

**An Experimental Investigation of an Entertainment Education Television Show
about Adolescents Smoking: Effects on Norms and Intent**

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ABSTRACT

Focus Theory of Normative Conduct was used in an experiment to assess the efficacy of televised Entertainment Education for smoking prevention. The theory was extended to include category norms to account for value-expressive influence, and viewers' identification with reference group members as a moderator. Relative to a control, an Entertainment Education show that depicted high-status smokers but contained antismoking content made focal an antismoking injunctive norm, lowering smoking intent among adolescents who identified with nonsmoker referents. An Entertainment Degradation version that depicted high-status smokers made focal a prosmoking category norm, increasing smoking intent among adolescents who identified with smoker referents.

The U.S. television industry has begun to engage in Entertainment Education, or the practice of embedding prohealth and prosocial messages as plots or subplots in television shows (Singhal et al. 2004; Singhal and Rogers 1999). Government and nonprofit groups such as the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the National Institute of Drug Abuse, and the Kaiser Family Foundation provide guidance and encouragement (Beck 2004; Greenberg et al. 2004; Singhal and Rogers 2004). These groups have embraced Entertainment Education as a means of combating Entertainment Degradation (Singhal and Rogers 1999) or an alleged increase in media portrayals of antisocial and harmful behaviors (O'Guinn and Shrum 1997; Shrum and O'Guinn 1993; Signorielli et al. 1995). Entertainment Education is also increasingly viewed as a low cost, credible mechanism for disseminating public service messages (Greenberg et al 2004; Singhal and Rogers 1999; Singhal et al. 2004; Slater 2002).

Although Entertainment Education has generally been viewed as a positive force, some concerns about it have been raised (Bandura 2004; Beck 2004; Greenberg et al. 2004; Slater 2002). First, it is often necessary to depict the problem behavior that one seeks to deter. To address alcoholism, for instance, one must generally show alcoholics. Further, the characters who are shown engaging in the problem behaviors are often attractive or even glamorous (O'Guinn and Shrum 1997). The worry is that the normative effects of depicting high-status role models engaged in problem behaviors could conceivably overshadow the educational content. In the worst case scenario, Entertainment Education could contribute to Entertainment Degradation.

Entertainment Education might seem to be particularly suitable for adolescent smoking prevention. Adolescents are heavy consumers of television and other entertainment media (Robinson and Bianchi 1997), and tobacco control has become a

major priority in the U.S. (Schroeder 2004) and internationally (World Health Organization 2003). However, very few television shows have incorporated smoking prevention plotlines (Singhal and Rogers 1999), especially relative to the number that have educated viewers about AIDS (Beck 2004; Kennedy et al. 2004), safe sex (Collins et al. 2003; Keller and Brown 2002) and alcohol abuse (Lalonde et al. 1997; Winsten 1994). It may be especially difficult to write effective antismoking plotlines because smoking does not have any immediate devastating consequences. Smoking does not result in AIDS, unwanted pregnancies or car accidents, as other risky behaviors do. A television show can try to convey that smoking is socially unacceptable, but will this normative message come through or will it be overshadowed by the normative effects of seeing attractive people smoking?

In this research, we examine the efficacy of Entertainment Education for adolescent smoking prevention by testing a television show that was developed for this purpose. We randomly assigned over one thousand adolescents to view one of three edited versions of the show. In the Entertainment Education version, smoking prevention was the main plotline but many scenes depicted high-status smokers. In the Entertainment Degradation version, the educational content was edited out leaving just the scenes of high-status smokers. In the third or control version, all smoking was edited out and other material from the episode was used instead (all versions were of equal length). After showing the videotapes, we measured adolescents' smoking-related norms and intent. Our research questions were as follows. Which norms affect adolescents' smoking intent? Do scenes of high-status smokers affect norms and, if so, which norms, what is the impact on intent if any, and who is affected? Finally, what happens if the scenes include antismoking content too?

Our main theoretical framework was Focus Theory of Normative Conduct (Cialdini et al. 1991; Cialdini et al. 1990; Kallgren et al. 2000), which was developed in response to criticisms that social norms are contradictory and vague and do not reliably predict behavior (Darley and Latane 1970). Focus Theory posits that there are two types of norms, that focal norms do predictably affect intent and behavior, and that when norms are in conflict one type of norm will tend to dominate. Focus Theory thereby allowed us to develop hypotheses about how adolescents might respond to the conflicting normative information in an Entertainment Education television show. However, since Focus Theory had never been applied to television, we extended it to include a type of norm that is prevalent in that medium. We also extended it by considering viewers' identification with the televised role models as a moderator. To begin, we form predictions about norms and adolescent smoking intent. Then we predict how television shows might affect norms and intent.

NORMS AND ADOLESCENT SMOKING

Social Norms

Social norms (Sherif 1936) are the “customs, traditions, standards, rules, values, fashions, and all other criteria of conduct which are standardized as a consequence of the contact of individuals” (p. 3). Norms delineate both acceptable and unacceptable behavior and “guide and/or constrain behavior without the force of laws” (Cialdini and Trost 1998, p. 152). Norms are defined and conveyed by reference group members or role models (Abrams et al. 1990; Cialdini and Trost 1998; Park and Lessig 1977; Stafford 1966). Reference groups include those “to which a person actually belongs,” or “aspires to belong” or “dissociative groups to which he aspires

not to belong” (Stafford 1966, p. 69). Thus we define a reference group as “an actual or imaginary individual or group conceived of having significant relevance upon an individual’s evaluations, aspirations, or behavior” (Park and Lessig 1977, p. 102).

Past research indicates that adolescents’ smoking intent and behavior are influenced by reference group members (Graham et al. 1991; Pechmann and Knight 2002; Pechmann and Shih 1999), and their norms (Eisenberg and Forster 2003). However, these studies did not distinguish conceptually between different types of norms, or assess whether or how television shows might affect norms and intent. Building on Focus Theory (Cialdini et al. 1991; Cialdini et al. 1990; Kallgren et al. 2000), we examine these issues.

Descriptive Norm

Focus Theory (Cialdini et al. 1990, 1991; Kallgren et al. 2000) posits that one major type of norm is a descriptive norm, which is formed from observations of what is done (Asch 1951; Deutsch and Gerard 1955; Kelman 1961; Milgram et al. 1969; Sherif 1936). A descriptive norm describes the customary or prevalent behavior of reference group members and it influences others by suggesting what is “likely to be effective and adaptive action” (Cialdini et al. 1990, p. 1015). Its influence has been labeled “informational” (Park and Lessig 1977). “By simply registering what most others are doing there and by imitating their actions, one can usually choose efficiently and well” (Cialdini et al. 1990, p. 1015). Sometimes choices based on descriptive norms are not sound, though. Studies have shown that people will follow a crowd and stare at an empty spot at the sky (Milgram et al. 1969) and inaccurately judge line lengths (Asch 1951) and light movements (Sherif 1936). Descriptive norms

appear to be most influential when a situation is unfamiliar or ambiguous (Cialdini and Trost 1998).

