "It's more effective when you see a person, instead of 2 glasses smashing together."
2. Use of children is an appropriate device to attract women, but may be a negative to men
 - "It's more towards women. Women are more sensitive to children."
 - "My boyfriend would change the station. He'd say 'That will never happen to me'."
3. There are differing preferences about girls vs. boys, and about talk-to-camera situations (which one woman said produced a "bonding" with the little girl) vs. action situations. All 4 types are probably needed.
 - "You could actually see her face and her smile."
 - "I liked the little boy's chatter."
 - "He broke my heart."
 - "Her little laugh at the end killed me."
4. There is some difficulty understanding that the message is to intervene, rather than to not drive after drinking. This may be due to the cumulative impact of all of the prior advertising which targets the drinker, not the intervener.
5. There may be some additional relevance and impact to be gained from showing either impaired drivers and/or victims who have not been killed but injured permanently.
6. Some additional impact may be gained from demonstrating that the person who can stop a drunk driver could be saving a life (with the implication that not intervening can cost a life).
7. There may be additional impact gained from a spoken message in addition to the written message.
 - "Instead of the writing, have a soft-spoken person say 'This is my daughter and she was killed'."

8. They seem to want more details about the specific accident. This might be made available through an 800 number.
9. The women believe that showing a wrecked car would be impactful to men.
 - "Guys love their cars."

D. The multi-victim commercial was greeted almost grimly by respondents -- silence prevailing for a time after its exposure -- probably because of both its tone and the emotion generated by prior discussions of the "Andrea" and "Brendan" spots. They feel that seeing fewer pictures, each for a longer time, would allow greater emotional involvement.

FOCUS GROUP REPORT #4

DISCUSSION GUIDE

- I. **Introductions and warm up** (10 minutes)
- A. What a focus group is.
 - B. Need for complete and honest answers
 - C. Role of the moderator
 - D. (As appropriate) observers, mirror
 - E. Recording, assurance of privacy
 - F. Self introductions (name, hometown, demographics, occupation, hobbies or interests, favorite alcohol beverage)
- II. **Drinking** (10 minutes)
- A. What's fun about drinking? How does it make you feel?
 - B. Who do you usually drink with? Out of every 10 times your boyfriends go drinking, how many times do you go too. What kinds of feelings do you have when you are there? What do you think about? What kinds of feelings do you have when you are not there? What do you think about then?
 - C. Is there a bad side to drinking? What is it? What other bad sides are there? (Look for unaided mentions of driving/having to drive/ effect of driving on other people.)
- III. **DWI AND INTERVENTION (Projective basis)** (40 min)
- A. Now let's talk about driving after drinking
 - B. What's the biggest problem with driving after drinking? (getting hurt or getting caught?)
 - C. Is it sometimes OK to drive after drinking alcohol? What circumstances make it OK?
PROBE FOR: situation, what you've been drinking, number consumed, alone or with others, distance to be driven, how you feel, time since last drink?
 - D. All of us have seen situations where people have driven when they probably shouldn't have driven. Think about the times you've seen that happen.
 - What thoughts do you think go through their minds at that point?
 - And what thoughts go through your minds at that point?
 - Are there some people who try to convince them not to drive, or does everybody pretty much leave the decision to the individual?Why do people intervene/not intervene?
 - * Are there people who try to convince them not to drive? Who?
 - Who is the person that has the greatest chance of success?
 - Why do you think that person is the right one?
 - What would have to be said for those people to be convinced?
 - Why do you think that would work?
 - What kind of reactions would you expect?
 - And how should those reactions be handled?

IV. Intervention (Direct basis) (40 minutes)

- A. Do your boyfriends occasionally drive after drinking? Does it bother you? How do you feel about it? Do you think it's possible to do something about it? Why/not? What do you think could be done? Do you think you could do something about it? What do you think you could do? What do you think others could do?
- B. Have you ever tried to convince them not to drive? The last time you tried to convince your husband or boyfriend not to drive...
Where were you?
Who else was there?
What were you drinking?
What did you say or do?
(What did the others say or do?)
What did he do?
Did it work?
Why do you think it worked or didn't?
IF NOT, What would you have had to change in order to make it work?
Why do you think that would have made a difference?
Will you try it again? (IF NO, why not?)
- C. What do the rest of you think about that method? Would it work for you? Why/not? What would you change to make it right for your situation? Why would that have to change?
- D. There are different points in time when you might try to convince another person not to drive after drinking. Do you think the attempt is more likely to work if you try to convince them before they start drinking, during drinking or when they're just about to get into the car? Why?
- E. Can you ever get your husband/boyfriend to agree before you go out that you will drive home? How do you get him to agree to this?
- F. If you try to intervene after drinking has started, what approaches work best? Why do you think those work best? What approaches do you know about that you're sure would not work? Why do you think they don't work?
- G. Have you ever tried to convince your husband or boyfriend not to drive *once you were actually in the car*? Did it work? Why/why not?
- H. What other ways have you tried to manage the situation so that your husband or boyfriend didn't have to drive after drinking?

V. Final (20 minutes)

- A. Have you seen advertising on this subject? Do you think it works or not? Why?

OPTIONAL (SECTION DELETED)

- B. *Imagine that you work one of the big advertising companies. You've been asked by MADD to create an ad that would convince women to intervene with their husbands or boyfriends to prevent them from drinking and driving.*

Use the crayons and the paper to create an ad. DRAWING SKILLS DON'T MATTER.

DISCUSS ADS. REASONS FOR INCLUDING VISUAL AND VERBAL ELEMENTS.

Do you think it would work? Why/why not?

What other messages could be used that would convince women to intervene with their husbands or boyfriends?

Do you think your ad in a magazine would work better, the same, or not as well as a TV commercial about the same thing? Why?

What would you change for the TV commercial? Why would you change that?

- C. I'm going to show you some advertisements that are intended to prevent driving after drinking by convincing other people that they should try to stop the driving. I'd like to get your reactions to them. SHOW INDIVIDUALLY IF APPROPRIATE

How did this ad make you feel?

Do you think you would be more likely to try to intervene with someone who was intending to drive if you had recently seen this ad?

What aspects of the ad struck a chord with you? Why did those things strike a chord?

What aspects of the ad struck you as being ineffective for you? Why was that ineffective for you?

AFTER ALL SHOWN:

What changes would you make in this campaign to make it more effective?

- D **IN WRITING:** Complete this sentence in 5 words or less.
"I'd do more to convince guys not to drive after drinking if ____." Why said that?
- E. If you could tell people about drinking and driving what would you say?
1. What's the worst part of drinking and driving?
 2. Who would you tell? Why them?
- F. **IF NEGATIVE STATEMENT IN "C":** If you'd say that, then what keeps you from doing more to stop it?

RECRUITMENT SURVEY

ASK TO SPEAK WITH FEMALE 21-30

Hello, my name is _____ from _____. We're conducting a survey and I'd like to ask you a few questions.

1. First, do you or does any member of your immediate family work for (READ LIST):
- a market research firm
 - a market research department
 - an advertising agency
 - a soft drink or alcoholic beverage manufacturer or distributor
 - a distillery or liquor or beer distributor
 - a liquor store, bar, tavern, restaurant or cocktail lounge
 - a publication related to food and beverages
 - a company that sells, manufactures or distributes any type of alcohol beverages

IF YES TO ANY OF THE ABOVE, TERMINATE AND TALLY

2. Have you ever participated in a market research discussion group?
Yes -ASK Q3 No -SKIP TO Q.4
3. When was the last time you participated in a market research discussion group?

**IF LESS THAN 6 MONTHS
_____ AGO, TERMINATE AND TALLY**

4. Which of the following categories includes your age?
- Under 21 -TERMINATE
 - 21-25 -----> CHECK QUOTAS
 - 26-30 -----> AND CONTINUE
 - 31-35 -TERMINATE WITH Q5
 - 36-40 -TERMINATE
 - 41-50 -TERMINATE
 - 51 or over -TERMINATE

5. Are you presently married, engaged to be married, or have a boyfriend?
Married Engaged Have Boyfriend

RECRUIT FOR MIX OF 3 CATEGORIES. IF NO TO ALL 3 TERMINATE

6. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
- Some high school
 - High school graduate
 - Some college
 - College graduate -TERMINATE AND TALLY
 - Post graduate -TERMINATE AND TALLY

7. Now I'd like to ask some questions about your (ANSWER TO Q5)

8. Is your (ANSWER IN Q5) currently employed full-time, or not?

- Employed full time
- Employed part time
- Not employed

9. And what is your (ANSWER TO Q5)'s current or most recent job? I need you to be as specific as possible.

INTERVIEWER: THE OCCUPATION QUESTION (Q9) IS CRITICAL. ALL HUSBANDS, FIANCEES, BOYFRIENDS OF THESE WOMEN MUST BE TRUE BLUE COLLAR WORKERS. THIS COULD INCLUDE CRAFTSMEN, FOREMEN, SKILLED LABORERS, OR UNSKILLED LABORERS. MEN WHO WORK IN AN OFFICE OR WHO USUALLY WEAR A SHIRT AND TIE TO WORK DISQUALIFIES THE WOMEN

10a. Does he drink beer?

- Yes
- No -TERMINATE

b. In an average week, about how many times does he drink beer?

- Once a week or less -TERMINATE
- 2 times
- 3 times
- 4 or more times

INTERVIEWER: QUESTION IS INTENDED TO GET NUMBER OF DRINKING OCCASIONS, NOT NUMBER OF DRINKS ON EACH OCCASION

11. On the average, about how often do you both go together to a place where people may drink alcohol, such as a bar or tavern, restaurant or a party?

- More than once a week
- Once a week
- 2-3 times a month

Once a month -TERMINATE
Less than once a month -TERMINATE

12. During the past year, has your (ANSWER TO Q5) had the occasion to drink 5 or more beers during one drinking occasion when you are with him?

Yes No -TERMINATE

13. And during the past year, has he driven any distance after having 3 or more beers?

Yes No -TERMINATE

IF NECESSARY, ASSURE RESPONDENT OF COMPLETE SECRECY OF ANSWERS

14. And, just to switch gears for the last question -- Let's say you received a check for \$50,000 in the mail. You won a sweepstakes. How would you spend the \$50,000. What's the first thing you would do? Why? What else would you do?

INTERVIEWER: THE PURPOSE OF THIS QUESTION IS TO OBTAIN PARTICIPANTS WHO ARE ARTICULATE. IF RESPONDENT CAN NOT EXPRESS IDEAS CLEARLY AND THOUGHTFULLY, DO NOT RECRUIT. THAT RESPONDENT CAN NOT BE ACCEPTED FOR THIS PROJECT!

15. We're conducting a panel discussion with people like yourself to learn more about consumer opinions. This discussion will be held on (DATE/DAY) at (TIME) and will last approximately 2 hours. For participating, we will pay you (AMOUNT OF CO-OP).

IF NECESSARY, MENTION THAT NO GOVERNMENT AGENCY IS INVOLVED AND THAT ANSWERS WILL REMAIN STRICTLY ANONYMOUS

b. Would you be willing to attend?

Yes -SCHEDULE FOR GROUP No -TERMINATE

NAME _____ INTERVIEWER _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ TEL _____

IMPORTANT NOTE: The focus group reports should be read as a research series (Reports 1-7). Taking findings out of context from individual reports may lead to inappropriate conclusions.

EXPLORATORY RESEARCH AMONG
POTENTIAL DWI DRIVERS

Focus Group Report #5

Prepared for
Harvard School of Public Health

Prepared by
Werby Marketing

June, 1994

Prepared as part of the research project "Strategic Advertising Plans to Deter Drunk Driving," funded by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration under Agreement No. DTNH22-92-Y-0547. The insights, opinions and conclusions expressed in the reports are those of Werby Marketing, and may differ to some degree with those of the principal investigators or other co-investigators in the study, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

Under a grant from the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, the Harvard University School of Public Health is exploring the reduction of DWI incidents among a specific target. This target is described as blue collar males, 21-29 years of age. A prime objective is to determine the identity of potential interveners and the circumstances under which intervention can be accomplished.

Prior exploratory research has been conducted among young blue collar males in Boston, Massachusetts, Dallas, Texas and Davenport, Iowa. The purpose of that research was to determine current attitudes towards driving after drinking and to determine the extent to which potential interveners would be accepted, and therefore effective, in changing behavior patterns of the target men.

In fact, several core ideas for development of communications and deterrents were uncovered in those sessions. Moreover, the women in the target men's lives (wives and girlfriends) were identified as the interveners with greatest potential for effectiveness.

With a broad understanding of the target men, the project has turned to developing a full understanding of the attitudes and motivations of two potential intervener groups: the women in the lives of the target men and the high-risk drivers themselves. A first/pilot discussion was held among potential female interveners in Framingham, Massachusetts (early 1994) to explore some of these ideas. This pilot project explores these attitudes among men, prior to exploration of actual creative ideas.

