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IDENTITY RESEARCH REPORT

Identity Research Report

The Ydouthink Tween Smoking Prevention
Brand Positioning Project

December 2006 – January 2007

Presented to:
Virginia Tobacco Settlement Foundation

Introduction

Rescue Social Change Group collected the information presented in this report during social brand formative research (SBFR) on tobacco use within tweens in the Commonwealth of Virginia. The study was conducted from December 1, 2006 until December 22, 2006. It included the qualitative research strategy of on-site ID-Projection Groups™ as well as a short quantitative survey. The purpose of this study was to achieve a better understanding of the tween age group, 10 – 14, in order to better reach them through the ydouthink tobacco prevention campaign. This study was funded by the Virginia Tobacco Settlement Foundation.

This study is founded on the two pillars of behavior change, as defined by Social Branding®, namely the phenomena of role state goal and role image. The role state goal, the identitarian outcome desired by tweens for which smoking is used to achieve, was explored to incorporate that finding to the positioning of the ydouthink campaign. In addition, the cultural similarities, or role images, amongst specific groups of tweens in Virginia who are smokers or smoking intenders are also explored. Both of these phenomena are further defined below in the Social Branding® section.

Social Branding®

Developed by Rescue Social Change Group, Social Branding® is the process of changing and preventing a subject's behavior(s) on a community level through carefully crafted experiences that appeal to the subject's desired identity. The foundation of Social Branding® is firmly grounded on identity theory, with a belief that who we are motivates our behavior more powerfully than what we know. Formally defined, Social Branding® is the process of associating a certain positive behavior with the population segment's desired identity by fostering branded experiences.

Social Branding® recognizes the power of identity and the subconscious desires that too often drive individuals, especially youth and young adults, to perform unhealthy behaviors. Many people perform risk behaviors based on a subconscious belief that those behaviors are an effective strategy to achieve or maintain their desired identity. Social Branding® states that efforts focusing only on logical reasoning, such as education and policy, do not address this powerful and common source for unhealthy behaviors.

While identity and desire can be strong motivators to perform risk behaviors, a Social Branding® campaign can alter the attitude that fuels this desire and redirect it to motivate a healthy behavior instead. Social Branding® associates this healthy behavior with the focus market's desired identity, or who they want to be. The strategy calls for the creation of a Social Brand™ that is designed based on specific characteristics of the focus population that are highly coveted and associated with the risk behavior(s). This Social Brand™ fosters experiences, such as events, advertisements, and trainings, to expose the focus market to the Social Brand™, in an effort to establish the brand as a role leader. These experiences allow the brand to strategically redefine the behavioral strategies the focus market employs to reach certain identitarian states, replacing risk behaviors with healthy alternatives. The theory focuses on two identity-constructs, role image and role state goal, that were investigated as part of this study.

The first step to developing a relevant and effective Social Brand is to conduct identity research to understand the focus market's identitarian motivations to behave. Social Branding® research

requires the researcher to segment the population based on behavior performance in order to properly contrast individuals within the population. Following this segmentation, researchers investigate the role image and role state goal, two phenomena linked to behavior performance by Social Branding®. A thorough understanding of the role image is key to creating a relevant Social Brand™. It defines the cultures within the population and helps brand designers identify the most advantageous image to associate with the Social Brand. The role image defines the cultural language needed to reach a specific population. However, effectively understanding the role state goal is the key to creating a successful Social Brand. It identifies the identitarian goal, or psychological reward, that is being pursued by the focus market through the risk behavior, an invaluable piece of information to prevent said behavior. This finding becomes the psychological outcome the healthy behavior must provide to motivate social change.

Social Brand Formative Research utilizes unique strategies developed as part of Social Branding® to complete the first step necessary towards a relevant and effective Social Brand.