Based on prior research indicating that descriptive norms affect intent and behavior in other domains (Table 1), we posit that adolescents' descriptive norm about smoking will be correlated with smoking intent. The higher the perceived prevalence of smoking, the greater the intent. We could find no prior research about smoking that explicitly examined this type of norm, or the other norms to be discussed. Studies have documented a correlation between smoking and unspecified norms (Dinh et al. 1995; Graham et al. 1991; Leventhal et al. 1987), but at least one study found no correlation between norms and drug use intent (Rose et al. 2001).

- H1. Adolescents' descriptive norm about the prevalence of cigarette smoking will be positively related to their smoking intent.

 Insert Table 1 here

Injunctive Norm

Focus Theory (Cialdini et al. 1990, 1991; Kallgren et al. 2000) also highlights the role of injunctive norms or rules about the proper behavior that is expected of reference group members (Asch 1951; Buunk and Bakker 1995; Christensen et al. 2004; Deutsch and Gerard 1955; Kelman 1961). An injunctive norm specifies what ought to be done, based on the group's moral principles (Cialdini et al. 1991, p. 203). Its influence is labeled "utilitarian" (Park and Lessig 1977) because compliance can lead to rewards while noncompliance can result in punishment. Compliance tends to be higher if behavior is under surveillance (Abrams et al. 1990; Turner 1982), but people typically comply even when not being observed. Believing that the rules are

morally justified, people frequently adopt them as self-standards (Christensen et al. 2004). Thus rewards and punishments often become self imposed and compliance will evoke pride or relief whereas noncompliance will arouse guilt or anxiety. Based on prior research indicating that injunctive norms affect intent and behavior in other domains (Table 1), we hypothesize that the stronger the injunctive norm about smoking's inappropriateness, the weaker the smoking intent.

- H2. Adolescents' injunctive norm about cigarette smoking being objectionable will be negatively related to their smoking intent.

Category Norms

We extend Focus Theory by including a third type of norm. Building on Kelman's (1961) seminal work, marketers (Bearden and Etzel 1982; Bearden et al. 1989; Burnkrant and Cousineau 1975; Lord et al. 2001; Mascarenhas and Higby 1993; Park and Lessig 1977; Rose et al. 1992) have sometimes studied a third type of reference group influence called "value-expressive". Value-expressive influence is manifested when individuals emulate the behavior of positive referents to project a desired image (Rose et al. 2001), and refrain from modeling the behavior of negative referents or even perform contrasting behaviors to avoid denigrating their image (Stafford 1966). The term value-expressive refers to "an individual's motive to enhance or support his self-concept" (Park and Lessig 1977, p. 103). Value-expressive influence is often used in media advertising and in television and movie product placements. It is a main reason why celebrities are used to endorse brands (Kahle and Homer 1985; McCracken 1989; Mick 1986).

To refer to the norm that underlies value-expressive influence, we will adopt the label “category norm” based on work by Kahneman and Miller (1986) and Hegarty and Pratto (2001). These researchers posit that when people encounter a reference group member, they spontaneously identify the referent’s social category. Then they instantiate the category’s characteristic attributes or the “category norm” based on both observation and inference, with recently encountered and typical category members carrying the most weight (Hegarty and Pratto 2001; Kahneman and Miller 1986; Miller et al. 1991). Research indicates that status-related attributes are the most frequently evoked such as physical attractiveness, competence, wealth and power (Berger et al. 1980; Lockwood et al. 2002; Pool et al. 1998; Wood et al. 1996).

Thus we argue that when people see one or more reference group members, in addition to observing their behavior (descriptive norm) and inferring the group’s rules (injunctive norm), people observe and infer the group’s status (category norm) which independently affects the likelihood that they will model the group’s behavior. In other words, people comply with a descriptive norm because it is what others do, and with an injunctive norm because it is the right thing to do. But people comply with a category norm because it is what high status people do.

Formally, we define a category norm as the status attributes of a reference group who engages in a target behavior. When people model the behavior of high-status groups in order to achieve or retain positive social images and self-views, category norm-driven social conformity has occurred (Burnkrant and Cousineau 1975; Park and Lessig 1977; Pool et al. 1998). By offering self-enhancement, a category norm presumably affects both current and aspiring group members. In fact, research

suggests that people tend to be most sensitive to category norms during periods of status transition (Belk et al. 1982; Park and Lessig 1977; Solomon 1983).

A few studies (Table 1) have suggested that smoking intent is related to perceptions of a smoker's attributes, and these perceptions are similar conceptually to a category norm. Accordingly, we posit that adolescents' category norm about a smoker's status will be positively correlated with smoking intent. We also formally predict that a category norm is distinguishable from descriptive and injunctive norms. Bearden et al. (1989) sought to measure the three norms, but could only distinguish two. The injunctive and category norm items were highly correlated, and loaded together in a factor analysis. This result may have been a function of the items used. However, other researchers (Hogg and Abrams 1988; Lord et al. 2001) have argued that injunctive and category norms are similar because people comply with both of them to enhance self-esteem. We posit that descriptive, injunctive and category norms exert independent and additive effects on intent.

- H3. A category norm about cigarette smokers' status can be distinguished empirically from descriptive and injunctive norms, and will be positively related to adolescents' smoking intent.

Norm-based Product Classification

Products can be classified based on whether consumers' beliefs about them are generally favorable or unfavorable with respect to each type of norm (Bearden and Etzel 1982; Park and Lessig 1977). Table 2 provides examples. Past research indicates that U.S. adolescents have inflated perceptions about the prevalence of smoking (Leventhal et al. 1987), but understand that it is disapproved of (Rozin and Singh

1999), and have rather negative perceptions of smokers' status (Pechmann and Knight 2002). Hence, we anticipated the following about adolescents' smoking-related normative beliefs.

- H4. Adolescents will give cigarette smoking a high descriptive norm rating, but low injunctive and category norm ratings.

 Insert Table 2 here

NORMS AND ENTERTAINMENT EDUCATION ABOUT SMOKING

Television Show Effects on Norms

We now present our hypotheses regarding the television shows of interest: An Entertainment Education show depicting several high-status smokers but with offsetting antismoking content, and an Entertainment Degradation version of the show with those same smokers and no antismoking content. These shows should make focal specific smoking norms, causing viewers to report stronger or more extreme normative beliefs (O'Guinn and Shrum 1997). We expected the Entertainment Degradation show to make focal prosmoking descriptive and category norms.

- H5. An Entertainment Degradation (vs. control) television show depicting several high-status reference group members smoking cigarettes will enhance prosmoking descriptive and category norms.