The purpose of this research, therefore, is to explore the attitudes of potential DWI drivers towards driving after drinking, as well as to assess issues involved in communicating with these people.

METHOD

Two focus group interviews were conducted in Framingham, Massachusetts in late April, 1994. These 2 groups were intended as pilot research for the second phase of the NHTSA project.

Qualified respondents were defined as:

blue collar employed men who...

- drink beer 3 or more times in an average week
- go to a bar or tavern once a week or more
- have had 5 or more beers on at least one occasion in past year
- claim they can drink 5 or more beers and still be able to drive safely
- have driven any distance after drinking 5 or more beers during the past year
- have ever tried to stop someone from driving after drinking OR have experienced someone trying to stop them from driving after drinking

One group was conducted among men who are 21-25 years old and the other among men who are 31-35 years old. All men were non-graduates of college, and either engaged, married or with steady girlfriends.

Prior sessions were comprehensive in covering a range of relevant topics -- general drinking attitudes, driving after drinking, as well as the roles of possible influencers and potential deterrents. In this set of

groups, discussions intentionally focused more on attitudes towards intervening and on advertising/communications issues.

A detailed topic guide can be found at the end of this report.

A WORD OF CAUTION

The findings, conclusions, implications and hypotheses presented in this report are based on qualitative research.

Samples for qualitative research are generally small and are neither representative of nor projectable to a larger group of the population. In addition, because the primary goal of qualitative research is to obtain information in-depth, the questioning, techniques and wording can vary from group to group or from respondent to respondent, in order to maximize the amount of information obtained and to ensure that the questioning is tailored to each group's respondents' needs and abilities.

Therefore, findings reported herein should be viewed with caution; conclusions, implications and hypotheses should be used as starting points for additional thinking on the particular subject or issue.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Beer continues to be confirmed as the drink of choice, although there is the indication that, as men age, they need a reason to continue drinking beer. The gourmet beers have provided this reason.
2. Among older men, particularly, there is a conscious transition time between work and home. The younger men seem less conscious of this transition period. While this drinking occasion can occur either at home (although somewhat separated from wife and family) or on the way home (at a bar), younger men spend their transition times away from home. Older men are aware that home is safer.
3. When women are present in older men's away-from-home transition times, they tend to be co-workers, not wives or girlfriends. When women are present in younger men's transition times, they tend to be the important women in these men's lives. Since women who are important to the men are the most effective interveners, the women with the younger men may be potentially more effective interveners than the women with older men.
4. When the men are drinking without wives or girlfriends present, they acknowledge that they think about the women and that the women think about their (the men's) safety.
5. Men believe that the most important danger of driving after drinking is hurting someone, but the most probable risk is getting arrested. Older men believe that younger men are the most guilty of driving after drinking, and most (but not all) claim that they no longer do it. There are still some older men, however, who view DWI laws as infringements on personal freedom.
6. Older men tend to have established strategies or actual agreements with their wives/girlfriends to avoid driving. There is not the clear consciousness of the need for such strategies among the younger men.

Most men believe that they can tell whether or not they can drive, and know several circumstances under which driving would be acceptable.

7. Men are aware of the dangers of driving, as demonstrated by their strong negative reactions to observing someone who is about to drive drunk. Older men tend to want to deal with the situation and intervene or do something to change it. Younger men, on the other hand, are content to merely observe, excusing their inaction with comments about the futility of trying and the potential for physical harm. All men find it extremely difficult to stop someone from driving.
8. Men agree that women can be effective interveners because they have the two characteristics that all men agree are required in order to be effective:
 - a) possessing, or having the ability to gain quickly, the trust of the drinker, and
 - b) confidence in their own ability to intervene.
9. Women who have intervened with the men in this research have been successful and their task, according to the men, was not difficult. Previous research has shown that even men who fiercely defend their masculinity will often yield to a woman whom they know and trust.
10. Reactions to the advertising exposed to these men yields several hypotheses about future communications:
 - a) Showing child victims is an effective emotional motivator. Girls may be more effective than boys among men, but this may reverse among women.
 - b) The target and message -- to intervene with friends-- needs to be stated more clearly than in the current pool of commercials.
 - c) Establishing the responsibility of a friend in any accident that occurs can be a powerful and motivating message.
 - d) Because some men (especially younger) see the commercials with a form of denial, there needs to be a clear communication that no one is immune to the possibility of killing someone.
 - e) Stating specific actions -- "call a cab", "take the keys", etc. -- can result in more specific communication of what to do.
 - f) In any advertising to women, they need to be given the confidence to speak out and change a situation that they know is wrong.
 - g) The future pool of commercials should include both single-victim and multiple-victim scenarios. The former provides a personal bonding with the victim. The latter communicates that it can happen to anyone and that drunk driving continues to result in many deaths.

DETAILED FINDINGS

DRINKING PATTERNS

A. As seen in previous research, beer continues to be the drink of choice among younger men. Among older men, beer still is the drink of choice, but some are starting towards the "gourmet" end of the beer spectrum.

- "I like Sam Adams now."
- "Right now, I'll be looking for a wheat beer."

This would suggest that aging -- and the increased complexities of life that accompany getting older -- changes their beer consumption. They seem to want to have a reason to continue drinking beer, but need to abandon the "drink to get drunk" motivation. The cache of the gourmet beers provide that reason and an acceptable separation from the guzzling beers (those with little or no cache) that they used to drink. This works in just the same way as the editorial content of Playboy provides a socially acceptable reason for subscribing.

B. The reasons for drinking continue to be stated in terms that reflect relaxation....

- "Makes you relaxed"
- "Loosen up"
- "It relaxes me and calms me"

...and social motivations:

- "It's a social lubricant. It loosens you up when meeting new people."
- "You're getting goofy, getting loosened up and relaxed and joking around with your friends."

C. Among older men, particularly, there seems to be a conscious awareness of a transition that occurs between time at work and time at home. This is an important drinking occasion for older men, although not the only drinking time. Essentially, the ostensible purpose of this time provides an excuse to drink. This time can take place at home or on the way home.

- "When you're switching gears between work and home, you sit down and have a beer. It's a little quiet time for yourself."
- "After you go with your buddies and have a few beers, you're generally in a better mood."
- "At the end of a week, you have a transition time between the work week and the weekend."
- "When I get home, I go down to the basement, start painting, have a beer or two and unwind."

D. They are aware that if this occasion takes place away from home, it is more dangerous (from a driving standpoint) than if it takes place at home.

E. The transition time as a drinking occasion for older men dictates their most frequent drinking companions. For the most part, older men who do not spend their transition time at home drink with fellow workers and may meet male or female drinking friends at the bar.

Younger men, on the other hand, claim to drink almost exclusively with "friends", who may be male or female; only a few say they drink with co-workers. This may reflect a substantive difference between older and younger men.

When women are with younger men, they tend to be the important women in the men's lives. The women who are with the older men on these after-work occasions tend to be there less by choice than by accident; the women important to them are integral parts of their home lives. Therefore, the women with the younger men would tend to be more familiar with those men than the women who are in the company of the older men. Therefore, women with younger men may be potentially more effective interveners than women with older men, at least during the early evening hours on weekdays that mark this work-to-home transition time.

F. When the women important in men's lives are not present when they are drinking, they tend to be present in mind, especially among the older men...

- "I wonder what she's doing."
- "Sometimes I think about what I was supposed to do, or if I was supposed to do something."
- "I'm just conscious that I have to call. I made the mistake of not calling once."
- "It's mainly just to call her and tell her I'm only having a couple of beers and she doesn't have to worry about me driving."

...while the younger men still cling to their independence.

- "I think about her, but less and less with each beer."
- "I start thinking about her when it becomes a little too late. I think, 'Oh no, I forgot to call her.'(laughter)"

G. They also acknowledge that the women think about them when the men are out drinking.

- "She thinks about whether I'm OK. She wants to be sure you're not going out getting looped and then trying to drive home."
- "She worries that I'm not going to end up in a ditch. (sic)"
- "She worries about the safety aspects of drinking."
- "She's afraid that I'm going to get pulled over by the cops."
- "She's worried about me losing my license."

The younger men tend to think that women worry about both driving and matters of personal security.

- "She worries about other girls, cheating."
- "She worries about me getting home safely, driving safely."
- "She worries when I'm with my friend Jeff. He's a bad influence."
- "Accidents, cops, lots of fines and lots of money."

DRIVING AFTER DRINKING

A. They believe that the most important danger of driving after drinking is hurting someone else, but they think that the most imminent danger -- the one with the higher probability -- is being arrested.

- "Hurting somebody is the biggest danger, but I think about getting arrested."
- "You're more concerned about cops after you've been drinking, but now -- when I'm sober --I'm more concerned about hurting somebody."

B. Older men know about, and younger men confirm, that confidence in their own competence motivates younger men to drive when they shouldn't. It is interesting that driving is only an incidental part of their drinking adventures. It's only a result. The drinking is the adventure. (Older men, of course, claim to be more responsible "now", but the fact that they recognized certain behavior patterns indicates that they participated in those behavior patterns.)

- "Younger guys use drinking as a gauge of how tough they are."

- "When you're young, drinking is a big adventure. So you just do it. It takes a few nights with your head in the toilet before you figure out that this is not such a smart idea. The older you get, the more you realize that everything you do has a consequence."
- "When you're younger, you're invincible. You say, 'Don't worry about me, I'm fine'. The reality doesn't sink in until later. You've got 40 years of your adult life that you have to work. You find you can't get up to go to work if you drink too much. So you calm down."
- "I've definitely calmed down in my old age. You just get a bigger view of life. You have more responsibility. It's not just me, it's my family that will suffer."

There are still some older men, however, who view DWI laws as undue limits on personal freedoms (as many younger men do).

- "I think these laws (.04 BAC) are putting people in smaller and smaller boxes and taking away people's ability to make decisions on their own. Of course, if my kid was killed by a drunk driver, I'd feel differently. But that's how I feel now."

C. Many of the older men have established strategies or actual agreements with which they try to avoid driving after drinking. There does not seem to be such a clear consciousness of the need for strategies among the younger men.

- "We have an agreement that she picks me up. It's usually Fridays that we go out after work and she'll come and get me, because if I lose my license I lose my job. It's a nice agreement. If we go out somewhere, it works, too because she's not a drinker. I've left my car many times."
- "I'll take taxis. It's cheaper than getting arrested."
- "I'll lock my keys in the car. That way, I can't drive."
- "When I go for a heavy night out, there's always a couple of people who drink a lot less than I do. If I reach that point, I'll give someone my keys."
- "If I know I have to drive, I won't go that far from the house -- maybe 5 or 10 minutes. So if worse came to worst I could walk home. If I go far, I'll have somebody else drive."
- "I avoid the discussion most of the time because, if I go out drinking and my wife is with me, we have an eye on each other anyway. We don't even have to talk about it."
- "If I see her putting down a couple of drinks, I stop, because she's small and I know she's not a drinker."

D. Most men believe that they can tell whether or not they can drive.

- "You do a reality check before you get in the car. You decide whether or not you should be driving. You evaluate how much you've had to drink. You know how much you've spent."
- "I like to think that I know myself well enough to know when I'm capable and when I'm not. There have been plenty of times when I've had 3 beers and felt perfectly able to drive. There have been other times when I've been working in 90-degree heat and had 3 beers and I have to call my wife to pick me up."
- "I can tell whether or not I have a buzz on."
- "As you have beer after beer, you're gauging yourself to see where you're going. You kind of feel a point when you say to yourself, 'If I have this next one, I'm probably not going to be driving'."

- "It's not like I've ever been surprised that I'm drunk. I know when I am and when I'm not and when more drinks will make me too drunk to drive."

E. Only a minority recognize the difficulty of making a rational judgment about driving at the time of the driving decision.

- "You've been drinking. You can't decide that."
- "It all goes back to being an adult and knowing your own limitations. You can't judge when your judgment is impaired."

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F. Some think about driving only at certain times in their drinking occasion, while others don't think about it at all.

- "I generally think about it, as I'm going in, before I start drinking. I'll say, 'I'm only going to be able to have 2 and then I'll have to leave because I'm not able to drive after that'. Sometimes it works and sometimes it doesn't."
- "Honestly, I don't even bother to think about it. I'm not an angel and there are times when I've driven home drunk and paid a major price when I walked in the door. After I'm finished with my day at work, I don't want to think about anything, I just want to sit there."

G. Men are all quite verbal about circumstances that can make driving after drinking acceptable. Virtually all of these are geared to making the drinker seem knowledgeable about when he can drive and when he can't. In other words, these tend to be excuses for driving, as opposed to real reasons that make driving acceptable.

- "It all depends on the number of drinks you've had. You know when you can't drive."
- "The outside temperature affects you differently."
- "There's no alternative to driving."
- "You can't call anyone because it's too late."
- "You feel like you can drive. You feel confident."
- "Sometimes bad weather makes driving tougher (and you know not to)."
- "Emergencies."
- "You've only had a few drinks -- 5 or less."
- "Your body weight."
- "The amount you've had to eat."
- "The person who is the designated sap drives."
- "The person that's least drunk can drive."