Secondary Data

Secondary data is information that has been collected by individuals or agencies for purposes other than those of our particular research study. This data was summarized in a literature review within the synopsis prior to starting research and is also summarized in this report. The following findings concluded by RSCG in past studies or by other groups relate to the focus market for this research project and were useful during the research process:

Smoking amongst youth is largely to do with emotional– not rational– decision-making. In fact, smoking is used as a tool of self-expression and control, independence, and rebellion. Youth often smoke to show:

- That they have made a decision for themselves
- That they are conforming with their peer group

Sometimes, what makes smoking so alluring to teenagers is that it is forbidden.¹

Previous studies focusing on the smoking behaviors of middle school students show that most adults who smoke initiate smoking between the ages of 11 and 12 years².

A nationwide *Monitoring the Future* survey showed that:

- 10% of eighth graders reported smoking in the last 30 days
- 13% of eighth grade students reported having first smoked by the fifth grade (ages 10 and 11)
- 28% of eighth grade students reported having tried smoking by the eighth grade (ages 13 and 14)³

The 2005 Virginia Youth Tobacco Survey shows that:

- 12% of middle school students currently use a tobacco product
- 12% of eighth grade students currently smoke cigarettes
- 34% of eighth grade students have tried cigarettes
- 1.4% of middle school students are established smokers

¹ Understanding Why Youth Smoke, <http://preset.sphilo.com/hsc/default.asp?sectionID=37>.

² Johnston, LD et al. 1998. National Survey Results on Drug Use From the Monitoring the Future Study, 1975-1997: Volume I Secondary School Students. *US Department of Health and Human Services*.

³ Gallogly, M. 2005. The Path to Smoking Addiction Starts at Very Young Ages. *Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids*, www.tobaccofreekids.org.

- 20% of middle school students were at high risk for becoming established smokers (either experimenters or non-daily current smokers)
- 17% of middle school students believe that young people who smoke cigarettes definitely had more friends
- 12% of middle school-aged smokers and 3% of middle school-aged non-smokers believe that smoking makes young people fit in or look cool⁴

Youth rebelliousness is part of the reason why so many young people begin smoking every year despite medical warnings. Another factor is the tobacco industry's success in establishing an association in the public mind between smoking and maturity, sophistication, and sexual attractiveness.⁵

Other studies have also reported that early initiation of tobacco use is correlated with perception of peer use, parental involvement, parental tobacco use, and permissiveness of home tobacco use⁶.

Past RSCG research on youth aged 10 – 14 revealed a distinct difference between mature-acting and child-acting students. While this research focused on participation in after school programs, it supported an overall maturity-related separation between students. This distinction was so vast that it was as if students went from being kids to being teenagers during a short portion of their time in middle school. There was little middle ground.⁷

Methods

Qualitative research is important to answer the primary research questions of social change and was the exclusive form of research conducted in this study. It allows researchers to thoroughly investigate members of the focus market without limitations to survey questions or formal data. For this particular study 32 participants were recruited for the ID-Projection Group™ sessions via a screening survey that was administered to 85 middle school students. One of the 32 students was unable to participate in the discussion group due to an unsigned consent/parental permission form. All participants ranged in age from 13 years to 15 years, with 13- and 14-year-olds being the largest age groups (12 participants in each age group [or 38.7%]). 27 of the 31 students were in 8th grade (87.1%) and the remaining 4, or 12.9%, were in 7th grade. 18 participants were female (58.1%) and 15 were male (41.9%). Most of the participants declared their ethnicity to be white (17 or 54.8%). When respondents were asked if they had ever tried smoking tobacco, 16 students answered “yes” (51.6%) and 15 answered “no” (48.4%). When asked, though, if they had smoked in the last 30 days, only 3 responded with “yes” (9.7%) and the remaining 28 said “no” (90.3%).

Onsite qualitative research took place between December 11th and 12th, 2006, and began with the administration of a screening survey two middle schools of a large suburban school division in Virginia. RSCG researchers surveyed 85 total middle school students; 45 students from Middle School A (52.9%) and 40 students from Middle School B (47.1%). Upon completion, each survey was scored to determine if the student was likely to be influential. Surveys that

⁴ 2005 Virginia Youth Tobacco Survey, Virginia Tobacco Settlement Foundation

⁵ Coleman, JR & HR Kerbo. 2003. *Social Problems: A Brief Introduction, Second Edition*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

⁶ Mulienburg, JL, et al. 2006. Racial Disparities in Tobacco Use and Social Influences in a Rural Southern Middle School. *The Journal of School Health* 76, 5: 195-200.

