



SCOTTISH EXECUTIVE

Evaluation of the Drug Driving TV Advert

Development Department



EVALUATION OF THE DRUGS DRIVING TV ADVERT

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. This report presents the findings of research evaluating a recent TV advert aimed at discouraging people from driving under the influence of drugs ('drug driving'). The evaluation was carried out by NFO Social Research on behalf of the Scottish Executive and the Scottish Road Safety Campaign between July and September 2002. The research consisted of three elements. Firstly, questions were included in the **Scottish Opinion Survey (SOS)** in June 2002 to establish baseline levels of awareness and understanding of the advert. Secondly, a separate **survey of Scottish drivers** was carried out between late July and early September 2002 to provide more detailed data on reactions to the advert and on individual experiences of drug driving. Finally, a series of **qualitative interviews**, including both paired depth interviews and peer focus groups, were carried out with 17-24 year-olds in September 2002 to explore attitudes towards the advert in more detail.

Views and experiences of drug driving

2. The research found that drug driving appears to be less common than drink driving. While 4% of respondents to the survey of drivers admitted ever having driven within a few hours of using cannabis, 30% admitted having driven when they thought they might have been over the legal limit for alcohol.

3. Drug driving occurs in a variety of circumstances. These included: after taking drugs (usually cannabis) in cars, particularly for younger drivers where the car plays a key role in their social life; after taking drugs at a friend's house or party; and driving home from clubs after taking drugs.

4. In general, participants in the qualitative research did not view the impact of drugs on people's driving capacity as being great, particularly by comparison with the effects of alcohol. Drink driving was seen as both more dangerous, and more likely to lead to prosecution than drug driving (a finding backed by the quantitative survey of drivers). However, it was recognised that the effects of drugs on a person's driving would vary depending on the type of drug used, the amount taken and the individual concerned.

Awareness and understanding of the Drug Driving TV advert

5. Awareness of advertising and publicity on drugs and driving in general, and of the drug driving TV advert in particular, was high. The SOS, carried out immediately after the advert had been shown on Scottish TV, found that 76% of respondents remembered seeing some advertising or publicity on drugs and driving. The survey of drivers carried out 6-10 weeks later found 70% of drivers were aware of some such publicity. Prompted awareness of the particular TV advert was highest amongst 17-24 year-olds in both surveys.

6. Participants in the qualitative research clearly thought the advert was informative – it told viewers about the new tests for drug driving of which many participants were previously unaware. The informative role of the advert is supported by the fact that a sizeable minority of respondents to the survey of drivers (23%) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "It told me something I didn't know before".

7. However, although participants in the qualitative research found the advert informative, there is some evidence that its overall impact is undermined by doubts about the credibility of the enforcement message. Many participants expressed doubt that drivers in Scotland would actually be stopped by the police, or that the tests would detect many drug users.

Views on the content and style

8. There was a widespread perception in the qualitative research that the characters shown in the advert were 'middle aged' and appeared to be drunk rather than on drugs. This made it difficult for many participants to identify with them as young drug users/drug drivers. Most participants found the first half of the advert funny. However, there was debate over the use of humour in the advert, both in terms of its appropriateness in an advert about a serious issue, and in terms of whether or not the serious second half of the advert had as much impact on people as the comic first half.

9. Comparisons were often made between the drug driving advert and other road safety adverts that were perceived as 'harder hitting', usually because of their inclusion of footage of accidents (whether real or staged). However, it was not clear that participants' own behaviour was affected more by the latter kind of campaign. In relation to drug driving, the fact that many participants did not perceive drug driving to be particularly dangerous may mean that this kind of approach would have a limited impact.

10. Many participants in the qualitative interviews were confused about the legal consequences of being caught for drug driving. The lack of information about the actual consequences of failing the tests shown in the advert was seen as an important weakness by some participants.

Conclusions

11. The evaluation found that levels of awareness of the advert were high, and that understanding appeared to be good – the advert succeeded in informing at least some people about the new tests and the possibility of being prosecuted. However, it also identified various factors limiting its impact, particularly on young drivers. These included a perceived lack of credibility of the enforcement message; a lack of clarity over the precise legal consequences of drug driving; and difficulty identifying with the characters and situations shown in the advert.

12. Implications for future work in this area include: the need to increase the credibility of the enforcement message (both through education and actual police activity); the need to provide evidence of the actual effects of drug misuse on driving ability and to highlight the social and legal consequences of drug driving; and the importance of using characters and situations that young people can identify with, and of distinguishing clearly between drug driving and drink driving.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.1 This report presents the findings of an evaluation of a recent television advert aimed at discouraging people from driving under the influence of illegal drugs ('drug driving'). The 40-second advert was devised by Faulds Advertising on behalf of the Scottish Road Safety Campaign's Drug Drive Working Group, and was shown on commercial television channels in Scotland between 20th May 2002 and 16th June 2002.

1.2 The advert begins by showing what are apparently clips from American police video footage of people being tested for drug driving, attempting to touch their nose with their fingers, walk in a straight line, count backwards etc. It is intended to make the viewer laugh. This is followed by an onscreen message reading: 'In America, these tests are 94% successful in helping convict people who have been driving under the influence of drugs'. The footage then switches to a police check in a Scottish city. A blurry-eyed man is shown attempting to touch his nose, and an on-screen message comes up reading 'The same tests are now being carried out in Scotland.' Having failed the test, the driver is shown in the back of a police car. The slogan on screen at the end reads 'Now who's laughing?'

The research background

1.3 The drug driving television advert is a response to rising concern about the issue of drug driving in Scotland. A recent NFO System Three research report for the Scottish Executive (Ingram et al, 2000) which sought to establish the prevalence of drug driving in Scotland found that 9% of respondents in a survey of 17-39 year-old drivers reported ever having driven under the influence of drugs, and 5% reported having done so in the previous 12 months.

1.4 The research found that males were far more likely than females to report having driven under the influence of drugs, and that those in the 20-24 year-old age group were more likely to have driven under the influence of drugs than any other age group. Cannabis was the drug most commonly used before driving, reflecting its dominance in drug taking generally. The survey also suggested that knowledge of the legal position regarding illegal drug use and driving is quite poor – 12% of respondents thought someone could not be prosecuted for driving after taking illegal drugs, while 23% were unsure whether someone could be prosecuted or not.

1.5 Qualitative research carried out for the Scottish Executive at the same time identified several potential problems with drug-driving prevention campaigns (Neale et al, 2001). These included: the resistance of young people and drug users to health education messages; the alarmist and moralistic nature of many previous anti-drug campaigns; a widespread belief that driving after cannabis is safe; and the fact that drug taking itself is illegal.

1.6 The Drug Driving TV advert was designed in the light of these research findings. It aims to target groups at particularly high risk of drug driving, to heighten awareness of the legal position on drug driving, and to increase levels of concern about being caught. It is intended to appeal particularly to young drivers/passengers in the 17-24 year-old age group. The main purpose of the evaluation was to assess how successful the advert was in achieving these aims. Specific issues the research sought to address included:

- General levels of awareness of the advert, particularly among the target age group
- General attitudes towards the advert, especially in terms of understanding of its key messages
- The extent to which young drivers could identify with the situations and characters shown
- The overall impact of the advert on viewers – does it makes drivers and passengers think about the consequences of drug-driving behaviour? Is it successful in heightening awareness of the legal consequences of drug-driving?

Research methods

1.7 The evaluation consisted of three main components. Firstly, questions were included in the Scottish Opinion Survey (SOS) in June 2002 to establish baseline levels of awareness and understanding of the advert. The SOS is carried out on a monthly basis, and involves interviews with 1000 adults (aged 16 and over) from across Scotland. Sampling is based on quotas for sex, working status and geographical location. Interviews are carried out face-to-face in people’s homes by NFO interviewers using Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI). Inclusion of 6 questions in the SOS allowed general levels of awareness of the advert to be established in the period immediately after it was shown on Scottish television.

1.8 Secondly, a further survey of Scottish drivers was carried out between late July and early September 2002. Again, the survey was carried out by NFO interviewers using CAPI machines in respondent’s homes. The interview included a self-completion section (where respondents keyed responses directly into the CAPI machine) for more sensitive questions relating to their personal experiences of drug use and of drug and drink driving.

1.9 A quota design, based on sex, age and working status, was used for sampling drivers. The sample was skewed disproportionately towards younger drivers in the 17-24, 25-34 and 35-44 year-old age groups to allow us to analyse results for these groups separately. However, where overall results are presented, percentages have been weighted to take account of the disproportionate sampling of younger drivers, and should represent the general population of drivers. At the close of fieldwork, a total of 730 interviews had been achieved. The breakdown of interviews between drivers in different age groups is shown below. Further details of the methodology of the survey component are contained in Annex A.

Table 1.1 Interviews achieved with drivers in different age groups

Age group	Number of interviews conducted
17-24 year-olds	96
25-34 year-olds	145
35-44 year-olds	197
45-54 year-olds	123
55-64 year-olds	90
65+ year-olds	73
Age refused	6
TOTAL	730

1.10 The third component of the evaluation consisted of a series of qualitative interviews with 17-24 year-olds. Two main sorts of interview were conducted: peer focus groups with

mixed sex groups of friends, and paired depth interviews with couples and pairs of friends. For each interview, a 'core' participant who met certain demographic criteria was recruited initially, and then asked to help recruit friends with whom they regularly socialise. All core participants had some experience of cannabis use (either past or present), which was viewed as putting them at higher than average risk of having experienced drug-driving, either as a driver or passenger. A total of 10 interviews (5 of each type) were conducted in September 2002 in both rural and urban areas in Scotland. Further details on the composition and segmentation of these can be found in Annex A.