INTERVENTION

A. All men had witnessed at some point in the recent past a situation in which they had observed someone who was about to drive drunk. Most recalled such a situation within the past 2 or 3 months.

B. When asked what they thought that person was thinking at the time, responses all were judgmentally negative. All recognized the stubbornness of the driver. Only a few talk about the dangerous potential.

- "Nothing is going through his mind."
- "He's thinking, 'I have to do it'."
- "If you try to stop them, they'll say, 'It's my car and I'll drive if I want to.'"
- "Sometimes the more you try to stop them, the more they believe they can do it."
- "He's thinking, 'I'm fine'."

C. When they talk about their own reactions to that situation, the older men differ from the younger. Older men talk about dealing with the situation, while the younger talk about the danger. This might reflect an attitude among younger men that it is futile to try to stop someone, while older men recognize that something can be done.

When seeing someone about to drive, younger men think:

- "He's an idiot."
- "He'll kill someone."
- "You think, 'He's crazy'. But then when it's your turn you think you're fine."

When seeing someone about to drive, older men think:

- "If that was me, I'd know I couldn't drive. I wouldn't be so insecure about myself that I'd have to put up this bravado about being able to drive."
- "I bet on who's going to win if somebody tries to stop him."
- "I try to calm the guy down."

This difference in attitude is also reflected in their attitudes towards trying to stop someone from driving. Younger men are more likely to say:

- "It's a fruitless thing to do."
- "If the guy is a heavy drinker it's impossible."

D. Men find it extremely difficult, if not fearsome, to try to convince another man not to drive.

- "There are certain guys, especially young kids, who are real jerks and there's nothing you can do."
- "This guy was at his bachelor party and had been drinking since 7AM. It's now 8PM. He insisted that he was going to take his car home because he didn't want to leave it. The 6 guys that had been with him all day, just went along with it. We tried everything. Eventually, we ended up just dragging him out of the car."
- "The problem is that the drunks the driver is with end up fighting on his side. So you end up battling 5 or 6 people, not just the guy who's going to drive."
- "I'm not going to stand up to somebody who outweighs me 2 to 1. I don't withstand body blows that good."
- "I tried to convince this girl not to drive and she agreed. Then she got in her car and left."
- "I tried, but this guy wanted no part of it. You say what you can. But the next thing you know, he's gone."

- "I really didn't say anything. This guy's a big shot. He's got a lot of money. He works with all the Rock & Roll bands. If you question him on anything, it just gives him more adrenaline and more punch."
- "I should have slugged him."

E. While men have observed many different kinds of people trying to intervene in an impending DWI situation, they agree that certain people are more effective than others. Both groups mention women important to the men as potentially effective interveners because they have the 2 characteristics that all men agree are required in order to be effective: a) possessing, or having the ability to gain quickly, the trust of the drinker, and b) confidence in their own ability to intervene.

- "As long as you really trust the other person, it doesn't matter if it's a girl or a guy."
- "It needs to be someone who knows you."
- "If you've only gone out 2 or 3 times, you have no respect for what the girl has to say."
- "Your wife is the most effective one. With your wife, you'll never hear the end of it. With a friend, the whole thing is forgotten the next day."
- "(The girls) hold all the cards. They'll shut you off. It's not spoken but you understand."
- "It has to be a girl you're really close to."
- "The guys I know who are real heavy drinkers don't have girlfriends. Maybe there's a cause and effect."
- "I can't see one guy telling another guy that he can't drive. When I used to go clubbing and everyone was hammered, we'd all just look at each other and say 'Drive Carefully' and then get in our cars and go home."
- "It's somebody who can take a back door approach so they think it's their own idea."
- "You can't be confrontational."

F. According to the men in this research -- both younger and older -- women who have intervened with them have been successful and their task seems to have been remarkably untroublesome. While less resistance would be expected among the older men, the fact that younger men are not particularly resistant to a woman intervening indicates that women have potential to be effective interveners even in the age group whose prime characteristic is the championing and defense of independence.

- "She just takes over. She beats me up if she has to."
- "Usually we arrange beforehand who's driving."
- "There's usually a little discussion at the end of the evening, but she wins."
- "She says, 'let me drive'. I say OK."
- "She doesn't drink at all when we're together. I just hand her the keys. We don't even discuss it."
- "My wife usually wins when she sees I've had too much."
- "At a wedding, my girlfriend said she wanted to drive. I just let her."
- "If my wife is there and says I shouldn't drive, it's OK. If the guys say I shouldn't drive, I'll do it anyway."
- "When my wife and I were first married, we'd get into these arguments about who was worse off (for driving) and it got really ugly. Most of the time now, I just let her drive because it's not worth the argument."

ADVERTISING

A. All men have seen anti-DWI advertising and most claim initially that advertising is not an effective deterrent force. This matches normal consumer behavior in which people claim to be not influenced by advertising. Even in the protests of ineffectiveness, however, there are statements that advertising on this subject is seen and is remembered.

- "It doesn't work as well as real life experience."
- "I don't think it does anything. When you're in a bar and having a few drinks, you're not thinking about a commercial."
- "The commercials just make you feel bad between innings (drinking occasions)."
- "If there were as many anti-DWI commercials as there were beer commercials, then it might make a difference. But not now."
- "You already know you're not supposed to do it. You know you're going to get into trouble for it."

B. Upon discussion, however, men are willing to admit to some residual effects of anti-DWI commercials, demonstrating that the advertising has somewhat greater internalization than might have been claimed at first. This kind of pattern suggests either that the advertising is particularly effective or that the problem it attempts to resolve is so important that any message is retained. Effects are multiplied among the people who have experienced DWI accidents or deaths, which may be part of the retention equation.

- "The commercials are upsetting. I remember the commercials and I remember my friends who were killed."
- "It works because it makes you think."
- "It works for some but not all."
- "You'll never get ALL the right buttons pushed, but this could reduce it."

C. The "Friends Don't Let Friends Drive Drunk" advertising has been seen by these men; some, but not all, understand the dual effect -- the message to friends to intervene and the message to potential drivers that being stopped from driving is a positive act, not a negative act.

- "The only ad I remember is that 'Friends...' commercial. It doesn't really work, but it makes it OK to say something. Before that, you thought somebody (who intervened) was accusing you of being a loser."
- "You don't have to have a facade anymore. The ad campaigns had a lot to do with that."

D. The Commercials Exposed in the Groups:

I. To the older men, the commercials focusing on children were the most upsetting and, therefore, potentially most effective. The effectiveness traces to presence of their own children, as well as to a general maturity of thinking not necessarily present in all of the younger men.

"Andrea" was more involving to these men than was "Brendan". It may be that a little girl is more vulnerable and innocent to men and therefore more tragic a victim. In addition, the closer full-face visuals made for a stronger identification with Andrea.

- "I think more of myself than of stopping someone else from driving. I have little kids. Maybe I should start cutting back to 1 beer instead of 3-4."
- "You have to think about it, especially if you have kids of your own."

- "Even though I'm big on individual responsibility, that little girl bothered me. It didn't make any difference how I felt intellectually. It affected me emotionally."
 - "The camera just stayed on the little girl. You couldn't ignore her."
2. Some of the younger men, too, were unable to tolerate the idea of a small child being killed.
 - "That (commercials focusing on getting arrested) is more real. It's more likely to happen and you're more willing to accept the consequences. You're not willing to accept killing a kid."
 - "That's a bone-chiller."
 - "That's the worst thing that could possibly happen. It's the worst for me."
 3. As seen in previous research, there is not a universal understanding of the target or the message. This is especially true among younger men, who tend to be defensive not just of their driving but also of their drinking.

Some "incorrect" (though not necessarily useless) interpretations of the ads' messages included:

- "You're taking your life in your hands when you get behind the wheel."
 - "If you drink and drive you could wind up dead."
 - "You could hurt someone else, not just yourself."
4. Those who understand the message to intervene evidence the potential effectiveness of that message.
 - "Everybody gets that little twinge of guilt when they see that."
 - "If you allow someone to walk out of a place legless, then you're just as much an accomplice to that act of violence as the driver is."
 - "I'm a responsible person and maybe I'll even take some risks sometimes. But for someone to drive in that condition and to have other people allow him to do that, is not responsible."
 - "Do more to stop somebody. They're making the driver's cousin more the victim than the driver. He felt guilty for not stopping him."
 5. Many younger men view the commercials with a form of "not me" denial. The situations are seen as aberrations outside the realm of probability for each particular driver. The implication is that a clear "It can be you" message is needed. From 21-24 year olds:
 - "I think there's always a 'not me' kind of reaction. 'That won't happen to me.' That's how I reacted."
 - "They're talking to young kids, teenagers."
 6. The potential effectiveness of a child-focused commercial is demonstrated by the admission that watching it bothers them. The following comment is from a man who objected strongly to the increasing severity of DWI laws. He obviously feels guilt and doesn't want to be reminded that he is taking a chance of killing an Andrea or a Brendan.
 - "Those commercials would be most effective when they're not on every 5 minutes. Nobody wants to see them that much. I don't."

7. The "Cousin" commercial involving a car was seen clearly as being addressed to younger men because of the focus on the car. In addition, several noticed that this commercial gave specific things to do: call a cab, take the keys. They noticed that the others said only "Do whatever it takes".
 - "It definitely focuses on the person who may have been able to prevent the person from driving and should have spoken out. But he didn't."
8. The "Kevin" commercial was seen by all men as motivating to women because the men believe that women are afraid to say something. The demonstration of the actual collision was riveting and memorable for the younger men.
 - "That puts it on the woman."
 - "That's probably something that goes through a lot of girls' minds."
 - "They probably think 'He's going to get mad at me' or 'I don't know how he's going to react'."
 - "It's more violent than the others."
 - "The kids will watch that because it has more shock value."
 - "It's an action commercial -- like an Arnold Schwarzenegger movie."
9. For some, the "Innocent People" montage commercial contained the most effective presentation of the idea. In comparison to the others, its supporters felt that it had a stronger visual message. It may be that the presence of multiple victims communicates a greater probability of occurrence for the viewing driver.
 - "It sums everything up. It shows lots of people who died."
 - "Using the word 'killed' over and over again. It means somebody killed them."
 - "It gives you that eerie church funeral music."
 - "There were no happy memories like with the 2 kids. There's nothing happy about these people. There's no memories."
 - "The number of people in one ad showed that all kinds of people get killed."
 - "It hits home more -- having all the people at once."
 - "This affected me more (than the others) because you saw a whole family that was wiped out."
10. Younger men were asked to design a commercial to get women to intervene. While not all participated in this exercise, some suggestions involved:
 - a) Women's viewpoint
 - "Use 'Kevin' format. Women would relate to that situation the most."
 - "Should show flashbacks. Show what happened because she didn't do anything and then show what could have happened if she did -- like maybe they get married."
 - b) Confidence building
 - "Tell women it's OK to take the keys. Give them some confidence to do it."
 - "Should tell women that if you allow someone to take your life into their hands, you could die. So it's OK to take the keys instead of thinking whether you should or not."
 - c) Guilt as a motivator
 - "Maybe you could have a commercial where the guy actually leaves her behind and gets into an accident, to say that it's not enough just to save yourself."
 - "Show a girl regretting that she didn't try harder to stop a guy who left without her."

IMPORTANT NOTE: The focus group reports should be read as a research series (Reports 1-7). Taking findings out of context from individual reports may lead to inappropriate conclusions.

EXPLORATORY RESEARCH AMONG
POTENTIAL DWI INTERVENERS

Focus Group Report #6

Prepared for
Harvard School of Public Health

Prepared by
Werby Marketing

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BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

Under a grant from the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, the Harvard University School of Public Health is exploring the reduction of DWI incidents among a newly-identified target. This target is described as blue collar males, 21-29 years of age. A prime objective is to determine the identity of potential interveners and the circumstances under which intervention can be accomplished.

Prior exploratory research has been conducted among young blue collar males in Boston, Massachusetts, Dallas, Texas and Davenport, Iowa. The purpose of that research was to determine current attitudes towards driving after drinking and to determine the extent to which potential interveners would be accepted, and therefore effective, in changing behavior patterns of those target men.

In fact, several core ideas for development of communications and deterrents were uncovered in those sessions. Moreover, the women in the target men's lives were identified as the interveners with greatest potential for effectiveness.

With a broad understanding of the target men, the project then turned to developing a full understanding of the attitudes and motivations of two potential intervener groups: the women in the lives of the target men and the high-risk drivers themselves. A first/pilot discussion was held among potential female interveners in Framingham, Massachusetts (early 1994) to explore some of these ideas. The current project represents expansion of exploratory research among potential female interveners in a geographic area not previously explored -- the US Southeast.

The purpose of this research, therefore, is to explore the attitudes of potential female interveners towards driving after drinking, as well as to assess issues involved in communicating with them and convincing them to act against DWI.