⁷ Study conducted by RSCG 12/2005 for the Providence After School Alliance in Providence, RI

stood out as influential were then analyzed for smoking status, and 32 students, 16 from each middle school, were then chosen to participate in one of the four scheduled ID-Projection Group™ sessions.

Our second stage of research involved on-site ID-Projection Groups™. ID-Projection Groups™ (IDPGs) are a form of focus groups developed by RSCG that utilize special activities to encourage the projection of each participant's identitarian attitudes. Four separate ID-PGs were performed; two at Middle School A and two at Middle School B. Each group consisted of 7 to 9 participants. Each ID-PG lasted approximately one hour and participants were rewarded with \$25 gift cards for their participation.

These four ID-PGs can be broken down as follows:

- Middle School A ID-PGs
 - One group of 9 non-intenders/non-smokers
 - One group of 7 intenders/smokers
- Middle School B ID-PGs
 - One group of 8 non-intenders/non-smokers
 - One group of 7 intenders/smokers

Role State Goal Findings

Background

Role state goal is defined as the state an individual desires for a certain role, which is pursued or maintained using certain behaviors. For example, for a social role, an individual might desire the state of being popular, liked, and otherwise socially successful. These states are internalized social constructs, reinforced by the perceived reactions or beliefs of others. To achieve this state, the individual performs certain behaviors that he or she has associated with this role based on various life experiences. While these associations are internal, they are defined by experiences often shared by others, leading to similar behaviors associated with certain role state goals within a community. In addition, two individuals with opposite role images may share the same role state goal and perform similar behaviors. Not all behaviors are associated with role state goal, of course, creating a binomial spectrum between identitarian and utilitarian functions of behaviors. Most behaviors have both functions, usually serving one more than the other. Risk behaviors in particular are likely to serve predominately identitarian functions, since their illogical nature makes utilitarian motivations unlikely. These behaviors take careful research, however, since it is human nature to support a behavior with a logical explanation despite strong underlying identitarian motivations, such as attributing smoking to the desire to lose weight rather than the underlying desire to be perceived as rebellious.

Observations

The youth in this study portrayed a powerful desire to be perceived as a teen versus a kid. Any one of these kids seen on the street would likely be mistaken as a high school student. Their dress, mannerisms, and interests were all reflective of an older teen. While speaking to them, it became apparent they were indeed tweens, and did not know much about the identity they were trying to portray. Nonetheless, they wanted the IDPG facilitators and any other person they encountered to believe they were older.

Numerous observations and comments linked the image of being younger with being clean-cut, nice, and childishly happy. Our society's image of a child seemed to have been transformed into the image of a social child. Where children are perceived as innocent, these youth consider it inexperienced. Their comments created a clear distinction between middle school students who

see themselves as teens from those that see themselves as kids. These are some of their comments when showing pictures of various youth:

(Facilitator) Does he smoke? (Intender-Boy) Nah he doesn't smoke, he looks too nice
(Facilitator) What group does he hang out with? (Intender-Boy) The little kid group.

(Facilitator) Does he smoke? (Intender-Boy) Naw he don't do anything, he's going to the fair all happy and stuff ... like just hanging out with [his] buddies.

(Facilitator) Does she smoke? (Intender-Girl) She look too nice to smoke ... she do her schoolwork.

Observations continued to reinforce these images. During the screening process, a question asked if the student's friends smoke. One girl asked if it referred to her friends at school or her high school friends. It turns out they both smoked. There seemed to be a moment in middle school when a kid who misbehaves by getting dirty, staying out late, and hitting their brother or sister transforms into a teenager who misbehaves by smoking, drinking, and doing other things. This was not related to maturity however, rather a desired status to be perceived as socially older. And these youth, in pursuit of their teenager status, perform the behaviors associated with being a teenager. This desired state was universal, across all of the identified role image groups. One interesting comment about the groups stated:

(Facilitator) Are there cool and wanna-be's within each of these groups? (Smoker Group - In unison) Yeah (Facilitator) So the popular people in school are they from one specific group or are they from all of the groups? (Smoker Group - In unison) All of them.