1.11 The decision to interview respondents in friendship groups/pairs was made on the basis of the potential sensitivity of the topic of drug driving. Although the main purpose of the project was to evaluate the advert, it was felt that some discussion of participants' own views and experiences of drug-driving would help contextualise their reactions to the advert. It was anticipated that the existing level of trust between participants would encourage openness about drug-driving behaviour. It was also anticipated that allowing discussion of drug-driving to take place in the social context in which the behaviour itself might occur might produce insights about this kind of behaviour that may not have emerged in a conventional focus group setting.

1.12 In each interview, participants were shown a video of the advert twice and were asked a range of questions about their attitudes and reactions to the advert and about their own views and experiences of drug-driving.

Structure of the report

1.13 The report is structured as follows. Drawing on both the qualitative research and results from the self-completion section of the survey of drivers, Chapter Two presents key findings on respondents' views and experiences of drug driving. Chapter Three summarises results on basic levels of awareness and understanding of the drug driving television advert from the Scottish Opinion Survey and the survey of drivers. It then discusses understanding of the advert in more detail, drawing primarily on findings from the qualitative element of the research. Chapter Four considers specific issues relating to the content and style of the advert in more detail, again drawing primarily on the qualitative study. Specific questions considered in this section include: is the advert realistic? What did respondents think of the characters featured in the advert? Do the two halves of the advert have the same impact? And how appropriate is the use of humour in the advert? Chapter Five outlines findings on recognition and understanding of the 'Know the Score' and 'Scottish Road Safety Campaign' logos. Finally, Chapter Six attempts to draw some conclusions from the findings presented in the report for the direction of future campaigns on drug driving.

CHAPTER TWO VIEWS AND EXPERIENCES OF DRUG DRIVING

2.1 This chapter of the report attempts to contextualise the results of the evaluation by outlining key findings relating to respondents' views and experiences of drug-driving. It draws primarily on the qualitative interviews, and also summarises findings from the survey of drivers relating to drug taking and drug driving. Comparisons are also made between views and experiences of drink driving and drug-driving.

Prevalence of drug driving – quantitative results

2.2 In a prevalence survey of 17-39 year-old drivers carried out for the Scottish Executive by NFO System Three (Ingram et al, 2000) it was found that cannabis was by far the most common drug involved in self-reported incidents of drug driving. Of the 57 respondents who had drug-driven in the previous 12 months, 39 had driven under the influence of cannabis only. Cannabis is also the most widely used illegal drug, and most people who use other drugs will also use or have used cannabis. For the purposes of this current survey of drivers, it was therefore decided to employ cannabis use as a proxy for drug use, and driving within a few hours of using cannabis as a proxy for drug driving.

2.3 Overall, 15% of all respondents admitted having used cannabis at some point during their lives. This figure is just slightly lower than the 17.4% of respondents to the 2000 Scottish Crime Survey who admitted having ever used cannabis (Fraser, 2002). Experience of cannabis varied significantly by age – 45% of 17-24 year-olds interviewed admitted having used cannabis at some point during their lives, for example, compared with just 11% of 45-54 year-olds. Table 2.1 shows cannabis use by age.

Table 2.1 Best description of cannabis use by age of respondent (% respondents)

	17-24 year- olds	25-34 year- olds	35-44 year- olds	45-54 year- olds	55-64 year- olds	65+ year- olds	TOTAL
I use cannabis at least once a month	5	3	2	0	1	0	2
I use cannabis occasionally (less than once a month)	8	4	1	2	0	0	2
I have used cannabis in the past, but do not use it now	32	17	16	9	2	0	11
I have never used cannabis	51	74	78	89	97	97	84
No answer	3	2	3	0	0	3	2

Base 726¹

2.4 Although 15% of respondents admitted having used cannabis at least once, only 4% reported being current users. The remaining 11% indicated that they had used cannabis in the past, but did not use it now. Again, 17-24 year-olds were significantly more likely to indicate that they currently used cannabis on either an occasional or a regular basis than respondents aged 35 or older.²

¹ Although 730 interviews were completed in total, 4 people refused to take part in the self-completion section.

² Differences in current cannabis use between respondents aged 17-24 and respondents aged 25-34 were not statistically significant. Respondents aged 17-24 were, however, significantly more likely than respondents in any other age group to report having used cannabis ever.

2.5 The 132 respondents who reported having used cannabis were then asked whether they had ever driven a motor vehicle on a public road within a few hours of using cannabis. In total, 36 respondents admitted having driven after using cannabis. This figure represents 4% of all respondents in the driver survey, and 23% of those who admitted having used cannabis. It is worth noting that drug driving is clearly still a minority issue in comparison with drink driving. A total of 30% of respondents (n=216) to the driver survey admitted having driven when they thought they might be over the legal alcohol limit, in contrast to just 4% who had drug-driven.

2.6 The proportion of drivers in this current survey of drivers who admitted driving when they thought they might be over the alcohol limit was somewhat higher than in an earlier prevalence survey of drink driving (Anderson and Ingram, 2001). The 2001 survey found that 22% of respondents admitted ever driving when they suspected they might be over the limit, compared with 30% in this current survey. There is no obvious explanation for this difference, although the two surveys were carried out in different periods using different sampling methods and precise question wording, so some level of difference in results might be expected.

2.7 A slightly higher proportion of drivers interviewed for the drug-driving prevalence study in 2000 (Ingram et al) admitted having driven after using cannabis (7%). However, this difference is probably explained by the fact that the 2000 prevalence study only included 17-39 year-olds, thus excluding older age groups who are less likely to have drug-driven. In fact, when the results of the survey of drivers are confined to 17-39 year-olds, 9% admitted having driven within a few hours of taking cannabis.

2.8 As in the 2000 prevalence survey, age and sex were the characteristics most strongly associated with drug-driving, although the numbers involved are very small (just 36 respondents admitted having driven after using cannabis) so caution should be employed in interpreting results. A greater proportion of 17-24 year-olds said they had driven after using cannabis compared with those over 35, although differences between age groups were not statistically significant due to the small numbers involved. Men were, however, significantly more likely than women to have driven after using cannabis. Of those respondents who admitted using cannabis, 31% of men compared with 12% of women admitted having driven on a public road within a few hours of using cannabis.

2.9 Of those who had driven after using cannabis, over half (n=21) said they had only done this once or twice, although around a quarter said they had done it 10 or more times (n=9). The majority of these respondents felt they were 'not very likely' or 'not at all likely' to drive within a few hours of using cannabis within the next 12 months, although interestingly around 2 in 5 (n=17) said they had driven after using cannabis in the previous 12 months.

Circumstances in which drug driving occurs

2.10 The qualitative research explored the situations in which drug driving occurs. Several participants stated that when they were younger they had regularly driven to secluded locations specifically to take drugs (usually cannabis). In part, this had been because they were living with parents, and this behaviour was generally seen as something they had grown out of as they got older and moved into their own homes. Drug driving in these circumstances

was also in part an indication of the importance of ‘car culture’ for particular groups of young people – especially in rural areas. For these young people, cars play a key role in their social lives, especially when they still live at home with their parents:

“It’s the kind of thing just to get away from everywhere. It’s like a secluded place where it would be a car park, The Gyle after it’s shut kind of thing. You would go there because nobody was there, no police, no family, who’s going to be walking through? It’s the kind of thing just to get away from everybody else. It was a place you felt safe but then you get in the car and you go in, and nobody would smell any alcohol from you or smoke or whatever because by that time it’s away.” (Group 2)

2.11 Other circumstances in which participants had drug driven included driving somewhere after taking drugs at a friend’s house or party and driving home from clubs after taking drugs. One participant who admitted having a speed habit reported drug driving on a daily basis as a result of his habit.

2.12 It is not clear how serious a problem driving home from clubs under the influence of drugs is. This certainly appeared to be less common than driving home from a friend’s house after taking drugs (a finding supported by the prevalence study carried out for the Scottish Executive). However, people returning from clubs are likely to be driving longer distances and taking different drugs than people who drive after using drugs at a friend’s house or party. Speed and Ecstasy were the drugs most commonly mentioned in the interviews by people who had drug driven after going to a club, while cannabis was most commonly mentioned by those who had driven after using drugs at a friend’s house. Which of these kinds of drug driving is considered more serious may depend on which of these factors (prevalence, drug taken, distance driven) are considered most important in terms of accident causation.

Perceptions of the effects of drugs on driving

2.13 Participants in the focus groups and paired depth interviews were asked whether and how they thought drugs affected driving. In general, the impact of drugs on people’s driving capacity was not seen as being great, particularly by comparison with the effects of alcohol (an issue discussed in more detail below). The following comments were typical of the attitudes to drug driving expressed in the qualitative interviews:

“Every time I’ve been in a car wi’ my pal, who’s had a few joints and they always seem quite capable of driving the car.” (Group 4)

“If he was drinking, maybe more I would worry about it but, when he’s only got a couple of joints or a bit of speed, then I don’t think any.” (Partner of driver, Group 10)

**I don’t think many people even give it a second thought.*

**No.*

**I don’t think they actually think about it.*

**A lot of people smoke dope and drive. It doesn’t bother them. It’s not a problem.*

**It never bothered me.”*

(Group 1)

2.14 Participants who had been passengers in a car when the driver had taken drugs often identified the fact that they were also either on drugs or drunk at the time as a factor in lessening their concern. Convenience and necessity were also key factors in the decision to accept a lift from a drug driver – participants would not turn down a lift from someone who was on drugs if they needed to get somewhere (or get home from somewhere).