METHOD

Four focus group interviews were conducted in Charlotte, North Carolina in late July, 1994.

Qualified respondents were defined as women who are girlfriends, fiancées or wives of men who have driven any distance after drinking 5 or more beers during the past year. The women did not currently attend college, and were employed either part time or full time. Their boyfriends, fiancées or husbands were blue collar workers who have not graduated from a 4 year college. The women reported that they drink with the men at bars or taverns at least 2 times in an average month (this was a trait that was screened for, in order to ensure that we were recruiting women with sufficient opportunity for intervening).

The 4 groups were separated by age:

- 1 group of 21-25 year olds
- 2 groups of 26-30 year olds
- 1 group of 31-35 year olds

Topics in prior sessions were comprehensive in covering a range of relevant topics -- general drinking attitudes, driving after drinking, as well as the roles of possible influencers and potential deterrents. In this set of groups, as in the prior pilot research among women, discussions intentionally focused more on attitudes towards intervening and on advertising/ communications issues.

A detailed topic guide is at the back of this report.

A WORD OF CAUTION

The findings, conclusions, implications and hypotheses presented in this report are based on qualitative research.

Samples for qualitative research are generally small and are neither representative of nor projectable to a larger group of the population. In addition, because the primary goal of qualitative research is to obtain information in-depth, the questioning, techniques and wording can vary from group to group or from respondent to respondent, in order to maximize the amount of information obtained and to ensure that the questioning is tailored to each group's/respondent's needs and abilities.

Therefore, findings reported herein should be viewed with caution; conclusions, implications and hypotheses should be used as starting points for additional thinking on the particular subject or issue.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The women continue to drink and to seem to enjoy drinking, in spite of reported problems with their men and driving after drinking. This suggests a complete separation between the drinking and the driving. They don't blame the alcohol for the driving problems; they blame the men.
2. When the women are drinking, the men tend to be with them (9 or 10 times out of 10). When the men are drinking, however, the women are present less often (average 7-8 times out of every 10 times the men are drinking), some as few as 3 times in relationships that are troubled and where drinking (and driving) occur with greater frequency.
3. For some, when drinking together, the behavior of the women is keyed to the behavior of the men. When their men get out of control, there are 2 possible reactions among these women: in the first, the women seem to assume "permission to be crazy" because the men are; in the second, they take on an unspoken obligation to be responsible. Both reactions were reported in the groups.
4. Especially for younger women, but to some extent in older women as well, there is almost a sense of fear when they are drinking with the men. They worry... about his behavior, about their status in the situation, about instability of the relationship, about cost (especially among the marrieds) about physical danger and about driving. There seemed to be a less than expected level of worry about driving while they are drinking, possibly because they worry about so much else. Driving problems among their men -- to which they subsequently admit -- are not top-of-mind concerns while they are in the drinking environment.
5. As the women age, however, the driving issue becomes less frequent, but more problematic. For some 26-30 year olds, it was in the forefront of their consciousness. Many try to address it beforehand, not when driving is imminent, in the attempt to avoid having to address the problem at a more difficult time.

6. These Southern women appeared to want to avoid, at any cost, confrontations with their men. Avoidance of confrontation is a clear behavior pattern which seemed dominant among all groups, as the discussions progressed. This seemed to be based partially in their upbringings, but also, they felt, reflected the only possible reaction to the strong and "domineering" Southern men. One quote reflects the feeling:
 - "Southern women are less temperamental (than Northern women). They just do whatever the men say."
 - They easily talk in demeaning terms about themselves, commonly describing their attempts to convince men not to drive as "nagging", "being a witch", "bitching at him".

Because of their less aggressive behavior, they seem to take less action when a dangerous driving situation is about to occur. Most of the women seemed satisfied to do only cursory things to stop their men from driving after drinking. There is little depth or persistence to their attempts -- not nearly as much as was observed in the groups of Northern women. One said that her conscience was clear because she had merely told a man that he shouldn't drive -- and that was enough.

While some try to avoid the confrontation by discussing it beforehand, many say it's not always successful. If they have to confront, they do it quietly. They handle an angry reaction by withdrawing. The social responsibility seems to be hiding behind their descriptions of the male-female relationship in which a woman has little power. A majority say that attempts to stop a man from driving after excessive drinking are usually unsuccessful.

They will frequently, but quietly, take the responsibility of driving (when they are present), before the evening starts, even at the sacrifice of their enjoyment of the evening. There is some conscious resentment of having to be responsible while the man has fun, but most are willing to do it to avoid the confrontation (and the danger of riding with an intoxicated driver). In their minds, there may be some question of whether the bigger danger is the driving or the potential confrontation.

This does not mean that they don't feel the social responsibility and recognize the dangers of impaired driving. They nearly unanimously agree that hurting someone is the biggest problem with driving after drinking and that men think the biggest problem is getting caught. They accept the bonding behavior of men while drinking, and understand the men's feelings of invincibility and masculine control. They recognize the same conditions that other women and men claim make driving acceptable, although there seems to be more rationalization of DWI using their husband's size and drinking experience ("My husband's a good driver. He can drink a 6-pack when we're on a car trip and be perfectly fine.") This could be another reflection of the attempt to avoid confronting the man.

For all of the above reasons, they believe that other men have the best chance of success in convincing men not to drive. This is a reversal of the pattern seen previously, in which both men and women agreed that women have the better chance of success. In part, placing the responsibility on men allows them to remain in their non-confrontational lives, blaming their lack of success on their upbringings and the dominance of the men. And in part, it reflects their real fear of the Southern male who, according to some stories told in the groups, feels no compunction about abusing women when drunk -- either verbally or physically.

7. Reaction to the advertising was somewhat less enthusiastic than seen previously. It is clear, however, that the target and message are misunderstood by a majority of the women. Most believe that the main message is to not drive after drinking. While the children still evoke some powerful emotions, the power of the "real people" videos and montage seem to overwhelm the message: "The only thing I remember is

a kid swinging. I don't remember anything about drinking and driving." There may have been a statement of dissatisfaction with status quo in one woman's particular liking of the phrase "Take a Stand", from the "Cousin" commercial. She thought this phrase should have been in all of the ads. Other women in that group started using the phrase in the subsequent discussion. This would suggest perhaps some hope that Southern women can become a stronger force in getting Southern men to stop driving after drinking. Generally, they seem quite unable to do so, now.

DETAILED FINDINGS

DRINKING PATTERNS

A. As seen in the pilot research among women in the Northeast, women see virtually the same benefits to drinking as the men do.

- "It gives you a reason to act silly."
- "It keeps you from killing the kids"
- "Lets you unwind after a long day's work."
- "Makes it lively when other people are around."
- "It makes you loose so you can socialize."

B. The moods produced by drinking vary from increasing the relaxation factor to increasing the party factor.

- "Drinking makes you feel like cranking up the music and dancing."
- "Things don't bother you as much."
- "I get turned on."

C. They drink with their men as well as by themselves, as seen among Northern women. Younger women, however, are more likely to be drinking without their men than are older women. Women believe they are less likely to be present at their men's drinking occasions than men are at the women's drinking occasions.

- "friends"
- "the gang"
- "most of the time with other couples"

D. As observed among Northern women, there is a tendency for uncontrolled drinking to occur less frequently as their men age. When the younger men get drunk, it's problematic but almost expected behavior. When older men get drunk (especially older men with families), it begins to be seen as aberrant behavior.

Specifically, those women who notice that the frequency of heavy drinking is not declining among their men over time voice concerns about alcoholism, troubled personalities and the economic and social effects of drinking heavily, expressed in almost resentful terms.

- "If he goes to the store to buy beer and it's a budget week, and he forgets to bring something for me, then I'm even madder. If you're going to step out of bounds, think of others at least."
- "If I spend a dollar, he'll say we don't have the money for this. But it's nothing for him to go out and buy all that beer."
- "I don't worry about his getting a ticket. I hope he does get a ticket and goes to jail."
- "I get so mad at mine, I just feel like taking his clothes to his brother-in-law's house, pouring lighter fluid on them and talking a match to them. I get mad because I like to drink, but I know there's a time and place for everything. I'm jealous."

E. They recognize the litany of negative effects of heavy drinking but, as a group, are less likely than Northern women to mention driving early in their lists -- possibly reflecting their apparently greater concerns about the personality, economic and social effects of alcohol.

- "I worry that he'll turn into an alcoholic."
- "You have to get up the next day."
- "It costs a lot of money."
- "Fighting."
- "Saying something you don't mean."
- "I'd much rather buy some rum and a daiquiri mix and have a bunch of people over. It costs too much to drink out."
- "Spending too much money. It feels like you're wasting all that money on nothing."
- "You have to deal with tempers, mean drunks."
- "I'm afraid he'll never stop drinking."

F. Among older women in this region, there seemed to be more drinking at other people's homes than at bars and taverns. It is possible that the older women who are unable to stop the frequency of heavy drinking see the homes of others as a safer venue for such drinking and attempt to control not the behavior but the potential effects of the behavior. Older women seem markedly more concerned about heavy drinking.

- "I'm not a party-er any more. I pretty much stay home and have a nice drink and sit by the pool."
- "Home is good because you don't have to worry about driving anywhere."

G. When these women were asked what they think about when their men are drinking without them, they express concern, but do not seem likely to take strong actions -- either to prevent problems in the current drinking bout or in future occasions. They just seem to accept the consequences of drinking, and their own states of worry, as unchangeable.

- "I get so worried about his drinking and driving. It's just been driven into my brain not to do that."
- "I think about the fact that he'd rather spend a lot of time with someone else instead of me."
- "I worry about whether he's binge drinking and might be an alcoholic."
- "I think about whether he's after some hot little number at the bar."
- "Whether he's flirting."

- "I think about how much money he's spending. He knows what he can spend. I wouldn't let it get out of hand, but you do blow a lot of money when you go out."
- "All he thinks about is having a good time. He's not at all concerned about what I'm thinking."
- "I'm angry but I'm worried at the same time. I'm scared that he's going to be in an accident or that he's going to get caught again."
- "I just want him to get home safe, not to drive drunk. But they don't even think about it."
- "I'm angry when he doesn't tell me, because I don't know where he is. So I get angry when I'm expecting him. Yet I'm happy when he's home safe. But then I get even madder."
- "My husband has gotten away with it for so long that he doesn't think about doing it. He just does it. He thinks 'Everybody else does it; why not me?'."
- "He's got friends who drink a 6-pack before they go to work in the morning. So that's what I worry about. They drink together."

H. When they drink with their men, the women's behavior is largely keyed to the behavior of the men, which has 2 possible manifestations in the women:

1. They assume the mantle of responsibility for controlling the situation and for driving safety.
 - "I'm always concerned that I don't drink too much, so we can drive home."
2. They feel "allowed" to act in the same manner as the men.
 - "It's permission to be crazy."
 - "It depends on how they're behaving."
 - "If they're being asses, then you can be too."

I. When drinking with their men, they express almost a sense of fear.

- "I worry about the abuse -- physical and emotional."
- "If we're drinking when we argue, it's worse than when we're not drinking."
- "Sometimes he drinks so much, he ruins the whole occasion."
- "I'm kind of worried that I'm going to blurt out stuff that I've been holding in for the past week."

J. They see themselves as unable to control the situations arising from heavy drinking -- including verbal and physical abuse...

- "I tried to talk to him, but he just pushed me away and told me to get away from him."
- "Alcohol has been a major problem with me and my boyfriend. Every time we drink together we end up drunk and in a fight. It started to get violent at one point -- just pushing around, but I broke his hand when I threw a chair at him. I don't know if it was the alcohol was making him violent, or I was, but it's a major problem if we both drink."
- "I never tried to stop anyone I didn't know. They might haul off and smack me."

...as well as the embarrassment and financial consequences reported previously.

DRIVING AFTER DRINKING

A. The dangers of driving after drinking seem less a priority among these Southern women than they were among Northern women. The effects on driving seem less important than the other effects of heavy drinking -- confrontation, severe arguments and the potential for violence.

B. As seen previously, women are primarily concerned about the potential for driving after drinking to hurt others, while they think men are more concerned about getting caught.

- "That's why they do it. They like to beat the odds."
- "They forget about everything once they're behind the wheel."
- "Even when they see an officer standing at the door, they figure a way to distract him so they can drive. It's like a challenge."
- "When they're drunk, it's just kind of a game -- to do it and outsmart us. They'll just see what they can get away with. To them, it's just funny."
- "They think that even if they get caught, they can talk their way out of it."
- "Every time they get away with it, they get into it: 'I did it once, I can do it again.' They get their ego going."
- "Most people think the biggest problem is losing their license. I'd be up the creek if I lost my license. That's my biggest problem."
- "When he sees that police officer, he just reaches down and grabs his mouthwash."
- "One time he did get pulled over and they let him go, darn it. I wish they had locked him up. I told him I would come get him if he had too much, but I won't come get him if he gets locked up."

C.