It was less clear what would happen with the Entertainment Education show, because it included both pro and antismoking normative content. However, according to Focus Theory (Cialdini et al. 1990, 1991; Kallgren et al. 2000), injunctive norm information should be more focal or perceptually dominant than competing

descriptive norm information. There are at least two possible explanations for this, both of which imply that injunctive norm information should be more focal than either descriptive or category norm information. First, injunctive norms carry moral weight; the other norms do not (Christensen et al. 2004).

Second, injunctive norm information tends to be negative in valence, and negative information generally dominates over positive (Baumeister et al. 2001; Rozin and Royzman 2001). Specifically, injunctive norms are often conveyed by illustrating that noncompliance leads to negative sanctions. In our Entertainment Education show, smokers were criticized. In contrast, product-related descriptive and category norm information on television tends to be positively valenced or proconsumption (O'Guinn and Shrum 1997; Pechmann and Shih 1999; Shrum et al. 1998). Our Entertainment Education show conveyed positive information about smoking's prevalence and status. This positive information might not carry much weight relative to negative injunctive norm information (Baumeister et al. 2001, Rozin and Roysman 2001).

In the literature, it has been argued that an injunctive norm is stronger than a descriptive norm because a single person can convey it (Reno et al. 1993). Research indicates that three or more people are needed to convey a descriptive norm because a perception of group consensus must be created (Asch 1951; Bond and Smith 1996; Latané and Wolf 1981; Tanford and Penrod 1984). Another indication of an injunctive norm's strength is that it can transcend situations, whereas a descriptive norm seems to be situation-specific (Reno et al. 1993). In Reno et al. (1993), a pro-litter descriptive norm should have been conveyed by abundant litter, but a confederate who made focal an antilitter injunctive norm by picking up trash reduced the prevalence of littering from 38% to 4%. Also, when the confederate threw his/her own trash into a

bin to make salient an antilitter descriptive norm, 33% of the research participants littered in an adjacent unlittered pathway. When the confederate picked up others' litter to make salient an antilitter injunctive norm, 0% littered in the pathway.

No studies have directly examined what happens when category and injunctive norm information is conflicting. However, one finding indicates that the injunctive information may again dominate. Pechmann and Shih (1999) found that a movie depicting attractive movie stars smoking enhanced adolescents' perceptions of a smoker. This effect was nullified, though, if adolescents first saw an antismoking public service message. Based on past findings indicating injunctive norm dominance, and the fact that our Entertainment Education show devoted more time to injunctive educational content than to prosmoking content, we predicted that the show would only make salient an antismoking injunctive norm.

H6: An Entertainment Education (vs. control) television show depicting several high-status reference group members smoking cigarettes but with offsetting antismoking content will strengthen an antismoking injunctive norm.

Television Show Effects on Intent

We now address how salient norms might influence behavioral intent. We extend Focus Theory by including focal social identity as a moderator of the norms' effects on intent (Abrams et al. 1990; Christensen et al. 2004; Crandall et al. 2002; Pool et al. 1998; Terry and Hogg 2001; Terry and Hogg 1996; Terry et al. 1999; Turner 1982; Wood et al. 1996). Building on Focus Theory's premise that a norm must be focal to elicit conformity, we propose that a person's identity as a reference group member

must also be focal if conformity is to occur. Our arguments are based on Social Identity Theory (Christensen et al. 2004; Tajfel 1982; Terry et al. 1999; Turner 1982). This theory defines social identity as “the individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of group membership” (Turner 1982, p. 18). While this definition stresses current group membership, past research indicates that people can also identify with aspirational groups (Belk 1982; Park and Lessig 1977; Stafford 1966).

Social Identity Theory posits that one or more social identities can be “switched on” (Turner 1982, p. 21) or made focal by factors such as the observer’s and the group’s “similarity, common fate, proximity, shared threat, or other unit-forming factors” (Turner 1982, p. 27). Once focal, the social identity “monitors and construes social stimuli and provides a basis for regulating behaviour” (Turner 1982, p. 21). In particular, a person’s focal social identity moderates the extent to which s/he takes into account salient social norms when behaving or forming a behavioral intent (Abrams et al. 1990; Christensen et al. 2004; Crandall et al. 2002; Hornstein 1970; Pool et al. 1998; Wood et al. 1996). Focal social identity has been shown to modulate conformity effects in studies involving gender (Crandall et al. 2002), sexual orientation (Pool et al. 1998), college (Crandall et al. 2002; Pool et al. 1998), major (Abrams et al. 1990), state of residence (Pool et al. 1998), and nationality (Hornstein 1970; Wood et al. 1996). It appears that these social identities are often triggered automatically when reference group members are encountered (Kahneman and Miller 1986; Hegarty and Pratto 2001).

Focal social identity should moderate descriptive norm effects because inconsequential groups may not provide valid cues for effective and adaptive action.

Abrams et al. (1990) reenacted the 1951 Asch study in which participants conformed to confederates' misjudgments of line length. When the confederates were described as different from the participants in terms of college major, little conformity occurred.

Focal social identity should also moderate injunctive norm effects because inconsequential groups may lack moral authority and/or the ability to reward and punish. Hornstein (1970) used social modeling to make salient the injunctive norm that a lost wallet should be returned. A domestic model produced compliance; a foreign model did not. In Christensen et al. (2004), participants were placed in a situation where they could not readily help others. To manipulate injunctive norm focus, participants were told that their failure to offer assistance either was typical and a sign of "not cheating" or atypical and a sign of "not helping." Participants who strongly identified with the referents reported more positive emotions and self-evaluations when told they were in compliance with the "no cheating" norm versus in violation of the "helping" norm. Participants who did not strongly identify with the referents were unaffected by this manipulation.

Finally, focal social identity should modulate the effects of category norms, although this effect has not yet been shown. If observers do not identify with a high-status group, they may not believe that modeling its behavior will be status elevating within their own group. Thus advertisers try to choose celebrity endorsers with whom the target consumers will identify (McCracken 1989; Mick 1986). Figure 1 depicts the hypothesized contingent factors for social conformity. It posits that a match between the reference group and the observer's focal social identity is always necessary and that, in the case of category norms, the reference group must also be of high status.

Insert Figure 1 here

Applying these ideas to our own study, we hypothesized that viewers' focal social identity as a smoker or nonsmoker would moderate the television show's effects on smoking intent (Abrams et al. 1990; Christensen et al. 2004; Crandall et al. 2002; Pool et al. 1998; Wood et al. 1996). Research indicates that smokers tend to identify with smoker referents and nonsmokers with nonsmoker referents (Denscombe 2001; Dinh et al. 1995; Lloyd and Lucas 1998; Norman and Tedeschi 1989; Plumridge et al. 2002). Thus we expected viewers who had recently smoked and had a "smoker" focal identity to listen to other smokers. Specifically, they would conform to the prosmoking category and descriptive norms made salient by smoker role models in the Entertainment Degradation show, increase their smoking intent. (See Figure 2.)