*“*Interviewer: (...) were you worried at the time? ...*

**No because you’re stoned at the time yourself as well. You’re not caring.”*

(Group 2)

“It depends on the situation as well. Just say you’re stuck out in Dalkeith or whatever, and you need to get home, and your only choice is you get a lift from a boy on E, what do you do?” (Group 1)

2.15 Although the majority of participants in the qualitative study did not see drug driving as something most young people would (or should) worry about, it was recognised that the effects of drugs on a person’s driving would vary depending on the type of drug used, the individual concerned, and the amount of drugs taken. However, although the type of drug used was identified as a key issue in most interviews, there was no consensus about what type of drug would have the most detrimental effect on driving. Several participants who had driven after taking speed felt that it had no effect on their driving or actually improved it by ‘sharpening’ reactions, while other participants were much more wary of the effects of speed compared with cannabis, for instance. There was also a lack of consensus about the amounts of different types of drugs that would lead to significant impairment of driving ability, with several participants suggesting that it would depend on the tolerance level of the individual involved:

“I think it would depend on the person rather than how much it is that they’ve took. Depending how it affects each different person. I mean it’s like drink. One glass has no effect on somebody and it can have a big effect on somebody else. So it would really depend on who it was.” (Group 9)

Comparisons between drug driving and drink driving

2.16 The majority of participants in the qualitative interviews thought that most drugs had much less of an impact than alcohol on driving ability. The following comments were typical of the distinction made between drink driving and drug driving:

“I still think people think that taking drugs and driving isn’t as bad as drink driving because, obviously, if you’ve had a few pints or more than a few pints, you can hardly walk. A lot of people can still walk about no problem on drugs, and they’ve still got their senses about them, you know what I mean?”

(Group 6)

“I don’t think I would get in a car with somebody that was drinking cos I think it’s more dangerous if they’re drinking than it is if they’re just, if they’re smoking.” (Group 9)

2.17 In addition to viewing drink driving as more dangerous than drug driving, participants also suggested that driving whilst under the influence of alcohol was much more likely to lead to arrest and conviction than drug driving. In part, this was because people thought it was easier to conceal the fact that you were under the influence of drugs than to hide the fact that you had been drinking. Half of the qualitative interviews contained someone who had actually been stopped by the police in a drug driving situation (either as driver or passenger) and the driver had not been detected or charged with anything. There was also a perception that detecting and convicting people for drug driving was relatively rare in comparison with convictions for drink driving. Participants stressed that while they knew people who had been convicted for drink driving they had never heard of anyone being caught and convicted for drug driving.

*“*It’s not publicised as much as the drink driving. Drink driving is like a sin nowadays but, dope, you can hide more.*

**Interviewer: How do you hide it?*

**Because it doesn’t affect you as much as drink. Drugs doesn’t affect your senses as much.”*

(Group 1)

*“*When I was 16/17, my pal had just passed her test. And we were going round the roondabout about half 11 at night and she’d been smoking cannabis and she was driving and we went through a red light.*

**Just round and round.*

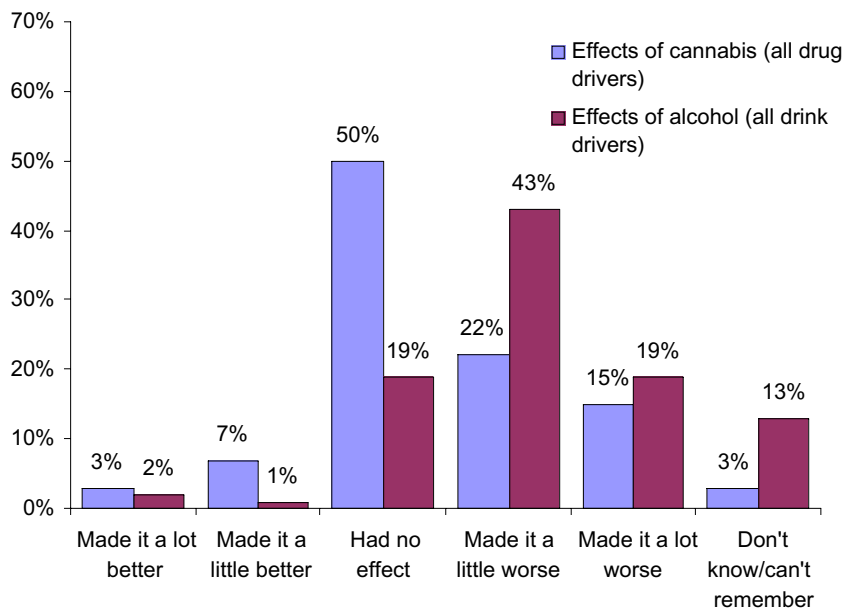
**We went round a couple of times. And we didn’t have our seat belts on because we forgot. And then we got stopped by the police. And we were absolutely keekin’ our pants. We were really really ... but it was all right.”*

(Group 4)

“I’m sure people would frown on you if it was much, but everyone knows someone who’s been done for drink driving, but I don’t know anyone who’s been done for drugs, and actually been caught and prosecuted for it. So, obviously, the fear factor is not there, which is why society will look down on you, because people are being caught for it, but no-one has been caught [for drug driving].” (Group 1)

2.18 Results from the survey of drivers reinforce the finding that drug driving is viewed as less of a problem than drink driving, both in terms of the effect of drugs on driving and in terms of possible adverse consequences. Respondents who had driven after using cannabis were asked what effect they felt cannabis had on their driving. Although the base size here is small and should be treated with caution, the results are striking. Half (n=21) said they thought it had no effect on their driving, while just over a third thought that it made it ‘a little worse’ or ‘a lot worse’. This contrasts with findings for respondents who reported having driven while over the legal alcohol limit. Just 19% said they felt alcohol had no effect on their driving, while 62% said it had made it either ‘a little worse’ or ‘a lot worse’. Figure 2.1 shows these differences in attitudes between drug drivers and drink drivers.

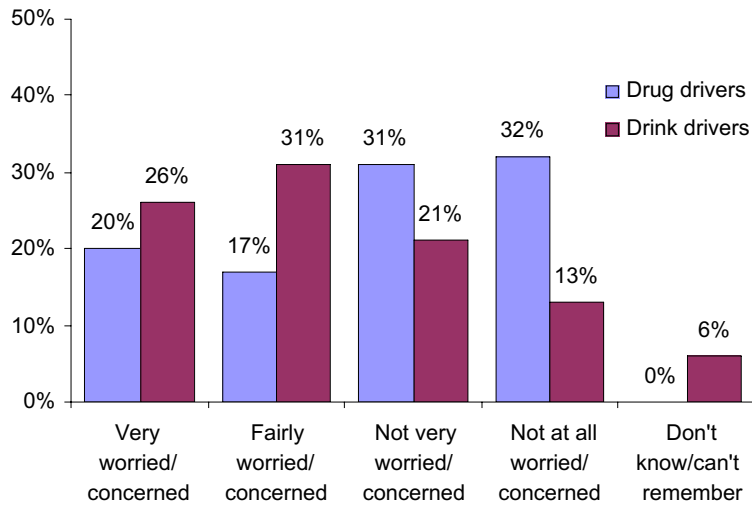
Figure 2.1: Perceptions of the effect of alcohol and drugs on driving ability (%)



Bases: Drug drivers (respondents who had driven on a public road within a few hours of using cannabis) = 37; drink drivers (respondents who had driven while over the legal alcohol limit) = 216.

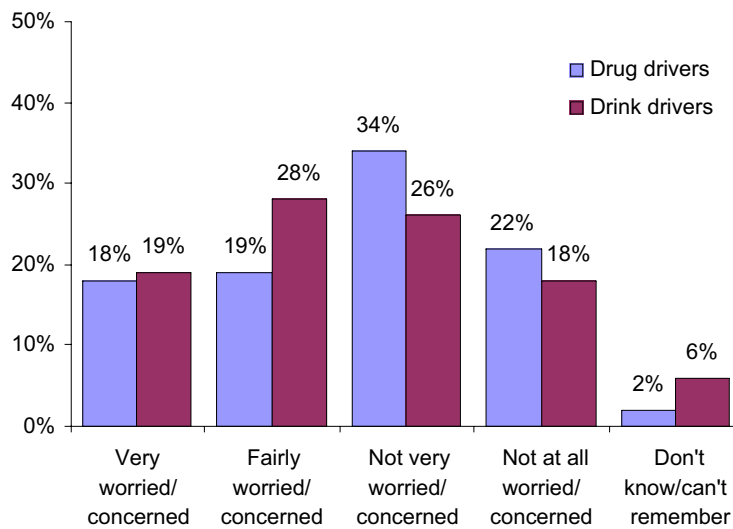
2.19 The majority of respondents who had driven after using cannabis were not concerned about being stopped by the police or about having an accident at the time. Over half (n=23) said they were either ‘not very worried/concerned’ or ‘not at all worried/concerned’ about either of these possibilities when they last drove after using cannabis. Again, this contrasts with findings for drink drivers. Over half (57%) of those who admitted driving when they thought they were over the legal alcohol limit said they had been ‘very’ or ‘fairly’ worried or concerned about being stopped by the police at the time, while 47% had been ‘very’ or ‘fairly’ worried about being involved in an accident. Figure 2.2 illustrates the different levels of concern about being stopped by the police between drug drivers and drink drivers, while figure 2.3 shows the varying levels of concern about being involved in an accident.

Figure 2.2: Level of concern about being stopped by the police while driving under the influence(%)



Bases: Drug drivers (respondents who had driven on a public road within a few hours of using cannabis) = 37; drink drivers (respondents who had driven while over the legal alcohol limit) = 216.