1. They see the usual conditions which seem to them to rationalize driving after drinking.
 - "...not being tense when you start drinking"
 - "My husband is a good driver, so he can drink a 6 pack on a car trip and be fine."
 - "If you're 2 minutes from your house and you're going down back roads, you can dodge the cops."
 - "You've driven down those roads when you're tired. Since alcohol makes you tired, it's the same thing."
 - "It's OK if you eat dinner afterwards"
 - "Allow an hour per drink."
 - "I'll ask my husband if he's OK. I respect it. He always says yes."
 - "...how often you drink. You build up a tolerance."
2. Most believe that beer is less intoxicating than spirits and that a shot of liquor has more alcohol than a 12 ounce can of beer.
 - "Liquor is worse than beer, you get more buzz."
 - "Liquor makes them wilder and meaner. When he drinks liquor, I can't say anything or he'll jump down my throat. I can't deal with that."
 - "Beer makes you an all-around guy -- he's OK, you can talk to him. If he drinks vodka, I don't want to be around him."

D. Older women are more likely to take action than younger women, probably because they are more confident in their roles and more secure in their relationships.

- "I'll take the keys from my husband."
- "I pulled a girl out of her car. If somebody's that drunk, I absolutely will not let them drive."
- "I said you're not driving and I took his keys. I had to talk to him for about an hour to get him out of the driver's seat. Finally he let me drive him home."
- "At my house, we'll throw anybody who's really drunk into the shower before we let him go."

INTERVENTION

A. Most of the women in these groups believe that men, not women, have a better chance of convincing other men not to drive after drinking. This represents a major difference from previous findings among both men and women, and may be enough to justify regional advertising with a different target.

- "His best friend, because they have that bond."
- "It's easier if the guys do it because they're not going to get mad at each other."
- "I would think a guy would be better in convincing a guy not to drive. They would listen to them. With a woman, they'll just think she's nagging. With a guy they'll listen."
- "If you're in a situation where there's a bunch of people around and your wife tells you that you can't drive, it threatens their masculinity. He'd rather listen to his buddies."
- "If you tell him he's too drunk to drive and his best friend agrees, then he'll agree. But if his best friend tells him he's OK, then he'll fight you."
- "One guy can force another guy to give up the keys. A woman can't do that. When somebody's drunk, it may come down to physical force."
- "The men use their macho talk -- you know how guys talk to other guys."
- "Most men who try to stop other guys from driving just talk them into staying and having another drink. Then they get the keys."
- "They don't want to admit that they're a wimp in front of a crowd, that they can't drive, that they're not cool."
- "...not some bitchy woman"
- "They don't want their woman to be right. They want their buddy to be right."
- "My husband would prefer me to say something, or con him, or trick him -- as long as I'm not bitching at him. If I have to bring someone else in, he gets humiliated. He likes to be the biggest."
- "They'll give a woman some lip."
- "If it's 2 guys, they're not going to want to get into it, like a man and woman would, like you would with your spouse."
- "Even if the guys get into it, they don't take it personally. If a woman tells him, he'll think: she doesn't trust me, she's nagging at me. If a guy tells him, he'll just blow it off. They wouldn't even bring it up the next day, where I'd hold a grudge for 3 days."
- "Two women tried to convince him not to drive. He went anyway."

B. Most have tried to convince a man not to drive, with mixed success. All agree that the man's willingness to accept the suggestion, rather than the woman's effort or tactics, is the prime determinant of success.

- "But if somebody says something, it usually just makes them mad."
- "When they're in that state of mind, you can't tell them nothin'."

- "Sometimes you can drink and they get more affectionate and you can talk them into anything. And there are other times when nothing works."
- "I've gotten people to stay over until morning."
- "It was at a bar. My friend was going to drive. Six people were trying to stop him. We had already called his girlfriend to come up there. He said he would wait for her to drive, but he didn't."
- "I think men drink alcohol to get rid of a lot of anxieties that society gives them. And if you get in the way, men feel humiliated."
- "When he gets mad, he's going to drive. I can't take the keys, so I help him drive."

C.

1. The Charlotte women seem to accept the responsibility for driving when they are present, even though they express some inward resentment for being forced to assume that role. They recognize themselves as caretakers and are, at least outwardly, willing to sacrifice their own recreation for the perceived increase in safety (for both themselves and their men).

- "He just loves beer. I don't drink that much. So I'd rather let him do it and know that one of us can drive. I don't mind it."
- "Women worry about things much more than men do, because we're more in touch with feelings."
- "Most of the time (taking the responsibility for driving) doesn't bother me."
- "I'll just watch myself or not drink at all. He can get sloppy-drunk and I don't care. At least I know he'll get home safe."
- "When we're out with couples, it seems like the women take care of who's getting who home. We just plan it out. But when the guys are out by themselves, I'll bet every one of them drives home drunk. Guys are not going to say anything to each other about not driving."
- "I don't think it's fair that I have to drive. I always have to be the one who can't drink because he's getting drunk. I feel cheated."
- "I'm always the designated driver. But then I can't enjoy myself. It's like I'm the mother hen and I've got to take care of my boys."

2. Some insecurity in their relationships with the men also inhibits strong action.

- "You get to the point where you watch everything you say, because it might cause him to walk off."
- "It has to be more than just 1 or 2 dates (before you can say something). The girl is less likely to say something if you're still in that impression stage."
- "You worry about what you might say that would make him so quiet, or that would make him not call you."
- "I'd embarrass him if I said something at a party and he won't go out with me anymore. He'll go alone."

D. This does not mean that they are unaware of the dangers of driving after drinking. Those dangers, however, seem to be lower on their lists of concerns than the other (surer) effects of heavy drinking. Those who do have a consciousness about driving, try to address it beforehand, not when driving is imminent, in order to avoid what are seen as (the more worrisome) effects of a confrontation with the men.

- "I'll avoid the confrontation at all costs, but if he's had too many, I'm not getting into that car."

E. They tend to see their own attempts to control driving after drinking as negative behavior, rather than positive behavior -- as nagging, rather than ensuring safety. Thus, they accept the men's descriptions of women's attempts to control DWI, which are demeaning to the women -- even though they know the characterizations are wrong.

- "I've been told I'm a nag all the time. If I told him he was drinking too much, he'd just think I was nagging more."
- "I can just be a total witch. So instead of arguing forever, he'll just give in."
- "Women nag. That's the way the guys take it."
- "He thinks he's glad I'm not there to nag him about how much he's drinking."
- "He blames it on me. It's always my fault. It's my fault he goes out with the guys. It's my fault he doesn't come home. I do bitch at him, but it's not fair, if you're married and have a family, that he can go out and have a good time with the guys when you're home trying to take care of the house and the kids."
- "He drinks alone because he doesn't want to get bitched at twice."
- "He has a good time when he drinks without me there. He don't have the kids, he don't have my mouth. He's just sitting there with the guys, watching the race."

F.

1. They tend to see attempts to stop people from driving after drinking as largely unsuccessful because of men's need to be in control.
 - "You just hope they don't hit you."
 - "Men have no inhibitions. They think they're invincible. They're sure they can make it home. A woman will allow you to drive her home or call her a taxi, but a man won't. It's an ego thing, a pride thing. Men can do anything. (If they accept a ride), they'll be admitting they're not in control of the situation."
 - "I think guys are more childish. Girls are more mature. Men are irresponsible, they don't think before they act and don't think about the consequences of their action."
 - "God forbid they would ever admit they were too drunk to drive."
2. A very few realize that they can use these accepted stereotypes to control the situation.
 - "You say things that build men's egos in front of their friends -- whatever, just to get the keys. You don't even have to mean it."
 - "It's not the way you do things here. You have to use your womanly wiles. Bitching and nagging won't work. That's why they're drinking to start with. You never ever humiliate a man in front of his friends."
 - "I just said 'Let's keep drinking so we don't have to drive' and waited for him to pass out."
 - "He has a bad temper. I think that if I show him how calm I can be, then maybe it will rub off on him. It's worked so far -- recently."
3. In reporting their own feelings when seeing an impaired man about to drive, they are torn between the feeling that saying something would be futile and the realization that the probability for hurting someone is greatly increased.
 - "They don't even think about it. They think they're fine."

- "When I see someone about to drive I'm real angry because they could be hurting me. If they want to kill themselves, that's fine. But they could also kill an innocent person."
4. They claim that the only way men will stop driving after drinking is if they or a close friend experiences a tragic accident while driving drunk.
- "You can't tell them anything. Something tragic would have to happen to open their eyes."
 - "I just hope it doesn't take a death to stop this group."
 - "I have a girlfriend who has the attitude that if he wants to do it, just let him because he'll just have to learn the hard way."

G. They claim that their abdication of action in preventing driving after drinking is part of their upbringing. They say they are taught not to interfere with men's wills. (In fact, the claim of this upbringing provides an excuse to avoid the problems that they are sure would arise if they tried to interfere.)

- "Sometimes I wonder, but I trust his judgment most of the time."
- "In the North women are more direct and in the South women are more sweet. Southern men perceive Southern women as weaker and Northern women as stronger. Women (here) are seen as the mother of the children; they don't wear the pants, they don't have the say-so in the house. That's the way they've grown up."
- "Southern women keep their mouths shut more."
- "Southern women are less temperamental. They just do what the men say."
- "Women here are not so direct, with rude comments."
- "More lady-like"
- "I'll hint around and that means something. But if the message doesn't get through, I won't do any more."
- "Most women are jealous that men can go out and blow off steam. It's a guy thing."
- Some defend or excuse their inaction.
- "I try to avoid bitching and cursing at him. I don't say anything. It just gives him an excuse to stay out late more and drink. So I don't. I'll offer a ride home once, but I won't push it."
- "I don't worry about it. My conscience is clear, knowing that I made an offer. You can't save the world. I can't worry about everybody. I don't insist or take the keys."
- "Southern men are more domineering."
- "The men are brought up that way. Their mamas never talked back to their fathers."

H. Their claim that Southern men are too strong to be persuaded by a woman appears to be based in experience. Virtually all reported problematic confrontations at one time or another, in trying to convince a man not to drive. This intimidation -- resulting in fear of physical harm or of violent verbal argument, or of permanent damage to the relationship -- once experienced, is not forgotten. The memory of the confrontation inhibits additional effort.

- "I've seen his temper get up so much that I was scared."
- "I've seen someone get beat up trying to take keys. It's enough to make you avoid the situation completely -- not say anything at all."

- "I have a few friends who were abused by their husbands because of drinking. They're just too scared to say anything."
- "If you're intimidated by somebody, you're not going to try to provoke them into something that's going to make them react violently toward you."
- "I've tried several times with no success. It really threatens him when I say something, so I don't say it."
- "In my situation, he started drinking more because we were probably on our way to not being together any more. But it doesn't matter now, what I think doesn't matter."
- "The guys are rednecks here. They enjoy their beer times and their buddies."
- "I try to avoid things that are going to cause anger, because anger only gets fueled by the alcohol."
- "I'm afraid. That's why I always approach the idea carefully. He could pulverize me in one blow. That's why I
- "Guys down here are more macho types. They're rednecks. They don't want this woman saying something in front of their friends."

I. Because women fear the confrontation, they tend to agree that discussion beforehand is the only way to control driving after heavy drinking. They recognize, however, that this will work only when they are present. Pre-drinking discussions, they felt, should focus on avoidance of argument, since most (not all) said that men, when sober, regretted their abusive behavior.

- "Make the point clear before you go out."
- "The pact beforehand doesn't always work; he becomes invincible again."
- "It's a lot easier when we know ahead of time. When I said I'm going to get drunk, he said OK and he drove and let me drink."
- "If they put it in writing, you can just bring it out and show them that they promised not to drive."
- "You have to make them give you the keys before they start drinking."
- "I'm always socializing and talking. He gets real insecure: he just knows that guy was looking at me funny. So we'll fight. But we always say we wouldn't do that if we hadn't been drinking."

ADVERTISING

Two approaches to communications were utilized in these groups. Two groups were asked to construct a persuasive message to women which would convince them to intervene. The other 2 groups were asked to respond to the existing PSA's.

A. In the message construction exercise, 4 themes were utilized, with the attempted goals of making women feel -- variously -- "sad", "worried", "concerned", "scared", "empty", "aware", "encouraged", "confident", "driven", or "bold".

Themes and Rationales

1. Confidence-building

- "Speak up for the ones you love"
- "I think a lot of women feel inferior to say that you've had too much to drink. They might be scared to speak up because of the response they'll get."
- "If you don't do anything about it now, there won't be anything you can do about it in the end."
- "Take the keys. Don't let him kill himself or someone else."

- "I want women to feel like they're responsible. They have a say in their life and in their relationship."
- "Women would do more if they felt more comfortable and weren't going to cause an argument."

2. Effect on future life

- "Don't let your future drive drunk."
- "I think about my family, my future, what I'm going to be doing 5 years from now with my husband."
- "Women need to see how much it would hurt to lose their husbands or boyfriends."
- "Protect your protector."