Insert Figure 2 here

We expected viewers who had not recently smoked and had a "nonsmoker" identity to listen to other nonsmokers. They would comply with the antismoking injunctive norm made focal by nonsmoker role models in the Entertainment Education show, lowering their smoking intent. Note that in our Entertainment Education show (to be described shortly), the lead smoker never conveyed an antismoking injunctive norm; he continued to smoke. Many Entertainment Education shows fail to depict character transitions; instead, the bad guys often remain bad (Bandura 2004; Greenberg et al. 2004; Singhal and Rogers 2004; Vidmar and Rokeach 1974). In sum, we posited that:

H7: By boosting prosmoking descriptive and category norms, an Entertainment Degradation (vs. control) television show will increase

smoking intent among adolescents who have recently smoked and have a “smoker” focal social identity.

- H8. By strengthening an antismoking injunctive norm, an Entertainment Education (vs. control) television show will decrease smoking intent among adolescents who have not recently smoked and have a “nonsmoker” focal social identity.

METHOD

Design

We conducted an experiment using a 3x2 between-subjects factorial design, with one manipulated factor (television show version) and one measured factor (focal social identity). Participants were randomly assigned to view one of three edited versions of a television show episode: (1) an Entertainment Education version depicting high-status reference group members smoking but with offsetting antismoking content, (2) an Entertainment Degradation version depicting high-status reference group members smoking and no antismoking content, and (3) a control version with no smoking. Further, each participant’s focal social identity was categorized as either smoker or nonsmoker based on self-reported recent smoking.

Participants

Participants were 1041 ninth graders from eight public schools in middle to lower class neighborhoods. Ninth graders (14-15 year olds) were used because more students start smoking in that grade than at any other time (Escobedo et al. 1993). Fifty four percent of the participants were female, 44% were Caucasian, 42%

Hispanic, 14% Asian. Student assent and parental consent were obtained and participation rates exceeded 90%.

Television Stimuli

The stimulus television show was an episode of *Clueless*, which is a program about and for high school students. We studied an episode called “Model Smoker” that was designed to deliver an antismoking message and was nominated for an Entertainment Education award. A professional editor created three 11 minute versions of the original 22 minute episode.

The Entertainment Education version depicted the male lead, a high school senior, as a cigarette smoker. This male lead was a high status role model in that he was attractive (in fact, a former professional model), well-liked, intelligent, and the female lead’s boyfriend. His friend and several young adults smoked too. However, an antismoking message was conveyed in that the attractive female lead and her friend asked the male lead to quit smoking, he tried for a few days but then reneged on his promise, and she broke up with him. Others also expressed disapproval of smoking. The cast was multiracial; the leads were Caucasian, the supporting actors were African American.

The Entertainment Degradation version contained virtually the same scenes of attractive people smoking. However, the parts in which people expressed disapproval of smoking, or tried to quit smoking, were edited out and replaced with nonsmoking-related material. The control version contained no smoking and no discussion of smoking but the plotline remained the same, focusing on the male and female leads’ dates and breakup. The cause of the breakup was left ambiguous. Across all scenes,

attractive smokers were portrayed for about one minute in the Entertainment Education and Entertainment Degradation versions. Antismoking content was conveyed for about 2.5 additional minutes in the Entertainment Education version.

Data Collection Procedure

Each data collection session lasted about fifty minutes. Two classrooms were equipped with televisions and VCRs. Participants were randomly assigned to one of these classrooms. The television show version to be shown in each classroom was randomly determined. Participants were told the cover story: "We are conducting a study on how high school students react to information on television." Next, participants answered demographic questions, watched the television program, and then completed a second questionnaire. Two thirds of the questions were filler items about the television show to mask the research purpose and minimize demand effects. Responses were anonymous. Participants were asked to refrain from talking.

Measures

The questionnaire contained the following measures, in this order. If a measure contained multiple items, the mean was used unless otherwise indicated.

Cognizance of Smoking. Participants were asked if anyone smoked cigarettes once, or more than once, in the episode (yes or no, $\alpha = .94$). A participant who responded affirmatively to both questions was considered cognizant of the smoking.

Antismoking Message Clarity. Participants were asked what viewpoint was portrayed in the television episode about smoking (1=it's good; 5=it's very wrong; and 1=very favorable, 5=very unfavorable, $\alpha = .70$).

Show Liking. As a control check, participants were asked to rate the television episode in terms of being entertaining, their type of episode, and one they would recommend to friends (1-9 scale; $\alpha = .93$, Pechmann and Shih 1999).

Intent to smoke. The questions were (1=definitely not, 5=definitely yes; $\alpha = .87$): “If one of your best friends were to offer you a cigarette, you would smoke it,” “In the future, you might smoke one puff or more of a cigarette,” and “You might try out cigarette smoking for a while” (Pechmann and Knight 2002; Pechmann and Shih 1999; Pierce et al. 1995). This intent measure has been shown to predict future smoking behavior (Pierce et al. 1996).

Descriptive Norm. Participants were asked (Marks et al. 1992): “Out of 100 kids your age, how many have smoked cigarettes, at least once?” and “during the past year?” (write in a number from 0 to 100; $\alpha = .89$).

Category Norm. Participants rated a “kid your age who smokes cigarettes” on six five-point semantic differentials with higher numbers indicating more favorable ratings (Dinh et al. 1995; Pechmann and Shih 1999). The items were: dumb/smart, unsuccessful/successful, not desirable to date/desirable to date, not cute/cute, ugly/good looking and unattractive/attractive ($\alpha = .87$).

Injunctive Norm. The questions were (Bearden et al. 1989): “How acceptable is cigarette smoking among kids your age?” (1=very acceptable, 5=very unacceptable) and “How would kids your age feel if you smoked cigarettes?” (1=strongly approve, 5=strongly disapprove; $\alpha = .78$).

Focal Social Identity. Participants were asked if they had smoked cigarettes within the past year. About 20% responded affirmatively and were classified as “smokers” in terms of their focal social identity; the rest were “nonsmokers” (Morabia et al. 2002).

Suspicion Check. Participants were asked what the study was about. Two trained judges who were blind to condition independently coded these thoughts for suspicion. Ranked from least to most suspicious, the codes were: don't know or miscellaneous or what teenagers think (1), teenagers and television (2, the cover story), possibly drugs (3), drugs (4), possibly smoking (5), smoking (6), possibly other drugs and television (7), possibly smoking and television (8), drugs and television (9), smoking and television (10) . The PRL coder reliability was .94 (Rust and Cooil 1994).

Analyses

To test H1-H3 regarding the three distinct norms and smoking intent, we conducted a principal component factor analysis of the norm items, followed by a multiple regression on intent. To test H4 regarding adolescents' normative beliefs about smoking, we compared the grand mean on each norm to the scale midpoint using a one-sample t-test. To test H5-H8, we conducted omnibus ANOVAs (for interval data) and logistic regressions (for binary data) with two factors: television show version (3 levels) and focal social identity (2 levels). If the main effect for television show version was significant, we conducted pairwise tests to compare Entertainment Education versus control, and Entertainment Degradation versus control. If the interaction term was significant, we conducted the same pairwise tests within each level of the moderator, focal social identity (smoker and nonsmoker).