Figure 2.3: Level of concern about being involved in an accident while driving under the influence(%)



Bases: Drug drivers (respondents who had driven on a public road within a few hours of using cannabis) = 37; drink drivers (respondents who had driven while over the legal alcohol limit) = 216.

Key points

- 15% of respondents to the survey of drivers had used cannabis at some point during their lives. This figure rose to 45% among 17-24 year-olds.
- 4% of respondents to the survey of drivers had ever driven within a few hours of using cannabis. Men were more likely to admit to drug driving than women.
- Drug driving occurs in a variety of circumstances. While older teenagers may take drugs in cars as part of their social life outside the home, drug driving among young people in their 20s is more likely to follow drug taking at a friends house or party or at a club.
- The impact of drugs on driving was not seen as great by most participants in the qualitative interviews, particularly in comparison with the effects of drink driving. However, it was recognised that the impact of drugs on driving would vary depending on the type of drug, the amount taken and the individual concerned.
- Drink driving was viewed much more negatively than drug driving, both in terms of the likelihood of it leading to an accident and the probability of being caught and convicted.

CHAPTER THREE AWARENESS AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE DRUG DRIVING TV ADVERT

3.1 This chapter reports levels of awareness of the drug driving TV advert drawing on the results of the Scottish Opinion Survey and the survey of drivers. The results of these surveys are also used to present basic levels of understanding of the message of the advert, while the qualitative research is used to explore understanding of the advert in more depth.

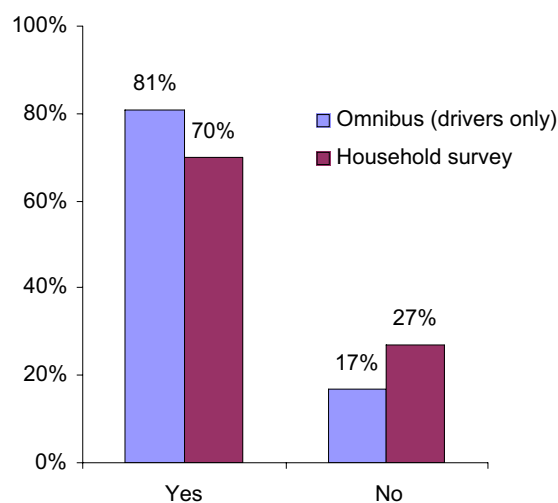
Unprompted awareness of the drug driving TV advert

3.2 The Scottish Opinion Survey carried out in June 2002 (less than 2 weeks after the advert had stopped being shown on Scottish TV) asked respondents whether they had seen or heard any advertising or publicity on the subject of drugs and driving recently. Of the 1,025 respondents, 76% said they were aware of some such advertising or publicity. This figure rose to 81% when confined to respondents with a current driving licence. When asked where they had seen or heard this advertising or publicity, 83% mentioned advertising on TV. This figure was the same for drivers as for all respondents.

3.3 These questions were repeated in the survey of drivers which was carried out between late July and early September 2002. Seventy percent of respondents to the survey of drivers said they had seen or heard some advertising or publicity on the subject of drugs and driving recently, and 76% of these mentioned that they had seen advertising on TV.

3.4 The two surveys are not strictly comparable, since the SOS is a general population survey while the later survey only included drivers, and the age profile of the survey of drivers was lower. Nevertheless, the figures do suggest that awareness of the issue of drugs and driving and unprompted awareness of the TV advert remained high 6-10 weeks after the advert had stopped being shown. Figure 3.1 shows the relatively small difference in awareness levels between the SOS (current drivers only) and the survey of drivers.

Figure 3.1 Awareness of advertising or publicity on the subject of drugs and driving (%)



Bases: Opinion survey (drivers only) = 663; survey of drivers = 730

3.5 Unprompted levels of awareness of publicity on drugs and driving did not vary significantly by age in either the survey of drivers or the SOS.

Prompted awareness of the drug driving TV advert

3.6 After establishing unprompted levels of awareness of publicity and advertising about drugs and driving, respondents in both the Scottish Opinion Survey and the survey of drivers were shown a sheet featuring 6 still photographs from the actual drug driving advert and asked whether they had seen the advert on TV recently. Results from both surveys are shown in Table 3.1 below, broken down by age. Again, it should be noted that these results are not directly comparable since the SOS included non-drivers. However, they do give an indication of how awareness levels vary between different age groups.

Table 3.1 Proportions of respondents in different age groups who remember having seen the drug driving advert when shown prompt (% respondents)

	June 2002 Scottish Opinion Survey	Survey of drivers (July-September 2002)
17-24 year-olds	74	67
25-34 year-olds	74	59
35-44 year-olds	66	49
45-54 year-olds	63	36
55-64 year-olds	52	34
65+ year-olds	42	29
TOTAL	61	44

Bases: Scottish Opinion Survey = 1025; Survey of drivers = 730

3.7 These results suggest that while overall awareness may have fallen in the 6-10 weeks after the advert was shown, recognition remains high (67%) among the key target age group (17-24 year-olds), indicating that the advert has been reaching its target audience. This was supported by the qualitative research. Although spontaneous recall and comprehension among interviewees was not particularly good, after viewing the advert during the interview almost all participants remembered having seen the advert before.

Understanding of the advert – quantitative findings

3.8 Respondents who recalled having seen the advert on TV after being shown the picture prompt were then asked what they thought the message of the advert was. The most commonly given answers from both the SOS and the survey of drivers are presented in Table 3.2, below.

3.9 The most commonly-mentioned message in both surveys was ‘Don’t take drugs and drive’ (mentioned by 47% of SOS respondents and 42% of respondents in the survey of drivers). Just a tenth of respondents in both surveys mentioned that the advert was conveying how easy it is to be caught/tested for drugs. A similar proportion thought the advert was suggesting that drug driving is just as bad as drink driving, although in fact there is no mention of drink driving in the advert. These results *may* suggest that while people understood that the advert was aimed at discouraging drug-driving, they were less clear on the enforcement message – though, as will become clear below, the qualitative interviews suggested a much clearer understanding of this message.

Table 3.2 Description of television advert from prompted telepic (% respondents who mentioned description)³

	June 2002 Scottish Opinion Survey	Survey of drivers (July-September 2002)
Don't take drugs and drive	47	42
Drug driving is just as bad as drink driving	12	10
Easy to be caught/to detect drugs	11	10
American drug testing/attitudes is coming to the UK	6	6
People are getting into cars and not aware drugs are affecting their driving	6	5
Police getting stricter on drugs and driving	4	5
Look out if you take drugs and drive/going to come down heavy if caught	4	-
Warning about the effects/dangers of taking drugs and driving	-	8
Drink driving	2	6
Don't know/can't remember	6	7

Bases: Opinion Survey = 621; Survey of drivers = 343

3.10 The survey of drivers also included a question to test respondents' awareness of the possibility of being prosecuted for drug driving. In general the results of this question suggest that public awareness of the possibility of prosecution is high – 74% of respondents were aware that it is possible to be prosecuted in Scotland for driving after taking drugs. This compares with 66% of respondents who were asked a similar question in an earlier survey carried out for the Scottish Executive (Ingram et al, 2000). Awareness of the possibility of prosecution did vary slightly between those who remembered seeing the drug driving television advert and those who did not recall seeing it. Seventy-seven percent of those who remembered seeing the advert were aware that it was possible to be prosecuted for drug driving in Scotland compared with 70% of those who did not remember seeing the advert.

3.11 Respondents in the survey of drivers who had seen the advert were read a number of statements aimed at gauging levels of understanding and engagement with the advert. They were asked how strongly they agreed or disagreed with each statement. The results for each statement are presented in Table 3.3, below.

³ Respondents could give more than one answer to this question. The figures shown refer to the percentage of all respondents who mentioned a particular description.

Table 3.3 Level of agreement with statements about the advert (%)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know/ Refused
I wasn't sure what the advert was trying to say	3	10	4	42	40	1
It told me something I didn't know before	3	20	5	45	25	2
Adverts like that are a waste of time	1	9	5	40	45	1
It made me laugh	3	21	8	35	31	2
The advert wasn't really relevant to people my age	3	19	3	42	32	2

Base = 343

3.12 Eighty-two percent of respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement “I wasn't sure what the advert was trying to say”. This suggests that people felt they had understood the message of the advert.

3.13 A sizeable minority of respondents (23%) agreed or strongly agreed that “It told me something I didn't know before”, suggesting that the advert is helping increase awareness of issues around drug driving. The informative role of the advert is discussed further in the section on the qualitative research, below.

3.14 Encouragingly, 85% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement “Adverts like that are a waste of time”. This figure was higher for those in younger age groups than for older respondents – 90% of respondents aged 17-44 disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement, compared with just 67% of respondents aged over 55 years.

3.15 Respondents aged under 45 years old were also significantly more likely to disagree with the statement “The advert wasn't really relevant to people my age” than people aged 45 and older. Eighty-six percent of 17-44 year-olds disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement compared with 73% of 45-54 year-olds and just 52% of 55-64 year-olds. This indicates that the advert is seen as relevant by drivers in younger age groups. Differences in levels of agreement with this statement between 17-24 year-olds and 25-34 and 35-44 year-olds were not statistically significant however.

3.16 Levels of agreement with statement 4 are discussed in Chapter Four, which considers the style and content of the advert.

Understanding of the advert – qualitative findings

3.17 A key aim of the qualitative research was to explore understandings of the advert in more detail with its main target audience (17-24 year-olds). Participants were shown the two versions of the advert twice during the course of the interview, so unsurprisingly their comprehension tended to be considerably more developed than that of respondents to either of the surveys.