3. Death as a consequence

- "Don't let your boyfriend end up dead"
- "Whether or not you're going to have a future with that person, you're still concerned about his life."
- "If you value him and his life and your life, stop him. Don't let him drive drunk."

4. Guilt

- "Show him sitting beside a gravestone. He walked away and she died and he has to go visit her grave. He's going to have guilt."
- "I don't want to talk to a grave once a week."
- "I would feel the guilt for the rest of my life for not getting the keys from him, if he died."
- "Do you love him enough to stop him from risking his life and the lives of others?"
- "Do you love him enough to be willing to start a fight so he'll live?"

B. Reactions to existing PSA's paralleled those observed previously.

1. Several had seen one or more of the existing pool of PSA's and expressed strong emotional responses, especially to the videos of the children.

- "It's really sad."
- "That got to me. I have a little girl that age."
- "They're not actors. That's a real little girl who's not her any more."
- "It's terrible to die that young."

2. While the strengths of "Brendan" and "Andrea" (and the "Innocent People" montage) are in their reality and emotional sensitivity, it was quite clear that the message to intervene with a friend, was missed by most viewers. A large majority of each group believed that the main messages focused on admonitions against driving drunk.

- "You're so touched by the kids that you don't hear the message at the end. Your mind doesn't leave the little girl. It took me until the last commercial to hear the slogan at the end."
- "The only thing I remember is a kid swinging. I don't remember anything about drinking and driving."
- "(The intent of the commercial is to) keep you from drunk driving. It's addressed to drunk drivers."
- "It's directed to mothers, mothers and fathers."
- "This would affect my husband but it wouldn't stop him."

- "(message is) Don't get in your car to drive because innocent people can get hurt."
 - "It just burns me up, this one even a little more because I love little boys. It makes me think I'll never drink and drive again. It's not worth it. I have a little boy 6 years old."
 - "It's geared towards women, so it wouldn't work as well."
 - "Unless the guys have children, they might watch it for the moment, but then they'd forget about it."
3. The "Cousin" and "Kevin" spots, however, seemed to communicate more clearly the message of intervention rather than of admonition.

Message is...

- "Don't be stupid."
 - "Try to stop him"
 - "You should have said something."
 - "Don't hold your tongue if you feel like you should say something."
 - "Don't let your friend drive drunk."
 - "Take a stand,"
 - "Speak up and say something."
 - "It showed her thinking and being able to use it. Seeing what was going to happen and then doing something about it."
 - "She was scared to say something, but she did it anyway."
4. There is the slight suggestion that some women don't really want the responsibility of convincing someone not to drive, reflecting the protection provided by their self-described "non-interfering upbringings". This suggests that some work may be necessary to convince them that they can do it, before convincing them to do it.
- "I think the driver should be dealt with, not someone who is supposed to stop him from driving."

FOCUS GROUP #6

Discussion Guide

DISCUSSION GUIDE

- I. Introductions and warm up (10 minutes)
 - A. What a focus group is.
 - B. Need for complete and honest answers, own opinions, don't be swayed by group or what you think is "the right thing" to say.
 - C. Role of the moderator
 - D. (As appropriate) observers, mirror
 - E. Recording, assurance of privacy
 - F. Self introductions (name, hometown, demographics, occupation, hobbies or interests, favorite alcohol beverage)

- II. Drinking (10 minutes)
 - A. What's fun about drinking? How does it make you feel?
 - B. Who do you usually drink with? Out of every 10 times your boyfriends go drinking, how many times do you go too. What kinds of feelings do you have when you are there? What do you think about? What kinds of feelings do you have when you are not there? What do you think about then?
 - C. Is there a bad side to drinking? What is it? What other bad sides are there? (Look for unaided mentions of driving/having to drive/ effect of driving on other people.)

- III. DWI AND INTERVENTION (Projective basis) (40 min)
 - A. Now let's talk about driving after drinking
 - B. What's the biggest problem with driving after drinking? (getting hurt or getting caught?)
 - C. Is it sometimes OK to drive after drinking alcohol? What circumstances make it OK? PROBE FOR: situation, what you've been drinking, number consumed, alone or with others, distance to be driven, how you feel, time since last drink?
 - D. All of us have seen situations where people have driven when they probably shouldn't have driven. Think about the times you've seen that happen.
 - What thoughts do you think go through their minds at that point?
 - And what thoughts go through your minds at that point?
 - Are there some people who try to convince them not to drive, or does everybody pretty much leave the decision to the individual? Why do people intervene/not intervene?
 - * Are there people who try to convince them not to drive? Who? Who is the person that has the greatest chance of success? Why do you think that person is the right one? What would have to be said for those people to be convinced? Why do you think that would work? What kind of reactions would you expect? And how should those reactions be handled?

IV. Intervention (Direct basis) (30 minutes)

A. Do your boyfriends occasionally drive after drinking? Does it bother you? How do you feel about it? Do you think it's possible to do something about it? Why/not? What do you think could be done? Do you think you could do something about it? What do you think you could do? What do you think others could do?

B. Have you ever tried to convince them not to drive? The last time you tried to convince your husband or boyfriend not to drive...

Where were you?

Who else was there?

What were you drinking?

What did you say or do?

(What did the others say or do?)

What did he do?

Did it work?

Why do you think it worked or didn't?

IF NOT, What would you have had to change in order to make it work?

Why do you think that would have made a difference?

Will you try it again? (IF NO, why not?)

C. What do the rest of you think about that method? Would it work for you? Why/not? What would you change to make it right for your situation? Why would that have to change?

D. There are different points in time when you might try to convince another person not to drive after drinking. Do you think the attempt is more likely to work if you try to convince them before they start drinking, during drinking or when they're just about to get into the car? Why?

E. Can you ever get your husband/boyfriend to agree before you go out that you will drive home? How do you get him to agree to this?

F. If you try to intervene after drinking has started, what approaches work best? Why do you think those work best? What approaches do you know about that you're sure would not work? Why do you think they don't work?

G. Have you ever tried to convince your husband or boyfriend not to drive once you were actually in the car? Did it work? Why/why not?

H. What other ways have you tried to manage the situation so that your husband or boyfriend didn't have to drive after drinking?

V. Advertising (30 minutes)

A. Have you seen advertising on this subject? Do you think it works or not? Why?

B. I'm going to show you some advertisements that are intended to prevent driving after drinking. SHOW INDIVIDUALLY

"Andrea"
"Brendan"
"Innocent People"
"Cousin"
"Lost Keys"

FOR EACH:

What's the main message here?
Who is the intended target for that commercial?
Is that an effective ad? In what way?
How did that ad make you feel?
Do you think you would be more likely to try to intervene with someone who was intending to drive if you had recently seen this ad?
Do you think you would be more likely to agree not to drive if you had seen this ad? Why? (CHALLENGE: There have been lots of these ads. Why this one?)
What aspects of the ad struck a chord with you? Why did those things strike a chord?
What aspects of the ad struck you as being ineffective for you? Why was that ineffective for you?

AFTER ALL SHOWN:

WRITE: Which of those do you think will do the best job of reducing driving after drinking? Why that one?
What changes would you make in this advertising to make it more effective?
Who should be shown in the commercials in order to make it most effective? Why them? (PROBE FOR: victims, drivers friends/survivors?)

- C. These ads were actually made to encourage people who are around drunk drivers to stop them from driving. Is that message to intervene clear? Why/not? What could be done to make it clearer?
- D. IN WRITING: Complete this sentence in 5 words or less.
"I'd do more to convince guys not to drive after drinking if _____." Why said that?
- E. What messages do you think would help more women intervene before their husbands and boyfriends drive? Why would that be the right message?
- F. If you could tell people about drinking and driving what would you say?
1. What's the worst part of drinking and driving?
2. Who would you tell? Why them?
- G. IF NEGATIVE STATEMENT IN "C": If you'd say that, then what keeps you from doing more to stop it?

BEVERAGE SURVEY

ASK TO SPEAK WITH FEMALE 21-35

Hello, my name is _____ from _____. We're conducting a survey and I'd like to ask you a few questions.

1. First, do you or does any member of your immediate family work for (READ LIST):
- a market research firm
 - a market research department
 - an advertising agency
 - a soft drink or alcoholic beverage manufacturer or distributor
 - a distillery or liquor or beer distributor
 - a liquor store, bar, tavern, restaurant or cocktail lounge
 - a publication related to food and beverages
 - a company that sells, manufactures or distributes any type of alcohol beverages

IF YES TO ANY OF THE ABOVE, TERMINATE AND TALLY

2. Have you ever participated in a market research discussion group?
Yes -ASK Q3 No -SKIP TO Q4
3. When was the last time you participated in a market research discussion group?

_____ IF LESS THAN 6 MONTHS
AGO, TERMINATE AND TALLY

4. Which of the following categories includes your age?
- Under 21 -TERMINATE
 - 21-25 -----> CHECK QUOTAS
 - 26-30 -----> AND CONTINUE
 - 31-35 -----> WITH Q5
 - 36-40 -TERMINATE
 - 41-50 -TERMINATE
 - 51 or over -TERMINATE

5. Are you presently married, engaged to be married, or have a steady boyfriend?
Married Engaged Have Boyfriend

RECRUIT FOR MIX OF 3 CATEGORIES. IF NO TO ALL 3 TERMINATE

6. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
- Some high school
 - High school graduate
 - Some college
 - College graduate -TERMINATE AND TALLY
 - Post graduate -TERMINATE AND TALLY
7. Now I'd like to ask some questions about your (ANSWER TO Q5)
8. Is your (ANSWER IN Q5) currently employed full-time, or not?
- Employed full time
 - Employed part time
 - Not employed
9. And what is your (ANSWER TO Q5)'s current or most recent job? I need you to be as specific as possible.

INTERVIEWER: THE OCCUPATION QUESTION (Q9) IS CRITICAL. ALL HUSBANDS, FIANCEES, BOYFRIENDS OF THESE WOMEN MUST BE TRUE BLUE COLLAR WORKERS. THIS COULD INCLUDE CRAFTSMEN, FOREMEN, SKILLED LABORERS, OR UNSKILLED LABORERS. MEN WHO WORK IN AN OFFICE OR WHO USUALLY WEAR A SHIRT AND TIE TO WORK DISQUALIFIES THE WOMEN

- 10a. Does he drink beer?
- Yes
 - No -TERMINATE
- b. In an average week, about how many times does he drink beer?
- Once a week or less -TERMINATE
 - 2 times
 - 3 times
 - 4 or more times

INTERVIEWER: QUESTION IS INTENDED TO GET NUMBER OF DRINKING OCCASIONS, NOT NUMBER OF DRINKS ON EACH OCCASION

11. On the average, about how often do you both go together to a place where people may drink alcohol, such as a bar or tavern, restaurant or a party?
- More than once a week
 - Once a week
 - 2-3 times a month
 - Once a month -TERMINATE
 - Less than once a month -TERMINATE

IF NECESSARY, FOR Q12-14, ASSURE RESPONDENT OF COMPLETE SECRECY OF ANSWERS

12. During the past year, has your (ANSWER TO Q5) had the occasion to drink 5 or more beers during one drinking occasion when you are with him?

Yes () No ()-TERMINATE

13. And during the past year, has he driven any distance after having 3 or more beers?

Yes () No ()-TERMINATE

14. And during the past year, have there been any situations in which your (ANSWER TO Q5) has driven any distance after you felt he had too much to drink?

Yes () No ()-TERMINATE

15. And, just to switch gears for the last question -- Let's say you received a check for \$50,000 in the mail. You won a sweepstakes. How would you spend the \$50,000. What's the first thing you would do? Why? What else would you do?

INTERVIEWER: THE PURPOSE OF THIS QUESTION IS TO OBTAIN PARTICIPANTS WHO ARE ARTICULATE. IF RESPONDENT CAN NOT EXPRESS IDEAS CLEARLY AND THOUGHTFULLY, DO NOT RECRUIT. THAT RESPONDENT CAN NOT BE ACCEPTED FOR THIS PROJECT!

16. We're conducting a panel discussion with people like yourself to learn more about consumer opinions. This discussion will be held on (DATE/DAY) at (TIME) and will last approximately 2 hours. For participating, we will pay you (AMOUNT OF CO-OP).

IF NECESSARY, MENTION THAT NO GOVERNMENT AGENCY IS INVOLVED AND THAT ANSWERS WILL REMAIN STRICTLY ANONYMOUS

b. Would you be willing to attend?

Yes ()-SCHEDULE FOR GROUP No ()-TERMINATE

NAME _____ INTERVIEWER _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ TEL _____

IMPORTANT NOTE: The focus group reports should be read as a research series (Reports 1-7). Taking findings out of context from individual reports may lead to inappropriate conclusions.