RESULTS

Manipulation and Control Checks

Cognizance of Smoking. About 94% of the participants who watched the television shows depicting smoking were cognizant of the smoking (96% for the Entertainment Education version, 92% for the Entertainment Degradation version). In the control condition, about 5% of the participants mistakenly claimed that they saw smoking portrayed. As expected, in the logistic regression, there was a television show main effect on smoking cognizance ($-2LL(2,1029) = 929.3, p < .01$), no main effect for focal social identity ($-2LL(1,1029) = 2.96, p = .09$), and no interaction ($-2LL(2,1029) = .51, p = .78$).

Antismoking Message Clarity. We compared the two versions of the show that depicted smoking. As expected, there was a main effect of the television show version on antismoking message clarity ($F(1,672) = 12.10, p < .01$), no main effect for focal social identity ($F(1,672) = .01, p = .97$) and no interaction ($F(1,672) = .55, p = .46$). The Entertainment Education version was rated more antismoking than the Entertainment Degradation version (means = 3.01 vs. 2.57, $t(672) = 3.48, p < .01$).

Show Liking. The television show manipulation did not inadvertently affect participants' liking of the show ($F(2,1033) = .10, p = .91$), and there was no interaction between television show version and focal social identity ($F(2,1033) = .43, p = .65$). However, there was a main effect of focal social identity on show liking indicating that nonsmokers (vs. smokers) liked all of the versions better ($F(1,1033) = 7.04, p < .01$, means = 5.14 vs. 4.68).

Suspicion. There was a main effect of television show version on suspicion regarding the study's purpose ($F(2,1035) = 17.34, p < .01$). Participants in both

treatment groups were more suspicious than those in the control (Entertainment Education vs. control: 3.99 vs. 2.79, $t(1035) = 5.82$, $p < .01$; Entertainment Degradation vs. control: 3.54 vs. 2.79, $t(1035) = 3.52$, $p < .01$). Focal social identity did not affect suspicion ($F(1,1035) = .37$, $p = .54$) and there was no two-way interaction ($F(2,1035) = .11$, $p = .54$). Following up on the television show main effect, we ran univariate regressions that indicated that suspicion had no effect on norms or smoking intent. Also, when we included suspicion as a covariate in the omnibus ANOVAs involving each norm and intent, the findings were unaffected. For parsimony, the results below are reported without the covariate.

Hypothesis Tests

Norms and Effects on Intent. The results supported H1-H3's predictions about the three discrete norms and their effects on intent. A principal component factor analysis verified that the norm items loaded onto the three predicted factors. The six category norm items explained 34% of the variance, the two descriptive norm items 18%, the three injunctive norm items 18%. Factor loadings exceeded .59. (Table 3.) The norms were weakly to moderately correlated (category versus descriptive, $r(1040) = .18$, $p < .01$; descriptive versus injunctive, $r(1038) = -.27$, $p < .01$; category versus injunctive, $r(1039) = -.48$, $p < .01$). A multiple regression ($\text{Adj. } R^2(3,1034) = .34$, $p < .01$) showed that intent was affected by the injunctive norm (Beta = $-.31$, $t(1,1036) = -10.6$, $p < .01$) and the category norm (Beta = $.31$, $t(1,1036) = 10.6$, $p < .01$), with weaker but significant effects for the descriptive norm (Beta = $.14$, $t(1,1036) = 5.1$, $p < .01$). The results were similar regardless of participants' focal social identity.

 Insert Table 3 here

A multiple regression that included all possible interactions among norms verified that each norm had an independent and additive effect on intent. In addition, it revealed a category by injunctive norm interaction. Further analyses showed that the combination of prosmoking category norm and prosmoking injunctive norm yielded a synergistic effect in terms of boosting smoking intent.

Adolescents' Normative Beliefs about Smoking. The results supported H4 regarding adolescents' normative beliefs about smoking. The mean descriptive norm about smoking's prevalence was 49.2% indicating that, in participants' view, close to the majority of their peers had smoked. This mean did not differ from the scale midpoint of 50 ($t(1041) = -.85, n.s.$). The mean injunctive norm about smoking being objectionable was 3.7, which was higher than the scale midpoint of 3.0 ($t(1041) = 23.72, p < .01$). The mean category norm about smokers' status was 1.9, which was lower than the 3.0 scale midpoint ($t(1042) = -44.41, p < .01$).

Television Show Effects on Norms. The omnibus ANOVA revealed a main effect for television show version on the injunctive norm ($F(2,1035) = 4.41, p < .01$) and on the category norm ($F(2,1033) = 6.04, p < .01$), but not on the descriptive norm ($F(2,1032) = .66, p = .52$). The two-way interactions were nonsignificant for the injunctive norm ($F(2,1035) = .73, p = .48$), category norm ($F(2,1033) = .34, p = .71$), and descriptive norm ($F(2,1032) = 1.36, p = .26$). However, focal social identity independently affected the injunctive norm ($F(1,1035) = 236.36, p < .01$, smoker mean = 2.88, nonsmoker mean = 3.92), category norm ($F(1,1033) = 182.72, p < .01$,

smoker mean = 2.53, nonsmoker mean = 1.79) and descriptive norm ($F(1,1032) = 112.94, p < .01$, smoker mean = 67.66, nonsmoker mean = 44.69).

Follow-up pairwise tests supported H5, except its descriptive norm prediction. The Entertainment Degradation (vs. control) version created a more prosmoking category norm (means = 2.30 vs. 2.10; $t(1035) = 6.19, p < .01$) but had no effect on the descriptive norm (means = 57.26 vs. 54.46; $t(1032) = 1.05, n.s.$) or the injunctive norm (means = 3.33 vs. 3.33; $t(1035) = -.05, n.s.$). Consistent with H6, the Entertainment Education (vs. control) version created a more antismoking injunctive norm (means = 3.54 vs. 3.33; $t(1035) = -3.29, p < .01$). It had no effect on either the descriptive norm (means = 56.8 vs. 54.46; $t(1032) = -.91, n.s.$) or the category norm (means = 2.08 vs. 2.10; $t(1033) = .66, n.s.$). See Tables 4-5.

 Insert Tables 4-5 here

Television Show Effects on Intent. The main effect for television show version on intent to smoke ($F(2,1035) = 3.85, p < .05$) was qualified by an interaction between television show version and focal social identity ($F(2,1035) = 6.44, p < .05$). Also, focal social identity independently affected intent to smoke ($F(1,1035) = 611.8, p < .01$, smoker mean = 3.06, nonsmoker mean = 1.56).