3.18 Three key messages were identified by many participants in the qualitative research. Firstly, the advert was seen as **informing** viewers about new tests for drug driving. Many participants were previously unaware that you could be tested for drug driving, and for most people the kinds of tests shown in the adverts were new. Secondly, the advert was seen as **warning** people that they can and will get stopped and tested and possibly prosecuted for drug-driving. Thirdly, many participants picked up on the ‘Now who’s laughing?’ message shown at the end. The advert was seen as showing that while drug-driving may not be something people take seriously in general or at the time, it can have serious consequences in terms of being caught by the police.

*“*I didn’t realise they do those tests over here.*

**Interviewer: Were other people aware they were bringing them out here?*

**No.*

**I knew they were intending bringing that kind of idea here but I had no idea they were going to bring it in for drugs and possibly drink as well.”*

(Group 2)

*“*Interviewer: So what would you say was the basic message of that ad? What was the thing they were trying to tell you? Was it just, don’t do this ...?*

**No. (It was) You can get caught. Well, we know how to catch you now because, am I right in saying, for a while, it was more difficult to test people who had taken drugs and driving than drink drivers? It’s not just like a kind of breathalyser or anything like that. So, it’s just saying that we can actually pick you up from the roadside and arrest you.”*

(Group 7)

“Showing you how it’s funny and everybody’s laughing, ‘you’re not laughing now’. You would sit and laugh at it watching the folk getting stopped and making a fool of themselves and the boy’s in the back of the police car, it’s a case of ‘it’s not funny now’. I think that’s maybe the gist of the advert.”

(Group 8)

3.19 Participants in the qualitative interviews were asked whether they felt the advert was telling them how to behave, in an attempt to gauge whether the advert had avoided the ‘moralistic’ or ‘patronising’ tone identified by previous research as a barrier to effective campaigns aimed at young people (Neale et al, 2001). Encouragingly, most participants did not feel that the advert was telling them how to behave. A distinction was made between the informative/warning approach of this advert and a more moralistic approach to conveying the drug driving message.

*“*Interviewer: Did you feel that the advert was telling you how you should behave or not?*

**No, I don’t think it’s telling you how to behave.*

**No.*

**It’s telling you what happens if you do do it.*

**The consequences kind of thing. Be careful. Don’t do it.”*

(Group 2)

Impact of the message

Quantitative results

3.20 The self-completion section of survey of drivers included a question asking what, if any, impact respondents felt the advert had had on their own behaviour. Overall, 16% of respondents felt the advert had had ‘a lot’ or ‘quite a lot’ of impact on their behaviour, while 80% said it had had either ‘not a lot’ of impact or ‘none at all’. Those who had used cannabis were slightly more likely than those who had never used cannabis to say that the advert had had some impact (26% compared with 13%), but there was no significant difference between the responses of those who had drug driven and those who had not. There were no significant differences between age groups.

3.21 In isolation, these results are difficult to interpret. Although only 16% of respondents thought the advert had had ‘a lot’ or ‘quite a lot’ of impact, it may be that other respondents did not feel the advert was relevant to their behaviour as they did not drug drive in the first place.

Qualitative findings

3.22 The findings discussed above suggest that the key messages of the drug driving advert are understood by its target age group at the time of viewing, although results from the quantitative surveys suggest that there may be issues about whether the detailed messages of the advert are retained after viewing. However, although the majority of participants in the qualitative study **understood** the messages of the advert, many participants expressed doubt about both the **credibility** of these messages and their **application** to themselves as individuals. In particular, participants expressed doubt that drug drivers in Scotland would be stopped by the police, and that they would fail the tests if they were stopped. Several felt that the advert did not tally with their own experience, in that they had not personally heard of anyone being tested for drug driving.

*“*I think it makes you aware of the fact that they’re going to be doing testing for drugs.*

**Because again, it’s only if you get caught.*

**Aye. That’s like what it’s saying.”*

(Group 4)

“I mean, if I’d had a couple of joints, yes. I think I would (pass) but, as I say, it’s all down to how much you’ve taken. Say I was driving along and I was impaired, and I knew while I was driving I could be stopped, then I’d be more paranoid and nervous about it because I knew. But, if I had maybe had a few joints and the Police did stop me and ask me to do touch your nose and things like that, and I felt alright, I think I could do it OK.” (Group 10)

*“*Interviewer: But G didn’t think that it’s very believable that this would actually happen in Scotland. What about the rest of you? Do you think this is going on?*

**I don’t.*

**Interviewer: You don’t. Why not?*

**Because you don't see it. You see people getting stopped and breathalysed, but you don't see people doing the tests.*

[...]

**I've never heard of anybody getting stopped for drugs. Never."*

(Group 1)

3.23 These findings are supported by findings from the survey of drivers which show that while 74% of drivers are aware that it is *possible* to be prosecuted in Scotland for drug driving, only 30% think that it is either 'likely' or 'very likely' that someone who drives after drugs will actually be caught by the police. The proportion of respondents who thought it was likely or very likely that someone who drug drives will be caught by the police did not vary between respondents who had seen the drug driving advert and those who did not remember seeing it when shown the picture prompt. There was also no significant variation between the responses of people in different age groups. This suggests that many people do not believe that the laws on drug driving are being effectively enforced in Scotland.

3.24 The drivers survey did not contain similar questions on perceptions of the likelihood of being caught drink driving. However, an earlier survey carried out by NFO System Three for the Scottish Executive provides an indication of people's perceptions of the effectiveness of enforcement in relation to drink driving (Anderson & Ingram, 2001). The survey of 1,004 Scottish drivers asked how successful respondents thought the police were in catching drink drivers. Thirty-eight percent thought they were 'very successful' or 'fairly successful'. This *may* suggest that drivers are somewhat more persuaded of the efficacy of police enforcement in relation to drink driving compared with drug driving, although the differences are not great.

3.25 Clearly if members of the target group for the advert do not believe in the reality of the legal consequences of drug driving, or believe that they could easily evade these consequences, this has the potential to undermine and limit the impact of the advert on attitudes and behaviour.

Key points

- Overall, levels of awareness of publicity and advertising about drugs and driving are high – 76% of respondents in the Scottish Opinion Survey and 70% of respondents in the survey of drivers were aware of some such advertising or publicity.
- Younger respondents in both surveys were more likely than older people to remember having seen the drug driving television advert.
- The quantitative findings suggest that while people associated the advert with discouraging drug driving, they *may* have been less clear on the enforcement message. However, levels of awareness of the possibility of being prosecuted for drug driving are high – 74% of respondents to the survey of drivers thought it was possible to be prosecuted for driving after taking drugs.
- Respondents aged 17-44 were more likely than drivers in older age groups to disagree or strongly disagree with the statements that "the advert wasn't really relevant to people my age" and "adverts like that are a waste of time". This suggests that the advert was generally seen as relevant and useful by younger drivers.

- Participants in the qualitative research thought the advert was informative about the new drug driving tests being carried out by police and that it contained a warning message about the legal consequences of drug driving. They did not appear to find the advert moralistic in tone.
- Although participants in the qualitative research appeared to understand the key messages of the advert, doubts were expressed about the credibility of these messages and their application to the participants. Doubt that the police actually stop many drug drivers and a belief that many drug users could pass the tests shown in the advert lessened the impact for many participants.

CHAPTER FOUR CONTENT AND STYLE

4.1 This chapter of the report looks at views of the detailed content and style of the advert. The qualitative research forms the main basis for these findings, although some findings from the survey of drivers are also presented.

Realism of the events shown

4.2 Participants in the focus groups and paired depth interviews were asked whether or not they thought the footage shown in the first half of the advert, which depicts Americans being tested for drug driving by the police, was real or not. Although most thought it probably was real footage, some felt it might have been staged. Others said that, although they had assumed it was real footage, they had initially thought it was an advert for a 'Police Camera Action'-style reality television programme rather than a road safety campaign.

"I actually think I thought it was for a programme. Do you know how you get these American programmes like on Sky 1 or something? I didn't realise it was an advert." (Group 2)

Characters in the advert

Everyday people?

4.3 Participants in the qualitative interviews were asked what kind of people they thought the different characters shown in the advert were. Most noted that the advert included a mix of different kinds of people, and that they looked like ordinary people rather than stereotyped drug users. However, many participants commented spontaneously that they felt the people in the advert generally looked too old, and that they didn't look like the type of people who would use drugs. This was seen as an important factor limiting the extent to which young people and drug users would identify with the people in the advert and the events shown.

*"*Yeah whereas, they're everyday people. They're not like kind of the junkies. They look perfectly ordinary.
*They're just like us.
*A bit more realistic.
*Definitely."
(Group 7)*

*"*Interviewer: on second viewing, did you notice anything that you didn't notice the first time round?
*I would say it does nae appeal to young people.
*No. I was just going to say that. It's all older people that have maybe been to a party and just smoked hash for the first time."
(Group 4)*

"They all seemed to be like, there wasn't any kind of younger ones in it. You'd think that was who they'd be directing it to rather than having a woman and a man on a party night out." (Group 9)

Drinkers or drug users?

4.4 In addition to seeing some of the characters as too old, an extremely common comment about the people in the American half of the advert was that they looked drunk rather than on drugs. This was seen as a further stumbling block to identifying with them as people who might drug drive. Several triggers in the advert appeared to lead to the perception that the characters in the advert were drunk. Firstly, the fact that they were older made it harder for participants to believe that they would be taking drugs. Secondly, the outward appearance of some of the characters, particularly the fact that several of them wore suits, made it difficult for participants to identify a context in which they might have been taking drugs. Finally, their actual behaviour in the advert was more commonly associated with alcohol consumption than drug use in the minds of participants. Participants commented on both the physical behaviour of the characters (falling about and staggering), and also their attitudes to being stopped and tested as being typical of excessive alcohol consumption rather than drug use.