**EXPLORATORY RESEARCH AMONG
POTENTIAL DWI INTERVENERS**

Focus Group Report #7

Prepared for
Harvard School of Public Health

Prepared by
Werby Marketing

September, 1995

Prepared as part of the research project "Strategic Advertising Plans to Deter Drunk Driving," funded by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration under Agreement No. DTNH22-92-Y-0547. The insights, opinions and conclusions expressed in the reports are those of Werby Marketing, and may differ to some degree with those of the principal investigators or other co-investigators in the study, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

Prior research has shown that the current "victims" advertising for the NHTSA anti-DWI effort generates high levels of awareness by showing victims of alcohol-involved automobile accidents. Research also suggests that the intended message -- to intervene with someone who is about to drive drunk -- is being suppressed by the highly emotional nature of the commercials.

In an effort to improve viewer understanding that the message is aimed at potential interveners, 5 new copy lines were developed. These new lines were inserted by voice-over into the existing "Innocent Victims" (Collage) commercial. This commercial shows a series of photos of individuals or families killed by drunk drivers. It is accompanied by very sad music and the final tag line "Friends Don't Let Friends Drive Drunk." The five voice-over messages that were tested were:

1. "If you don't stop someone from driving drunk, who will? Do whatever it takes."
2. "If you really care for someone, don't let them drive drunk. Do whatever it takes."
3. "It may be difficult to stop someone from driving drunk, but you must."
4. "Stopping someone from driving drunk is never easy, but please, do whatever it takes."
5. "Do everything you can to stop someone from driving drunk. Everything."

Consumer response was required to determine potential value of the new lines in communicating the intervention message to potential interveners.

PURPOSE AND METHOD

The purpose of this research is to explore attitudes of potential male and female interveners towards driving after drinking and to determine potential effectiveness of new copy lines intended to strengthen the intervention message of the campaign.

To this end, we conducted 4 focus groups each in the Boston, MA and Charlotte, NC metro areas -- 2 among men and 2 among women in each city -- in mid-June, 1995.

Qualified men were defined as follows:

white, blue collar employed men who...

- drink beer 3 or more times in an average week
- go to a bar or tavern once a week or more
- have had 5 or more beers on at least one occasion in past year
- claim they can drink 5 or more beers and still be able to drive safely
- have driven any distance after drinking 5 or more beers during the past year
- have ever tried to stop someone from driving after drinking OR have experienced someone trying to stop them from driving after drinking

In each city, one group was conducted among men 21-26 years old and the other among men 27-32 years old. All men were non-graduates of college, and either engaged, married or with steady girlfriends.

Qualified women were defined as follows:

white, employed (part or full time) women who...

- are girlfriends, fiancées or wives of men who have driven any distance after drinking 5 or more beers during the past year and are not currently attending college
- drink with the men at bars or taverns at least 2 times in an average month

Their boyfriends, fiancées or husbands were white blue collar workers who had not graduated from a 4 year college. In each city, one group was conducted among women 21-26 years old and the other among women 27-32 years old.

A WORD OF CAUTION

The findings, conclusions, implications and hypotheses presented in this report are based on qualitative research.

Samples for qualitative research are generally small and are neither representative of nor projectable to a larger group of the population. In addition, because the primary goal of qualitative research is to obtain information in-depth, the questioning, techniques and wording can vary from group to group or from respondent to respondent, in order to maximize the amount of information obtained and to ensure that the questioning is tailored to each group's/respondent's needs and abilities.

Therefore, findings reported herein should be viewed with caution; conclusions, implications and hypotheses should be used as starting points for additional thinking on the particular subject or issue.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Overall, none of the 5 lines appears able to accomplish the objective of persuading potential interveners to try to stop someone who is about to drive drunk. This is not because of any characteristics of the lines themselves. Rather, their inability to be persuasive seems more attributable to the fact that they are relatively unimportant parts of the commercial. When the commercial containing each line was exposed first, the words were not remembered and few respondents even recalled that the spoken lines had been present. The only words remembered by some respondents (in addition to the "killed..." supers) was the "Friends Don't Let Friends Drive Drunk" tagline, primarily because it was visualized and because it was so familiar.

This indicates that none of the 5 lines, as inserted into the commercial -- using a relatively soft-spoken feminine voice-over only -- was able to interrupt the high emotions generated by the pictures of victims.

Moreover, even after participants are aware of the intervention messages in the commercials, findings suggest that viewers have difficulty in matching the message of the words with the apparent message of the visuals. This probably reflects the fact that the visuals are oriented to the act of driving drunk, while the words are oriented to the act of intervention. This seems to present a source of some confusion and should be rectified prior to use of the copy lines. At the least, it probably prevents full impact of the intervention statements.

2. There appear to be three segments of potential interveners:
 - those who are now actively intervening with, or have formulated working strategies to avoid having to deal with, people who are about to drive drunk
 - those who are committed philosophically to the idea of intervention but who are not now active, either because of fear or because they don't know the methods to use.
 - those who recognize the problem but cannot be persuaded to intervene, because they do not see intervention as their responsibility.

It would seem that intervention messages have greatest appeal to those in the first group. The stronger the message to these people, the more they seem to approve of it. However, the messages will not encourage GREATER intervention because these people are already active. Those in the second group seem to like stronger messages, but the potential effectiveness of these messages will probably be diluted unless some encouragement or recognition of their bravery in trying to intervene is included (such as "it's never easy..."). Obviously, the intervention messages -- even the strong messages with encouraging portions -- will have little effect in the third group.

3. Within this overall finding, there seemed to be some strong and less strong elements within the lines themselves (discovered as respondents were exposed to the other lines within the commercial context, and upon the subsequent forced exposure of the lines).
 - "Do Whatever It Takes": This line appears to be a strong appeal to men. It suggests that they can use (maybe even gives them "permission" to use) both physical strength and "dirty tricks" (let air out of tires, hide keys, remove coil wires, etc.) to stop someone. Women, however, are fearful of the unlimited effort required by the statement. They are concerned about their ability to stop a man who is physically bigger and stronger. Many, especially the Charlotte women, are intimidated by the idea of even trying to stop a man from driving, an idea seen in previous Charlotte research. (The shyness of Charlotte women noted previously was less present in this project because of the focus on advertising, rather than on intervention.)
 - "Do everything you can...": This line was more acceptable to the women who were concerned about doing "whatever it takes". This statement seems to recognize and accept their physical limitations.
 - "...you must": This imperative received mixed reviews. Those who appeared to be more socially-conscious accepted the idea that we (their words) must stop DWI. Those who express their own independence tend to reject the word "must" as somewhat maternal.
 - "It may be difficult.../It's never easy...": It seems important to acknowledge the difficulty of stopping someone who is about to drive. There was a significant negative reaction to the idea that it "may" be

difficult, especially among women but among some men as well. They want the statement to recognize that stopping a drunk driver is a difficult endeavor and thereby recognize their efforts when they do it.

- "Someone you really care for...": Again, there seemed to be a mixed reaction to this phrase. On the one hand, it personalizes the message and limits the number of people for whom respondents feel "responsible". On the other hand, some (again the more socially-conscious) object to the idea that only "people we care for" need to be stopped.

In addition, this phrase generates some confusion about whether the pictures were those of drunk drivers or of victims of drunk drivers.

- "...who will?": The guilt implied by this statement was accepted by those who are now active in trying to stop drivers. They accept the responsibility and therefore are willing to accept the guilt if they fail. Those who are not now active because of reticence to interfere, or because they are unwilling to accept responsibility for an irresponsible drinker, reject the guilt both for not trying and for failing to stop a driver. Charlotte women, particularly, appear less willing to accept guilt for their inability to stop an especially difficult drinker.
 - "...please": The pleading nature of this word seems to contradict the aggressiveness of the required action. To most, it was inappropriate because it was not challenging enough. They felt that the problem was too severe for a statement which asked, rather than told, the reader to act. Use of the word might even suggest less forceful actions.
4. There is not a universal willingness to accept responsibility to stop drinkers from driving. Among the young, lack of acceptance traces to their own independence and "respect" for the independence of others. Others, while older and recognizing the severity of the problem, insist that drivers be responsible for themselves and that severe laws deal with the problem. Some dislike the idea of not being allowed to have a good time because they have a responsibility to fulfill, while others simply refuse the challenge.
 5. The male voice-over was substantially more accepted than the female voice-over, to both men and women. Most felt it was more powerful and more authoritative.
 6. This research raises the question of whether to use a line which potential interveners like (because it recognizes, and therefore accepts, their current level of effort), or a line which may be less liked but which challenges people to move to (another level of) intervention. A "liked" line may be more effective in recognizing and continuing current efforts but may not be strong enough to encourage new interventions. A more challenging line may encourage current and new interveners, but can reinforce the anxiety of the situation to those who actually fear an intervention or to those who want a reason to continue to avoid it.
 7. Because of the likely effectiveness among the 3 segments noted above, this research implies that a stronger line with encouraging words would have greatest potential for increasing the level of intervention.

DETAILED FINDINGS

DRINKING ATTITUDES

A. Benefits and Disadvantages of Drinking

1. Both men and women see relaxation, socialization and relief of stress as the key benefits of drinking.
 - "It relaxes you."
 - "You socialize when you drink. You talk to people"
 - "You say what's on your mind. You can only do that where your friends are."
 - "It lets you forget about a bad day."
 - "Great place to meet girls."
2. Hangovers and driving are seen as the primary disadvantages of drinking. While hangovers tend to be mentioned before driving, younger men see legal and monetary ramifications of drunk driving as more relevant than the possibility of hurting someone.
 - "You could lose your license."
 - "You'll go to jail in this state."
 - "You can lose your job if you lose your license."
 - "The lawyers cost a fortune."
3. Younger women seem to see social faux pas as the primary disadvantage of drinking.
 - "You can make a really bad first impression."
 - "Sometimes you make a fool out of yourself if you've had too much. You get really poor judgment."
4. More older men and women are fully cognizant of driving as the greatest danger of drinking and fully recognize hurting people as the greater danger.
 - "You're endangering other people's lives along with your own."
 - "You can do a lot of damage just by getting into the car."
5. As the conversations turn to the dangers of driving, all respondents -- young and older -- seem to recognize the dangers of driving after drinking. So while the knowledge of the danger exists in younger people; it seems to take a second position to more personal and "more likely" consequences.
 - "It's the obvious problem, because there's so much publicity about it -- so many people getting killed."
 - "I didn't mention it as the first problem because you tend to think of drinking's effect on yourself before you think of its effect on others."
6. Women believe that all men are much less concerned about hurting someone than about getting caught...

- "Men have huge egos. They just don't think they're going to kill someone. No matter how many they've had, they always think they're OK to drive."
- "Women worry about other people. Men just worry about themselves."
- "The guys think they're in control."
- "I get so frustrated about this. They just don't listen. My husband's brother got pulled over a couple of weeks ago. I got really upset, but my husband just said 'Oh, he'll get out of it.'"
- "Guys think the biggest problem is getting caught. Women are more sensitive. We think more."

7. ...and the men generally tend to support the women's perceptions.

- "You never really know if you can drive. You feel like you can so you go. You never really know until you get arrested."
- "You learn how to go around it, how to do it."
- "There's always one guy who never listens. No matter how much you try, it comes to a point where you have to wrestle the guy to get the keys. Ever since I've known him, whether he's had 2 or 20, he will drive. You can't stop him. There's going to be people like that."
- "I'm probably one of those guys who doesn't care how much he's had. I just drive. I haven't been caught yet -- knock on wood."

8. Men, especially, have invented techniques which they believe help them to avoid arrest. These include:

- use back roads; drive slowly; don't drink that much when driving; chew gum; blast the radio; open the windows.

9. These include methods to avoid driving:

- "Let the guy who looks most like Richie Cunningham do the driving"
- "Leave the car and call a cab."
- "I've pulled the coil wire out of my car and called AAA and got a ride home with the tow guys. That way my car would be there in the morning. You learn how to use the system."

INTERVENTION

A. Difficulties with Intervention

1. Intervention incidence is inhibited by factors which, apparently, are considered consciously before any attempt is made to deter driving after drinking.

- "All you can do is give it a try. You really can't force someone to do something they don't want to do."
- "I'm not going to fight him. It's not worth it."
- "If they don't say OK, I'll just stop."
- "All you can do is put the idea in their head. You can't just tell them they can't drive."

2. Familiarity with the soon-to-be driver is a major key to determining the potential strength of the intervention.
 - "If you're dealing with someone you've grown up with and known all your life, then you might punch him out to stop him."
 - "If it was your best friend, you won't let him drive. But you can't be responsible for everybody."
 - "You have to know somebody to stop them from driving."
 - "Unless it's my best friend, I'll do a certain amount to help you out, but if you want to be an idiot, I'm not going to get into a fist fight over it."
3. In every group, there was represented the opinion that the responsibility for intervention should lie with someone else, or at least not with themselves.
 - "It should be the bartender's responsibility, not ours."
 - "If you walk up to a stranger and say something, you're going to get smacked."
 - "I refuse to take responsibility for these drunks."
 - "I have a friend who's an alcoholic. You just know he's been drinking all day. The last time he came over, he was drunk and then he drove away. I didn't say anything because that's Joel -- it's just who he is."