Follow-up tests substantiated H7. The Entertainment Degradation (vs. control) version increased smoking intent among participants with a smoker focal social identity (means = 3.33 vs. 2.93; $t(1035) = 2.25, p < .05$), but not among participants with a nonsmoker identity (means = 2.94 vs. 2.93; $t(1035) = .03, n.s.$). Further, a regression-based mediational test (Baron and Kenny 1986) among participants with a smoker focal social identity indicated that the effect of the Entertainment Degradation

(vs. control) version on intent was reduced from significance (Beta = .19, $p = .02$) to nonsignificance (Beta = .15, $p = .07$) when the category norm was included as a covariate (covariate Beta = .34, $p = .001$). Thus it appears that the category norm partially mediated the effect on intent.

H8 was supported as well. The Entertainment Education (vs. control) version lowered smoking intent among participants with a nonsmoker focal social identity (means = 1.50 vs. 1.65; $t(1035) = 2.62$, $p < .05$), but not among participants with a smoker identity (means = 2.94 vs. 2.93; $t(1035) = .03$, n.s.). Additionally, a mediational test involving participants with a nonsmoker focal social identity indicated that the effect of the Entertainment Education (vs. control) version on intent (Beta = -.11, $p = .01$) was reduced in significance (to Beta = -.08, $p = .04$) once the injunctive norm was included as a covariate (covariate Beta = -.35, $p = .001$). Thus it seems that the injunctive norm partially mediated the effect on intent.

Post-hoc Analyses. We explored whether viewers' gender might moderate the effects of television show version on smoking intent. In the show, the smoker role models were primarily male, the nonsmoker role models primarily female. However, viewers' gender did not interact with television show version in affecting intent.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Norms and Smoking

One goal of this research was to apply the Focus Theory of Normative Conduct (Cialdini et al. 1990, 1991) to the issue of smoking. The theory helped us to understand the norms that may affect smoking intent. Overall, adolescents had a relatively positive descriptive norm, believing that about half of their peers had tried

smoking. Their category norm was quite negative; they viewed smokers as rather low in status. Their injunctive norm was also negative in that they understood that smoking was disapproved of. All three norms were related to intent, but particularly the category and injunctive norms (Eisenberg and Forster 2003; Graham et al. 1991). The significant correlations between norms and intent suggest that participants' norms were primarily based on information from reference group members with whom they identified (Christensen et al. 2004; Tajfel 1982).

Entertainment Education

A main goal of this research was to examine the efficacy of smoking prevention using Entertainment Education, or the inclusion of educational messages in television shows. The results indicate that Entertainment Education can be efficacious with receptive audiences. In our study, despite the fact that the Entertainment Education show contained prosmoking content, it strengthened adolescents' injunctive norm about smoking being objectionable. It also lowered nonsmokers' intent to smoke. However, it did not affect smokers' intent. The nonsmokers apparently identified with the televised nonsmoker referents and changed their intent. Smokers comprehended the injunctive norm message but chose to ignore it, perhaps reasoning that the "no smoking" rule did not apply to their reference group.

The findings also suggest that Entertainment Education should be used with caution to avoid adverse effects among nonreceptive audiences. Many Entertainment Education shows contain Entertainment Degradation elements, in that they portray high-status role models engaged in the problem behaviors to be deterred. This is often done to make the story balanced and credible (Pechmann and Slater 2005). In the

Entertainment Education show that we studied, several attractive smokers were depicted. When we stripped out the antismoking educational content and tested a version with just these Entertainment Degradation elements, it had problematic effects. The attractive smoker referents conveyed a category norm that smokers have high status. Moreover, adolescent smokers apparently identified with these smoker referents and increased their smoking intent. Nonsmokers comprehended the category norm message but disregarded it, presumably reasoning that smoking would not be status-elevating within their reference group. In any event, it appears that the creators of Entertainment Education shows should seek to minimize Entertainment Degradation elements that could yield deleterious effects.

Norms and Identification

This research builds on and extends the Focus Theory of Normative Conduct (Cialdini et al. 1990, 1991; Kallgren et al. 2000). Focus Theory addresses descriptive and injunctive norms. We extend the theory to include category norms pertaining to reference groups' status. Marketers recognize the importance of high-status role models and their value-expressive influence (Bearden and Etzel 1982; Bearden et al. 1989; Burnkrant and Cousineau 1975; Park and Lessig 1977), presumably because this type of influence is often used in ads and promotions. Most social psychologists have not emphasized this type of influence (cf. Pool et al. 1998; Wood et al. 1996).

Our findings indicate that high-status smoker role models affected category norms and increased smoking intent among viewers who identified with them. In Cialdini et al.'s (1990) original Focus Theory studies, category norms may not have been important because the role models were either of average status or anonymous. In

those studies, descriptive norms about behavioral prevalence played a critical role, perhaps because several peers engaged in the target behaviors. In our study, several smokers were depicted, but most were young adults rather than peers. Only two adolescent smokers were featured and they were in the minority; most characters were nonsmokers. Asch's (1951) research suggests that a majority of three may be required for descriptive norm effects.

We also extend Focus Theory by including focal social identity as a moderator of whether salient norms affect intent and behavior. Building on Focus Theory's main premise that a norm must be focal to have an effect, we argue that the observer's identity as a current or aspiring group member must also be focal to ensure that the group's norms are personalized and acted upon (Abrams et al. 1990; Christensen et al. 2004; Tajfel 1982; Terry et al. 1999; Turner 1982). In the original Focus Theory studies (Cialdini et al. 1990), the referents were similar peers and so identification may have been high, rendering this moderator unimportant.

Limitations

This research suffers from many of the same limitations as other controlled experiments. The setting was somewhat unnatural, although many students do watch television at school, for instance, on Channel One (Greenberg and Brand 1993). Further, some participants were suspicious that the study might be about smoking, although including suspicion as a covariate did not affect the results. We did not study effects on behavior because this is typically done by offering participants product samples (Shiffman et al. 2001) and we could not offer minors cigarettes. However, our measure of smoking intent has been validated as a behavioral predictor (Pierce et

al. 1996). We did not measure long-term behavioral effects. Entertainment Education effects, and media effects in general, likely affect behavior gradually with cumulative exposures. Finally, we relied on self-reported smoking as a proxy for focal social identity whereas in the future we also plan to measure this construct directly.

Future Research

Entertainment Education has received limited research attention. Hence, it might be useful to study other factors that influence its efficacy. More studies based on Focus Theory could prove fruitful. For instance, the television show that we studied did not affect descriptive norms but a show that depicts a larger group of young smokers may. Also, we found that a negative injunctive norm message negated a positive category norm message, but norm type, valence and message length varied simultaneously. Hence, it would be useful to compare norms in terms of their relative impact, holding these other factors constant. It also might be beneficial to look at shows that convey norm information that is opposite in valence from that studied here, for instance, shows that convey negative category norms and/or positive injunctive norms.