*“*Is it for drugs or drink?*

**Interviewer: it's supposed to be drugs but, why did you say that?*

**Because there was like older people and that on it as well. (...) They'd got like an older woman. It's not as if she's going to take drugs.”*

(Group 9)

“Somebody who's maybe middle aged with a shirt and tie job and that, I would say you'd be less likely to take drugs. That's just my opinion.”

(Group 8)

“(…) The way they were staggering about and things like that (...) If you're up the dancing - say more than half the people at the dancing are on drugs, and they're not all falling about. They're all dancing and things. They're more mellow. Christ. You could make a hundred new friends in a night but, with alcohol, you'd probably make a hundred enemies, you know what I mean?” (Group 6)

4.5 A related point raised in several interviews was the difficulty of identifying what drugs the characters had taken if they had taken drugs. It was suggested in several interviews that if the characters were on drugs rather than being drunk, then they must have taken either particularly strong drugs or very large amounts. The perception that people in the advert are not typical of people under the influence of drugs may allow the viewer to distance themselves from the advert and enable them to believe that the events portrayed are unlikely to happen to them.

“Full of ecstasy, or something like that. That's what I'm saying. It's depending on the drug. I mean, the start of that ad there, basically it's showing you the Americans first right, and you can tell by the state of them. Those guys just hadn't had a couple of joints. They guys were on heavy, heavy stuff the way they were going on, you know. They must have been on the acid or whatever, because they're bursting out laughing.” (Group 10)

American vs. British characters

4.6 Although the setting of the first half in America was not generally considered to lessen the impact of the advert, several participants did comment on the fact that the characters in the first half were American, suggesting that this made it more difficult to identify with them.

“That was in America, but I can’t see how people are going to relate to that here, because it’s someone with a different accent from a different country, so I just don’t see how it’s going to help at all.” (Group 1)

4.7 Part of the idea behind the advert was that the American characters would display ‘off the wall’ American behaviour, which was not meant to relate to British behaviour or to encourage identification. However, in combination with an apparent lack of identification with the Scottish character at the end (see below) the fact that participants did pick up on how different the characters were from their idea of a typical drug-taker/drug-driver does seem to be a problem.

4.8 Some participants felt that, unlike the American characters shown, the man in the second half of the advert did at least look as if he had been taking drugs – citing his blurred vision and dilated pupils as evidence of this.

“It showed you looking through his eyes, and his vision is impaired, so I would say that was the most realistic out of all of them.” (Group 5)

4.9 But although participants found it easier to believe that this man had taken drugs, there was no consensus about what kind of drugs he might have taken or in what context. Further, there was debate over his age, with several participants describing him as “middle-aged”.

*“*Probably came across a joint at a party or something like that, and that was it, you know because I know, when you first start smoking it, it knocks you for six. It’s probably knocked him out.*

**Interviewer: so, that’s the sort of situation you reckon. So, you’d reckon he’d smoked some dope or something?*

**Yes. I can’t see him. I don’t know. Maybe a couple of lines in the toilet, or something.*

**I would say it was more a couple of lines in the toilet.”
(Group 6)*

4.10 It is possible that providing viewers with more detail about the context in which people come to be drug driving would add to the credibility and impact of the advert.

Impact of the two halves of the advert

4.11 In addition to discussion of the differences between the American characters and the Scottish man shown at the end, there was also some discussion of the impact of the two-part structure of the advert in general.

4.12 Most participants in the qualitative interviews found the first half of the advert funny. This contrasts somewhat with the findings from the quantitative study, where only 24% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with that the advert made them laugh. However, this figure was highest for the youngest age group, aged 17-24 years. In combination with the general reactions of participants in the qualitative research, this suggests that the humour in the advert was generally appreciated by its key target audience. There was, however, some debate over the appropriateness of the use of humour in the advert. This is discussed in more detail below.

4.13 Although most participants found the advert funny, they also appeared to understand the link between the two halves of the advert, and to appreciate the ‘Now who’s laughing?’ message, as discussed in Chapter Three, above. However, the comments of several participants suggested that the second, more serious half of the advert did not have as much impact on them as the first half.

*“*Interviewer: so, was that pretty much as you remembered it?”*

**Yes.*

**Yes. Just about. I don’t remember the bit at the end with the guy from Scotland doing it, but I remember the American bit.”*

(Group 7)

Tone of the advert – debate over use of humour to publicise serious issues

4.14 Participants were asked whether or not they thought it was appropriate to use humour in adverts about subjects like drug driving. A range of views emerged on this issue. Several felt that humour was an effective way of gaining the viewer’s attention and encouraging them to watch the advert through to the serious message at the end.

*“*It grabs your attention.*

**If it started off with the guy getting pulled away. You would probably go and make a cup of tea at the time. ‘Oh they’re doing drug testing in Scotland and this guy’s getting lifted’ but its got the funny bits so you want to see the guys falling about and making an arse of themselves. You sit and watch it and then it brings in the serious bit once you’re looking at the advert.”*

(Group 2)

4.15 However, a number of participants felt that the use of humour detracted from the seriousness of the message, and potentially reduced the impact of the advert on the viewer. The extract below illustrates the tension participants identified between using humour to gain the attention of the viewer and using the advert to convey a serious point.

*“*Not if you’re trying to get a point across. You should really make it a bit hard-hitting, rather than making folk laugh.*

**Mind you, on the other hand, you would maybe remember it for laughing at it as well.*

**But would you take it seriously?*

**I know but you’d remember it.*

**There’s nae point in daeing it if you’re no’ going to take it serious.”*

(Group 4)

4.16 There was also a suggestion that while the use of humour in itself could be effective, the second (and more serious) half of the advert did not have sufficient impact to offset the more humorous aspect of the advert.

“It is funny. I don’t think you’re going to be aware of the last wee bit of it. You’re more concerned with the funny people falling about. The last wee bit’s a sort of side bit to the ad. You’re not getting the guy with bloody hands. You’re getting all the guys falling about and getting the drug test done.”
(Group 2)

Comparisons with ‘harder hitting’ campaigns

4.17 Many participants in the qualitative interviews spontaneously raised the contrast between the apparently light-hearted approach of the first half of the drug driving advert and other road safety campaigns that were often described as ‘harder hitting’. These were generally adverts that show road safety violations leading to accidents, often depicted in graphic detail. Specific adverts mentioned included: the ‘In the summer time’ drink drive campaign; the current anti-speeding advert featuring a car travelling at 35mph hitting a child; and the ‘belt-up in the back’ campaign.

“I’ll never forget the advert, the one that’s “Have a drink, have a drive”. I always remember that, because you see the wrecked car and all the people over the steering wheel. I mean, that’s a while back now, and I still remember that. So, that obviously had more effect.” (Group 1)

4.18 However, there is a need for some caution in interpreting this kind of comment. Although many participants stated that they thought ‘harder hitting’ campaigns would have more impact, it was not clear that their own behaviour or attitudes would be affected by this kind of campaign strategy. As discussed in Chapter Two, above, many participants felt that drug driving was not particularly dangerous or likely to lead to accidents, especially by comparison with drink driving. Although increased publicity on the dangerous effects of drugs on driving might have some influence in changing people’s views in this respect, a significant shift in cultural attitudes among young people would be required before drug driving was seen in a similar light to drink driving.

4.19 Further, research on drink driving has suggested that people who are drinking at or around the legal alcohol limit are more likely to think in terms of the likelihood and consequences of being caught than about the chances of being involved in an accident (Anderson & Ingram, 2001). It may be that the same applies to drug driving. Indeed, one peer group highlighted the fact that people who are driving under the influence either of drugs or drink rarely consider that they pose a danger to anyone at the time.

**Interviewer: Do you think drug driving is dangerous? I mean, is it something that should be sort of clamped down on?*

**Of course it should be clamped down on.*

**The thing is, it's proving its dangerous effects.*

**It's still affecting the actions as well.*

**Interviewer: Obviously, that's what they're trying to do. To be able to find people who are doing this.*

**But then, everyone who does it thinks, "I'm alright. I'm alright. There's probably some people who do get affected, but I'm alright."*

**Everyone goes like that when they're drink driving, "I'm sober enough. I can"."*

(Group 1)

4.20 Finally, although many groups highlighted adverts they felt were more 'hard hitting' than the drug driving advert, when these were discussed in more detail several participants conceded that the effect on their own driving behaviour was minimal.

"More shock - but even if you see one that's shocking, it still doesn't slow you down when you're driving yourself. You don't think about that when you're in the car at the time." (Group 5)

Portrayal of the legal consequences of drug driving

4.21 Debate over 'harder hitting' campaigns raised the question of whether future campaigns should show the consequences of drug driving in terms of accident causation. However, there was also discussion of the extent to which the current advert adequately conveyed information about the legal consequences of drug driving in terms of prosecution and penalties.

4.22 Many participants were confused about the precise legal consequences of being caught drug driving. There was considerable debate over whether individuals could be prosecuted on the basis of the tests shown in the advert alone or whether further proof (a blood test, for example) would be required for a conviction. Further, there was little knowledge of the likely penalties for drug driving – suggestions ranged from "a £50 fine and a couple of penalty points" (Group 3) to being banned and imprisoned.

**In Scottish law, you'd never get a conviction from a test like that, because you need more proof than that.*

**Your concrete proof.*

**Yeah. In Scottish law anyway.*

(Group 1)

4.23 The lack of information about the actual consequences of failing the tests shown in the advert was perceived as an important weakness by a number of participants. It was felt that greater clarity was needed about the actual legal consequences of being caught drug driving if the advert was to have a deterrent effect.