ADVERTISING

A. Advertising Awareness

1. The high level of claimed recall of anti-DWI advertising suggests that the "don't drink and drive" message has been internalized. Virtually all participants claim to recall some level of anti DWI advertising.
 - "the mugs crashing"
 - "the one where they all get into a car and they turn into skeletons"
 - "friends don't let friends drive drunk"
 - "picture of mother crying"
2. Some of the recall is of the current campaign and appears to generate spontaneous emotional response.
 - "Pictures of couples and families and children and when they died"
 - "Videos of kids when they tell you their kid was killed. It drives me crazy."
 - "The videos with the little kids get me the most. They are the most powerful I think."

B. Perceived Effectiveness

3. Most say that advertising works by creating awareness of the problem, but not by producing action against it. Most respondents believe that advertising is not an effective deterrent.

- "It doesn't do what's intended, but it makes people think."
 - "It makes sober people think twice, but it doesn't affect the drunk person. At that time, all they want to do is get somewhere."
 - "If somebody wants to do something, they're going to do it."
 - "It's not that great an influence because you're always saying it's not going to happen to me."
 - "When I'm coming out of a bar, I'm not thinking about a commercial."
 - "With teenagers, the only thing you're thinking about is you. You can't relate to somebody else's children because the world revolves around you. Commercials that would show THEM getting killed, -- that they could relate to."
4. Women are more responsive to advertising on this subject than are the men. They seem to have a greater ability to understand the potential impact of drunk driving.
- "It scares you, it wakes you up."
 - "It makes it reality"
 - "It makes people know when they shouldn't drive."
 - "When I look at that video, I think of my nieces and nephews and all the kids I hope to have."
5. Men's reactions, on the other hand, generally reflect a persisting adolescence, in their refusal to admit vulnerability.
- "The only thing that deters me is that a cop would pull me over."
 - "It affects me when I see the commercials, but it doesn't affect me after that."
6. Men generally think that the laws against drunk driving are effective deterrents. Some liken drunk driving to smoking -- a personal behavior which was previously acceptable, but is now under social pressure.
- "The ads affect people who don't drink and drive, so laws can be passed against drunk drivers."
 - "The laws are the result of social awareness which has been brought about by people not tolerating people getting killed by drunk drivers."
 - "DWI is looked down upon now. It's like smoking."
7. The perceived purpose of the advertising that respondents have seen is to produce awareness of the problem -- chiefly among people who do not drive drunk -- rather than to deter driving after drinking.
- "To show you what the consequences are."
 - "They're talking to me. I never drive drunk."
 - "They're talking to women, family people, people who wouldn't do it."
 - "It makes you aware."
 - "It makes you think."

THE COPY LINES

A. General

All of the copy lines, while intended to convey an intervention message, seem to suffer from two general weaknesses:

The visuals are not intervention visuals, but rather consequence visuals. They reflect the consequences of drunk driving. They do not include any visual reference to intervention. The only reference to intervention is in the copy lines and, finally, in the "Friends..." tagline. Thus, while most commercials would support the intended message with both copy and visuals, this commercial does not do so. This seems to produce a disadvantage for all the lines in this research, summed up by one woman: "The pictures should go along with the higher pressure on the individual. These pictures don't. They should have a crash -- something bold to go with the question ("...who will?").

The emotional strength of the visuals appears to prevent the taglines from being heard. In the exposure of the spot with the first tagline (rotated among the groups), nearly all members of each group reported not hearing the line.

- "I was aware of a voice, but I was also aware of the fact that I wasn't listening."
- "I was so in tune with the pictures, I never heard a word."

B. Specific Strengths and Weaknesses

1. "If you don't stop someone from driving drunk, who will? Do whatever it takes."

A) Strengths

1) The primary strength of this line is its personal tone. Both men and women generally felt that the message was speaking directly to them.

- "I thought it was directed right to me."
- "It put the responsibility on whoever is in contact, so you have to be responsible."
- "It's my job to stop people from driving drunk."

2) The line allows a conscious decision to be made about whether or not to intervene. To an extent, this moves some people forward from complacency.

- "This one lays the facts down in front of you and lets you answer for yourself."
- "This is a different way to look at it. I've never looked at it that way."
- "It makes you feel guilty."
- "You don't have to accept the guilt, but if you don't it's going to affect you somehow -- your sister, your brother, your friend. If you're not going to care, who is?"

- "This made me question myself as the friend. Is it my responsibility? It said 'who will stop them?'. It made me think that maybe it's my responsibility."
- "It's trying to make you realize that you have to act."
- "I felt a lot more pressure from 'who will'."

3) The question format seems to demand involvement.

- "This is a question. When somebody asks a question, the normal reaction is to answer back or react somehow. The (others) were just statements that you didn't have to react to."
"I felt pressure."

B) Weaknesses

1) The persistent context-related misunderstanding of target, demonstrated for all the lines, exists for this line as well, especially among younger men.

- "(The message is that) people die from drunk driving."
- "(The message is) don't kill anybody.."
- "It's intended to put a stigma on drunk driving."
- "How can you stop someone from driving drunk when you're drunk yourself?"

2) To some, the line seems to present a problem without producing a call to action. This is true in spite of the fact that the "Do whatever it takes" line follows the presentation of the "...who will" portion of the copy. This suggests that the emotion generated by the guilt overwhelms the line's call to action.

- "It's useless. It doesn't tell us that somebody needs to stop them."
- "I didn't even hear 'Do whatever it takes'."
- "The first sentence kind of hits you. You kind of block off the rest of it."

3) Younger men -- apparently the most frequent offenders -- resist the message almost unanimously. Any conversation about the tagline, even after forced exposure, devolves into defense of non-action and resistance to authority.

- "It seems like vigilante-ism. It says if you're out driving and you see somebody driving drunk, then you should run their car into a ditch because that's what it will take to stop them."
 - "People really like to be individuals. People don't want to stick out. They like to be backed by other people. So you wouldn't do it alone."
 - "I don't like the idea that it's up to me to stop them. It's a lot easier if you have 3 or 4 other people."
 - "I always hated the 'you' word. I like to use 'we'. WE should do this, not YOU HAVE TO do that."
2. "If you really care for someone, don't let them drive drunk. Do whatever it takes."

A. Strengths

1) The words and tone of this message sounded more urgent than the others, because to many the words were interpreted as a plea rather than as a mere statement or command. In large part this traces to the use of words "care for someone".

- "The first one sounded more tense."
- "It sounded more pleading, like she was begging."
- "It made me think about caring, not necessarily for the driver but for the others. I should care about my daughter who might be in the middle of the road when that person starts driving."

2) This line acquires a personal tone because of the pleading nature of the message.

- "It sounded more finite. You wouldn't take that tone with a stranger."
- "It was more directed at specific relatives This one said that you could show how much you care. The first one (...who will") said not to let anyone do it."
- "It had more emphasis on relatives. There was a close bond she was talking about, because of the tone of voice which was more like a mother talking to a child. It sounded more caring."
- "It's aimed at people you know because of the line '...if you really care'."
- "It's very personalized. Just go for the people you really care about. Make the effort at least with them."
- "This talks to me more directly. It made me think of the people closest to me instead of just anyone generally."

B) Weaknesses

1) There is a confusion generated by the juxtaposition of the victim visuals and this statement. Some group members did not understand whether the visuals showed the drivers, the victims or both. Moreover, the statement seems to imply to some that the care should be for the driver, instead of the victims.

- "Were these people drunk? If we cared about these people we wouldn't have let them drive drunk."
 - "This one makes me mad. Why doesn't it say we should care about the people who are really suffering, not just the ones who drive drunk."
 - "(The message is) don't let your friends drive drunk where they can hurt themselves or others."
 - "(The message is) if you care about someone, don't let him drive after drinking."
 - "It's confusing because, if it weren't for the kids in the commercial, you'd think those were the people who were driving drunk."
3. "It may be difficult to stop someone from driving drunk, but you must."

A) Strengths

1) The imperative tone of this statement is appealing to some.

- "It's better because it says it's not an option. You don't weight the situation, you just do it."
- "This one makes it seem like it's too important not to try. You can't just blow it off, because look at what will happen if you don't do it."

2) The statement recognizes the difficulty of intervention.

- "It recognizes that it's difficult."

B) Weaknesses

1) The imperative "must" is interpreted negatively by some -- particularly, but not exclusively, men. To these participants, the word elevates intervention to a responsibility, instead of a choice.

- "Maybe some people feel you were telling them what to do, and we all know how people feel about that."
- "Nobody likes to hear that they have to do something. They seem like they're trying to take away one choice and that choice is that you don't have to do anything. I don't have to do anything. This is America."
- "I don't like that idea. You get more out of someone by asking them than by telling them. You get a little defensive and just drown it out or shut it off."
- "The word 'must' is too melodramatic. It really wouldn't have an impact on me."
- "That's an immense responsibility to put on a human being."
- "Where do they get off telling me what to do?"

2) The introductory phrase "It may be difficult.." is seen by most as understating the difficulty of intervention.

- "It is difficult, not it may be..."
 - "That phrase makes me think it's aimed at teenagers. They have the most peer pressure not to say something."
4. "Stopping someone from driving drunk is never easy, but please, do whatever it takes."

A. Strengths

1) The word "please", used only in this statement, seems to imbue a somewhat pleading, feminine side -- a tone which, for a majority, seems to dilute the urgency of the message.

- "'Please' doesn't seem as strong as 'Do whatever it takes'."
- "In this one they're asking you, not telling you, like in the others."
- "It seems like pleading. They use the word 'please'. It seems like it's directed towards women in a way."
- "The statement doesn't go with the pictures."
- "I think 'must' is more hard-hitting than 'please' and it's better."

- "I can't decide if 'please' is weak or not. It either makes me sympathetic or makes me want to ignore it."

2) As in a previous copy line, the recognition of the difficulty of intervention is appreciated. However, the strength of the phrase -- "...never easy..." may be diluted somewhat by the pleading nature of the communication.

- "The first one said 'it may be hard'. That's not true. It is hard. This one says so. It's more accurate."
- "They're telling me that they realize it's not an easy job."
- "It doesn't say 'Knock them unconscious'. I think it says please make them aware of what can happen."
- "It says to do what I do now, and I feel fine about it. But I wouldn't do any more."

3) For a few, there is some evidence that the tone imbued by the word 'please' could actually strengthen the probability of intervention, because it recognizes the choice that people have -- to intervene or not. So, this message reflects their self-images as independent people who would, in the end, do "the right thing".

- "It's more of a plea to work with us."
- "The tone is more fitting of the situation. It's not a MUST, where we have to be responsible for everyone. This one is more to the point. It's usually your family, your friends, your loved ones that you would have a direct impact on, in trying to stop."

5. "Do everything you can to stop someone from driving drunk. Everything."

A) Strengths and weaknesses

1) The reported strength of this statement is actually its weakness. For most, it was the statement with the least pressure, the least offensiveness, the one that allowed the intervener to determine what to do and when to stop. A majority felt that the statement was too general to be meaningful.

- "It sounds like (has the same message as) the others, but this one sounds like it was saying do whatever you can WITHIN REASON."
- "Whatever is within your power is OK."
- "If you do whatever you can, and it still happens, then the guilt can't be on you. You've done everything you can. 'Whatever it takes' is too far out there; 'everything you can' is OK. 'Whatever it takes' is physical and I can't do that."

2) For some, however, "everything" carried an even stronger imperative than "do whatever it takes".

- "I wrote down 'everything' and underlined it. It's such a strong word. It means 'don't stop'. It's too strong, too hard."
- "I envisioned myself in a bar with a bunch of drunks trying to run around and blocking doors. It was absurd. 'Do everything you can'? It sounds like Wonder Woman."

GENDER OF THE VOICE-OVER

Following exposure of all of the alternative copylines within the context of a commercial, and using a female voice-over, one of the lines was exposed using a male voice-over. The objective of this exercise was to determine which voice, if either, was likely to have greater impact and effectiveness.

1. Small minorities of each group recognized the male voice-over when it was played. Most felt it was just another message and did not recognize the male voice.
2. Majorities felt that the male voice had greater impact. It was felt to be more...
 - "...authoritative"
 - "...easier to listen to."
 - "...more powerful."
 - "...targeted to the offending (male) population."
 - "...(distinctive) in the context of the music."
 - "...more factual, less corny or sappy."
 - "...more credible."
3. Not all men agreed, however, that a man's voice would be more effective. Objections focused on a perceived inappropriateness to the message.
 - "She can put more feeling into it. I think of this as a teaching message, and I think that all my teachers were women."
 - "I think a woman's voice would sound better to a woman."
 - "The woman sounded more sad, because women express their feelings more than men. So people are more apt to feel bad for a woman. So a woman would be more effective."
 - "I think the woman's voice was made to get you in the heart a little more."