The possibility that several factors might jointly affect focal social identity, such as gender and smoking, should be explored. In addition, other possible moderators of normative effects should be considered. For instance, consistent with Regulatory Focus Theory (Lockwood et al. 2002), viewers with a prevention or safety focus might be more influenced by injunctive norms while viewers with a promotion or aspirational focus might be more affected by category norms. Overall, this area seems to offer many opportunities for substantively meaningful, theory-based research.

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TABLE 1
TAXONOMY OF SOCIAL NORMS

	Descriptive norm	Injunctive norm	Category norm
Definition	Customary or prevalent behavior of reference group	Rule about proper behavior expected of reference group	Status attributes of reference group enacting behavior
Descriptor	Is	Ought	Who
Influence	Informational	Utilitarian	Value-expressive
Mechanism	Heuristic cue	Reward, punishment	Self enhancement
Underlying logic or rationale	If others do it, it should be effective and adaptive	Rules reflect and uphold a group's moral principals	Modeling a high-status group can enhance one's status
Manipulation or measure	Prevalence in reference group	Acceptance by reference group	Status attributes of reference group
Enhancing condition	Unfamiliar or ambiguous setting	Behavior under surveillance	Period of transition to new status
Measurement-based study and findings	O'Guinn and Shrum (1997): Estimates of % households using luxury products correlated with television viewing	Buunk and Bakker (1995): Community's perceived approval of extramarital sex correlated with behavioral intent	Dinh et al. (1995): Children with favorable smoker perceptions were more likely to start smoking
Manipulation-based study and findings	Cialdini et al. (1990): Littering rate was affected by littered garage, and whether a person littered in it	Reno et al. (1993): Littering rate was reduced when a confederate was shown picking up others' litter	Pechmann and Shih (1999): Movie stars smoking elevated perceptions of a smoker and increased smoking intent
Identification with group as moderator	Inconsequential group may not provide a valid cue to effective action	Inconsequential group may lack moral authority and/or ability to reward and punish	Modeling a high-status but inconsequential group may not be status elevating

NOTE.— Text is abbreviated.

TABLE 2

TAXONOMY OF SOCIAL NORMS AND PRODUCT EXAMPLES

	Descriptive norm			
	Lower prevalence		Higher prevalence	
	Less acceptable	More acceptable	Less acceptable	More acceptable
Injunctive norm				
Category norm				
Lower status	Crack	Strip clubs	Cigarettes	Grape juice
Higher status	Cocaine	Gentleman's clubs	Cigars	Champagne

TABLE 3
PRINCIPAL COMPONENT FACTOR ANALYSIS

Item	Descriptive norm	Injunctive norm	Category norm
% of peers who smoked at least once	.940	-.107	-.075
% of peers who smoked during past year	.939	-.126	-.067
How acceptable is smoking among peers	-.136	.820	.287
How would peers feel if you smoked	-.128	.874	.182
Peer who smokes is dumb/smart	-.048	.382	.615
Peer who smokes is unsuccessful/successful	-.022	.315	.586
Peer who smokes isn't/is desirable to date	-.034	.261	.691
Peer who smokes isn't/is cute	-.098	.136	.859
Peer who smokes is ugly/good looking	-.039	.046	.859
Peer who smokes is unattractive/attractive	-.092	.134	.834

NOTE.— Values are from Verimax rotated component matrix, Kaiser normalization.

TABLE 4
OMNIBUS ANOVA AND LOGISTIC REGRESSION RESULTS

Measure	Television show version	Focal social identity	Television show version x focal social identity
Cognizance of smoking	-2LL=929.32 ^b (2,1029)	-2LL=2.96 (1,1029)	-2LL=.51 (2,1029)
Antismoking message clarity	F=12.10 ^b (2,677)	F=.00 (1,677)	F=.54 (2,677)
Show liking	F=.10 (2,1027)	F=7.04 ^a (1,1027)	F=.43 (2,1027)
Descriptive norm	F=.66 (2,1032)	F=112.94 ^b (1,1032)	F=1.36 (2,1032)
Injunctive norm	F=4.41 ^a (2,1035)	F=236.36 ^b (1,1035)	F=.73 (2,1035)
Category norm	F=6.04 ^b (2,1033)	F=182.72 ^b (1,1033)	F=.34 (2,1033)
Intent to smoke	F=3.85 ^a (2,1035)	F=611.80 ^b (1,1035)	F=6.44 ^b (2,1035)

NOTE.— Numbers in parentheses are d.f. ^a $p < .05$, ^b $p < .01$.

TABLE 5
CELL MEANS AND PROPORTIONS

Measure	“Nonsmoker” as focal social identity			“Smoker” as focal social identity		
	Control version (n=283)	Entertainment Degradation (n=254)	Entertainment Education (n=294)	Control version (n=77)	Entertainment Degradation (n=63)	Entertainment Education (n=70)
Cognizance of smoking (0,1)	.05 (.01)	.93 ^a (.02)	.97 ^a (.01)	.04 (.02)	.89 ^a (.04)	.93 ^a (.03)
Antismoking message clarity (1-5)	N/A	2.62 (1.28)	2.96 ^b (1.37)	N/A	2.52 (1.10)	3.05 ^b (1.31)
Show liking (1-9)	5.09 (2.59)	5.11 (2.53)	5.24 (2.39)	4.61 (2.57)	4.79 (2.40)	4.48 (2.58)
Descriptive norm (1-100)	45.20 (28.15)	43.64 (28.98)	45.22 (28.21)	63.72 (28.23)	70.88 (24.69)	68.37 (23.39)
Injunctive norm (1-5)	3.90 (.88)	3.83 (.87)	4.03 ^a (.83)	2.75 (.88)	2.83 (.95)	3.06 ^a (.93)
Category norm (1-5)	1.73 (.63)	1.90 ^a (.77)	1.73 (.68)	2.47 (.81)	2.70 ^a (.81)	2.43 (.75)
Intent to smoke (1-5)	1.65 (.77)	1.52 (.68)	1.50 ^a (.67)	2.93 (1.03)	3.33 ^a (1.01)	2.94 (1.10)

NOTE.—Cognizance values are proportions, all others are cell means. Standard deviations are in parentheses. Effects of television show version: ^a $p < .05$ vs. control, ^b $p < .05$ Entertainment Education vs. Entertainment Degradation

FIGURE 1.