"They just really saying that "aye, we can catch you. We do these tests." But they don't really say, "This is what happens if you get caught"." (Group 9)

*“*It shows them on the camera and that’s it. It should’ve showed them maybe in jail or something. Or walking for the bus, because he’s no got his car any more.*

**It kinda left you not really knowing what was going to happen.*

**Guessing.*

**Interviewer: So it should’ve been maybe a bit longer and ...*

**Yeah. Given you an idea of what would happen.*

**To let you know what kind of charges you would face if you get caught.”*

(Group 4)

Style

4.24 The ‘Police Camera Action’ style of the first half of the advert was readily recognised and enjoyed on by most participants, although as noted above this did lead some participants to think the advert was a trailer for a TV programme rather than a road safety advert.

4.25 Other aspects of the style of the advert that were commented on in the interviews included:

4.26 The music used in the first half – several participants felt the bouncy style reinforced the humour of the events shown

4.27 The lighting – two participants said the advert was too dark to grab the viewers attention

4.28 The statistics and key messages – one group felt that the messages should be spoken rather than just appearing on the screen or people would not take them in.

4.29 The use of blurred footage to convey the point of view of the man being arrested at the end – a number of participants commented on this. The perception that his vision was impaired was identified by several participants as reinforcing the suggestion that he was under the influence of drugs.

4.30 The logos displayed at the end of the adverts – participants in two groups commented that the ‘Know the Score’ and ‘Scottish Road Safety Campaign’ logos displayed at the end of the advert were too small to see properly.

Key points

- The ‘Police Camera Action’ style of the advert was readily recognised and commented on, although a few participants said they had assumed the advert was a trailer for a television show, rather than an advert for a road safety campaign.
- Many of the participants in the qualitative interviews felt that the characters in the advert were generally ‘middle-aged’ and appeared to be drunk rather than on drugs. Participants found it difficult to imagine situations in which many of the characters would have taken drugs.

- Although participants in all the groups understood the link between the funny and the serious sides of the advert, there was debate over the appropriateness of the use of humour to deal with serious subjects. Some participants felt that the humour detracted from the serious message of the advert, while others suggested that the second half of the advert needed to have more impact to offset the attention-grabbing first half.
- Comparisons were made in many interviews between the advert and ‘harder-hitting’ campaigns that feature graphic depictions of road traffic accidents. Although participants often claimed that these adverts had more impact, it was not clear from the discussion that they would actually have more effect on participant’s *own* behaviour.
- Participants in several interviews highlighted the lack of clarity in the advert about the precise legal consequences of failing the tests shown. It was felt that further elaboration of the consequences in terms of prosecution and penalties was required.

CHAPTER FIVE RECOGNITION OF ‘KNOW THE SCORE’ AND ‘SCOTTISH ROAD SAFETY CAMPAIGN’ LOGOS AND CAMPAIGNS

5.1 An additional objective of the research carried out on the drug driving advert was to establish levels of awareness of the ‘Know the Score’ and ‘Scottish Road Safety Campaign’ (SRSC) logos and campaigns. The logos both feature at the end of the drug driving television advert, and have also featured on other campaign material and advertising relating to drugs (for Know the Score) and Road Safety (for SRSC). To this end, a series of questions about the ‘Know the Score’ logo were included in the survey of drivers, and both logos were introduced and discussed at the end of the qualitative interviews.

Awareness and knowledge of the ‘Know the Score’ logo and campaign

5.2 Respondents in the survey of drivers were shown a colour print out of the ‘Know the Score’ logo and asked whether they had seen the logo before. Table 5.1 shows respondents answers divided by age group.

Table 5.1 Whether seen ‘Know the Score’ logo before by age of respondent (%)

	Yes	No
17-24 year-olds	80	20
25-34 year-olds	66	34
35-44 year-olds	48	51
45-54 year-olds	50	49
55-64 year-olds	43	56
65+ year-olds	44	53
TOTAL	52	46

Base = 730

5.3 Although overall only 52% of respondents recalled having seen the logo before, this figure rose to 80% among 17-24 year-olds, indicating that advertising and campaign materials have been more successful in reaching younger people.

5.4 Respondents who had seen the logo previously were then asked where they remembered seeing it. The most commonly given response was on a TV advert, mentioned by 60% of respondents who had seen the logo. This was followed by posters, mentioned by 18% of respondents, newspaper adverts (7%), on a bus/bus advert (6%) and articles in newspapers (5%). Sixteen percent of respondents could not remember where they had seen the logo.⁴

5.5 Lastly, the survey asked respondents what they thought the ‘Know the Score’ logo was about. The most commonly given answer was drugs (57% of respondents), followed by anti-drugs campaign (23%) and drug driving (11%). Only 10% of respondents who had seen the logo before said that they did not know what it was about, suggesting that understanding of what the logo relates to is generally quite high.

⁴ The figures given here do not sum to 100% as respondents could give more than one answer – for example, they may have seen the logo on a bus and on a poster. The figures refer to the percentage of respondents who gave each answer.

5.6 Most participants in the qualitative interviews recognised having seen the ‘Know the Score’ logo before. When asked what they associated it with, the majority of participants knew that it related to a drugs campaign. Some participants commented that the link with drugs was not clear from the logo alone, although it was recognised that the logo would generally be seen in conjunction with material connected with drugs.

*“*What’s the point? It could be fitba (football). It could be anything. Ken (know) what I mean?”*

**It’s just because I’ve seen it related to drugs.*

**Aye. So have I.*

**Yeah. That’s what I mean. If somebody showed me that, I wouldnae make nothing of it. So that’s what I mean.*

**But then there’s going to be something underneath it saying ... drugs something or other.”*

(Group 4)

5.7 Participants in several groups knew that the ‘Know the Score’ campaign was aimed at awareness-raising and education and mentioned that there was a helpline, although other groups were less clear about the details of the campaign. When asked who they thought the logo and campaign were aimed at, participants in several groups mentioned parents as a key target group. When the campaign was explained to participants in more detail, participants generally thought it sounded like a good idea, although there was some scepticism about how widely the helpline and website would be used. It was suggested that making information about drugs easily available would be particularly useful for parents.

*“*It has to be a good idea.*

**Yeah. If it’s going to help.*

**Because, they’ve got to be able to go to someone, haven’t they, and it’s just a ‘phone number. They can do it quick and easily, and just get information over the ‘phone, rather than having to go somewhere, and maybe try and take the child there who doesn’t want to go. They can do it on their own.”*

(Group 1)

Awareness and knowledge of the ‘Scottish Road Safety Campaign’ logo and campaign

5.8 While there were no questions specifically about the SRSC in the survey of drivers, colour copies of the logo were passed around and discussed in the qualitative interviews. In general, recognition of the SRSC logo appeared to be much lower than recognition of the ‘Know the Score’ logo. Most people who did remember seeing the logo recognised it from the drug driving advert shown earlier in the interview, although participants in a few groups remembered it from previous SRSC television adverts. Participants most commonly associated the logo with either road safety in general or speeding in particular.

Key points

- The 'Know the Score' logo was more widely recognised by young people aged 17-24 than by the population in general.
- Most respondents in the survey of drivers associated the logo with drugs, while some participants in the qualitative interviews also recognised the awareness raising and educative role of the campaign.
- The 'Know the Score' campaign was generally seen as a useful idea by participants in the qualitative interviews, particularly for parents who are worried about their children.
- The 'Scottish Road Safety Campaign' logo appeared to be less widely recognised than the 'Know the Score' logo. It was most commonly associated with either road safety in general or with speeding in particular.

CHAPTER SIX LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE

6.1 This final chapter of the report uses the findings presented so far to make recommendations about future campaigns aimed at preventing drug driving.

Key findings from the evaluation

6.2 The evaluation found that levels of awareness of the advert were very high, especially among the target age group of 17-24 year-olds. Further, the qualitative research suggested that understanding of the advert and its key messages by its target age group was good. The advert told people something new – that you can be prosecuted for drug driving, and that the police are actively targeting drug driving.

6.3 However, the research also highlighted several factors that have the potential to undermine the impact of the advert on younger drivers. In particular, the qualitative research suggested that the message of the advert lacked credibility with young drivers. They did not believe that the police were actively enforcing drug driving laws, or that the tests the advert shows would work to catch many drug drivers. Further, they were unclear about the precise legal consequences of failing the tests shown in the advert. In addition to this, younger drivers did not identify with the characters in the advert, either in terms of their age or in terms of the drugs they were supposed to have taken. Participants in the qualitative study frequently commented that the characters appeared more drunk than on drugs, and that they were too old.

Improving the current TV advert

6.4 Although the key purpose of this chapter is to make recommendations about future prevention campaigns, we feel that a few minor alterations to the current advert would increase its impact.

- *The statistics and information that appear about the drug tests and their introduction to Scotland could be read out rather than just appearing on screen.* This might increase people's awareness of the fact that the advert is about drug-driving rather than drink-driving and strengthen awareness of the fact that the tests are being introduced in Scotland.
- *The inclusion of statistics about the use and success of the tests in Scotland rather than America might help strengthen the credibility of the enforcement message.* If this is not possible at the moment, consideration might be given to including this kind of information in future campaigns.

Implications for future campaigns

6.5 Overall, the advert has clearly succeeded in reaching its target audience and in communicating its main message. For those successes to be reinforced in future work, we would highlight the following implications:

- *Future advertising work in this area might include more young people, and be clearer in distinguishing drug driving from drink driving.* This would make it easier for the target audience of young drug takers to relate to the future campaigns.

- *Identification might also be improved by the inclusion of specific examples of drugs or drug-taking situations to give context to the advert.* Participants in the qualitative research found it very difficult to identify a context in which the characters in the advert might have been taking drugs, or to identify what kind of drugs they might have taken.
- *There may be an argument for developing different materials in relation to different kinds of drugs and/or different kinds of drug users.* While the main aim of the current advert was simply to highlight the fact that the police are now testing for drug driving in general, the qualitative research found that different drugs are seen as having very different effects on driving and that young people make very subtle distinctions between the acceptability and effects of different substances. Young people who take one sort of drug in one context may not relate to adverts depicting young people taking other drugs in other situations.
- *Future adverts could highlight the actual legal consequences of drug driving.* Knowledge of the legal consequences remains poor, and this lack of clarity tended to undermine the impact for some participants in the qualitative research.
- *Advertising needs to be supported by actual police enforcement activity.* Participants in the qualitative research often compared their knowledge/experience of people being stopped and convicted for drink driving with their perception that detection and conviction of drug drivers was relatively rare. While advertising may have some impact on people's awareness of enforcement, unless the message is confirmed by high-profile successes or by personal knowledge/experience of police enforcement, its impact over time is likely to wane.

ANNEX A: RESEARCH METHODS

1. The quantitative element of this research consisted of a series of 6 questions included in the June 2002 Scottish Opinion Survey and a separate and more detailed survey of drivers.

The June 2002 Scottish Opinion Survey

2. In total, 1,025 people took part in the June 2002 Scottish Opinion Survey in the fourth week of June 2002. All interviewing took place in respondent's homes and was carried out by members of the NFO fieldforce using Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI). The Scottish Opinion Survey uses a quota sample designed to be representative of the Scottish population in terms of geographical spread and the sex and working status of respondents.

3. The questions included in the Survey were designed to test basic levels of awareness and understanding of the drug driving television advert and of publicity relating to drug driving in general. A copy of the questions included is available from the research team on request (e-mail: rachel.ormston@nfoeurope.com)

Survey of drivers

4. In total, 730 interviews were completed between late July and September 2002. The target of 700 interviews was exceeded as interviewing was extended to boost numbers of interviews with people in younger age groups (17-24 year-olds in particular). As with the Scottish Opinion Survey, all interviewing took place in respondents' homes using CAPI.

Data collection methods and instruments

5. The questionnaire for the survey was developed by the NFO Social Research team in consultation with the Scottish Road Safety Campaign. It included the 6 questions from the Scottish Opinion Survey in order to provide an indication of whether awareness of the advert declined when more time had elapsed since it was shown. Two picture prompts were used during the interview – one featuring still frames from the drug driving television advert, and one colour copy of the 'Know the Score' logo. The questionnaire included a Computer Assisted Self Interviewing (CASI) section for questions about respondents experiences of drugs and drug driving. The final script took around 15 minutes to administer and covered topics including:

- Awareness of advertising and publicity on drugs and driving in general
- Awareness and understanding of the drug driving television advert
- Knowledge and beliefs about the legal consequences of drug driving
- Recognition of the 'Know the Score' logo and what respondents associate it with
- Experiences of cannabis and of driving under the influence of cannabis
- Experiences of drink driving
- Perceptions of the impact the drug driving advert on respondents' behaviour

6. The questions on experiences of drink and drug driving drew on previous research on drink and drug driving carried out by NFO System Three for the Scottish Executive (Ingram et al, 2000 and Anderson & Ingram, 2001). A copy of the full questionnaire is available from the research team upon request (e-mail: rachel.ormston@nfoeurope.com)

Sample design

7. The sample for the survey followed a quota design. This was felt to be the most appropriate strategy given the objective of achieving interviews with a disproportionately high number of interviews with younger drivers, aged 17-24 years old. Since there is no existing sampling frame for the population of young drivers, the only option for conducting a probability survey of this group would have been to screen houses to produce a sample from which a random selection could then have been made. This approach was deemed unnecessary given the purpose and objectives of the survey.

8. In order to obtain a sample likely to obtain a relatively high proportion of younger drivers for interviewers to select from, we employed a sampling agency to provide us with addresses for Enumeration Districts that fall into the top quartile for car ownership (i.e. the 25% of EDs with the highest numbers of cars), and which also fall into the top 2 quartiles for young people aged 17-29 (i.e. the 50% of EDs with the highest numbers of 17-29 year-olds). We chose the top 2 quartiles rather than the top quartile for young people as young people tend to be concentrated in urban areas. Seventy-one percent of EDs in the top quartile in terms of concentration of 17-29 year-olds were in large cities or medium towns (compared with 60% of EDs generally). If we had selected from the top 25% we may have skewed the sample of EDs too much towards urban areas.

9. Once the sample was issued to interviewers, they were set quotas for interviews with drivers of different age groups, in addition to (non-interlocking) age and sex quotas. These quotas were designed to boost numbers in the 17-24, 25-34 and 35-44 year-old age groups at the expense of older drivers. The table below shows the proportion of drivers who fall into the different age groups across the Scottish population (based on figures from the Scottish Household Survey). The second indicates the target number of interviews that would have been achieved if quotas had been set proportionate to the age spread of the population of drivers, while the third column indicates the actual number of interviews achieved and the fourth the proportion of the total number of interviews conducted that this figure represents.

Table 1 Proportions of drivers in different age groups

	Scottish Household Survey (Years 1-3 - %)	Target number of interviews proportionate to population of drivers	Actual number of interviews achieved	Proportion of total number of interviews achieved (%)
17-24 year-olds	7%	49	96	13%
25-34 year-olds	19%	130	145	20%
35-44 year-olds	24%	167	197	27%
45-59 year-olds	29%	203	170	23%
60+ year-olds	22%	154	116	16%
TOTAL	100%	703	724 ⁵	100%

Bases – Scottish Household Survey years 1-3 drivers = 26,664

10. As the table shows, drivers in the youngest age group (17-24 year-olds) made up 13% of our interviews, although they account for only 7% of the driving population. A higher

⁵ NB 6 respondents refused to give their age, and are therefore not included in this breakdown

proportion of interviews were also achieved in the 25-34 year-old and 35-44 year-old age group compared with the proportion of drivers in the general population that fall into these age groups.

Qualitative component

11. The purpose of the qualitative research was to explore in more depth the reactions of young drivers and passengers aged 17-24 to the advert. Two main sorts of interview were conducted: peer focus groups with mixed sex groups of friends, and paired depth interviews with couples and pairs of friends.

Paired depth interviews

12. By interviewing friends together, we hoped that participants would feel more confident about engaging with the topic, but also that they would reflect on, build on or challenge each other's accounts.

Peer group interviews

13. An alternative to conventional focus group work, where participants are typically not known to each other in advance, is to convene 'peer groups'. This is an approach that we have used successfully in a recent study of drinking and driving (Anderson and Ingram, 2001) and involves recruiting one person who meets certain demographic criteria and 'snowballing' from them to their friends or family. The advantage of this approach is that there is generally a certain level of existing trust within the group and that participants' awareness of each other's lives tends to act as a check on misrepresentation of views or behaviours. It also has the advantage of allowing discussion of drug-driving to take place in the social context in which the behaviour itself may occur – i.e. in groups of friends.

14. A total of 10 interviews (5 of each type) were conducted in September 2002 in both rural and urban areas in Scotland. We felt that this would be a sufficient number to cover a range of attitudes and experiences and to identify the main themes, without involving a high degree of duplication and inefficiency.

Recruitment of participants

15. For each interview, a 'core' participant who met certain demographic criteria was recruited initially, and then asked to help recruit friends with whom they regularly socialise. All core participants held full driving licences and had some experience of cannabis use (either past or present), which was viewed as putting them at higher than average risk of having experienced drug-driving, either as a driver or passenger.

16. Around half the core participants were recruited through the drivers survey. The survey included a question asking if people were happy to be contacted to take part in follow-up research. The results of the survey were analysed to find respondents who met the criteria in terms of age and cannabis use and who had consented to be approached about taking part in follow-up research. However, door-to-door recruitment by NFO interviewers was also used as we were unable to recruit sufficient core participants through the survey.

17. The structure of the sample is detailed below.

Group	FG or paired interview	Sex of core person	Composition of groups	Location
1	FG	Male	Mixed	Urban
2	FG	Female	Mixed	Urban
3	FG	Male	Mixed	Rural
4	FG	Female	Mixed	Rural
5	FG	Male	Mixed	Urban
6	Paired	Male	Couple	Urban
7	Paired	Female	Female friends	Rural
8	Paired	Male	Male friends	Rural
9	Paired	Female	Female friends	Urban
10	Paired	Male	Male friends	Urban

18. Four of the focus groups took place in neutral venues such as a room in a hotel. One took place in the core participant's home at their request. All the paired depths were conducted in the participants' own homes. In keeping with standard research practice for work of this kind, all respondents were paid a small financial incentive to attend in order to offset any childcare or travel costs incurred and to encourage participation.

19. The discussion moderators were Simon Anderson, Neil Cafferty and Rachel Ormston of NFO Social Research. A video of the advert was shown twice during the interview. The general content and flow of the discussions were dictated by the participants themselves, within the framework of a series of topics or areas for discussion introduced by the moderator. These topics included:

- Unprompted recall of the advert
- General impressions of the advert after the first showing of the video – message; content; style etc.
- Participants own driving behaviour, in particular experiences of drug driving as a driver or a passenger
- Detailed views of the advert after the second showing of the video – characters shown; the two-part structure; recollection and thoughts on the messages shown in the advert etc.
- Views on the target audience for the advert and the likely impact on this target group
- General views on the effectiveness of road safety campaigns
- Recognition and views on the 'Know the Score' and 'SRSC' logos

20. With the consent of participants, the discussions were tape-recorded for subsequent transcription and analysis.

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