HYPOTHESIZED CONTINGENT FACTORS FOR SOCIAL CONFORMITY

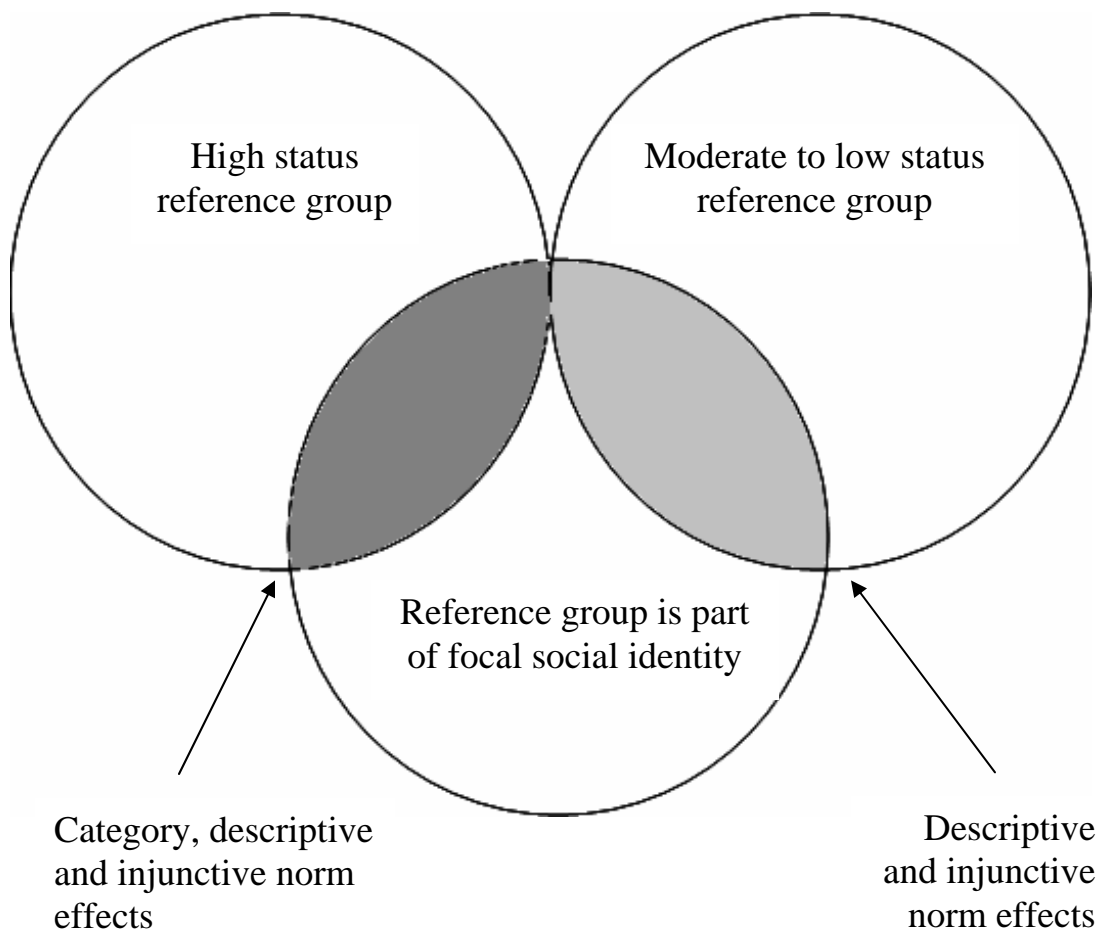
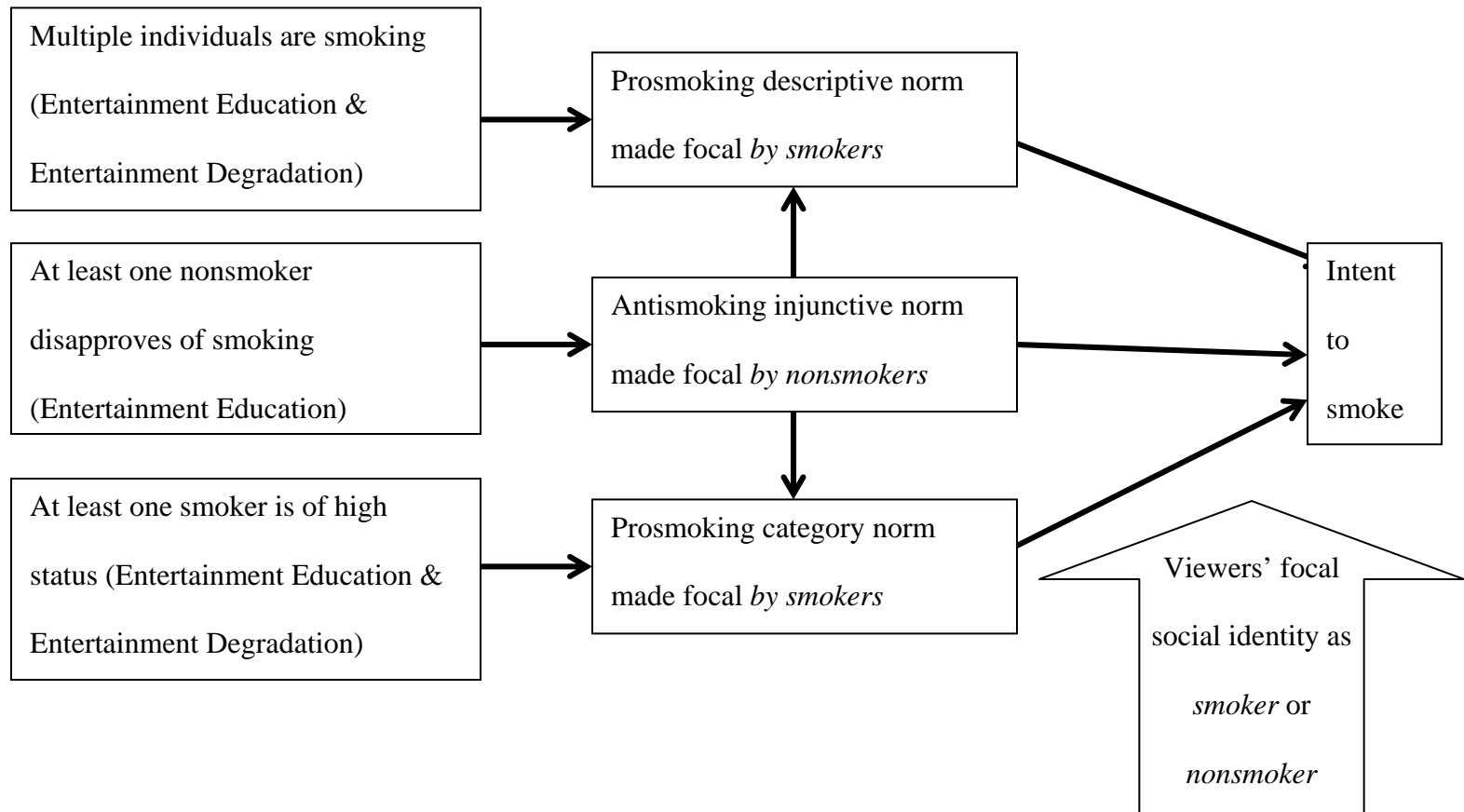


FIGURE 2

FOCUS THEORY EXTENDED AND APPLIED TO TELEVISION SHOWS ABOUT SMOKING



Note.— Arrows pointing from “antismoking injunctive norm” box indicate dominance of negative injunctive norm information.