Analysis

The term tween is misleading. It presumes youth aged 10 – 14 have a single identity that is different from that of a kid or a teenager. In fact, there is no tween, there are simply aspiring teens and old kids. In this study, the overall role state goal associated with smoking by the focus market was to be perceived as a social teenager. They don't feel like "tweens" or Middle Schoolers. Many participants of the IDPGs could in fact pass for students in their mid-teens based on their outward appearance and attitude. They dress, act, and talk as if they were in high school. For many of these students it is an exploration into the unknown of teenage life. When these students repeatedly mentioned house parties as an activity we asked what they did at house parties. The answers were inconsistent. They seemed to be unsure if what they did at their parties was what they were supposed to do at parties. The only consistent answer was kissing. Some of these youth have older teen friends that they hang out with, and these teens seemed more aware of what was appropriate teenager behavior. They took pride in their social experiences, bragging about "social milestones" they seemed to have reached, such as no-parent parties, drinking, or getting high. They do not know, though, what they should be doing. They only know what they want to be perceived as, a teenager. And to this end, they will perform almost any behavior they believe will establish them as this coveted status.

The role state most desired by the focus market can be summarized as:

Being a social teenager

This role state goal must be applied to the role image to effectively develop a social brand. The risk behavior performed by this subpopulation is the result of both of these phenomena

interacting. While the behavior is associated as a strategy to achieve the role state goal, experiences interpreted through the cultural language of the role image have established this and can change it. It is important to note that individuals in other cultures could share some of these role state goal characteristics, and especially in this study do share the same desire to be a social teenager. They are different, however, because of the cultural language they use to describe them.

Role Image Findings

Background

Role image is defined as the cultural language common in the focus population. It usually includes cultural elements such as fashion, music, and language. Within the identity of individuals, role image powerfully influences initial feelings felt towards others, first-impressions, defining who is considered in or out of one's group. These feelings usually last until a person is personally known well. Two strangers with the same role image are more likely to interact and establish a friendship than two strangers with different role images. Role image is internal, but depends on the participation of other individuals to be sustained; no one wants a role image that is not shared by others. Consequently, role images are fairly consistent amongst populations, and can usually be categorized into 2-5 groups in a certain community such as a town, city or county. The influence of media makes those images robust against geographic differences within certain states or regions. In Social Branding®, role image is believed to control the population that participates in the campaign through the process of identification. This makes the selection of a brand's image critical to determining which individuals the brand reaches, since that image will only appeal to a portion of the population.

Population Analysis

The role image can simply be defined as a set of cultural adjectives that describe a role identity. In summary, the role image found during Social Brand Formative Research is based on peer group affiliation. There is not one common role image. Each image that exists corresponds with each peer group and emulates what is cool at this very moment. This study revealed five role images, some more prevalent than others. These five images represent distinct subpopulations within this age group in Virginia. To be effective, a social brand must select one of these subpopulations.

The first and possibly the largest role image is the absence of a defined image (Group C on the next page). These youth have not yet begun to concern themselves with identity or style, and they relate more to a fifth grader than a ninth grader. While this is a large group, particularly in sixth grade, these students are not actively pursuing this own role image; it is simply there by default. Attempting to appeal to this image would be fruitless since a new image will eventually develop as they grow. This group is also likely to have the smallest percentage of smokers since smoking is an identitarian behavior that is unlikely to be considered until a specific image is internalized. The next groups, A and B, identify with hip hop culture. They are split into two groups that represent an introductory image and an advanced image. It was apparent that a very small number of students identified with an advanced image of hip hop, more common in older teens. The rest of these youth, group B, identified with an introduction to hip hop of sorts. They like the music and try to wear the styles. They are extremely impressionable but are only able to comprehend basic concepts of the culture. As they have more hip hop-related experiences they will move towards an advanced hip hop image, represented by group A. Both of these groups, while representing a large number of youth, will probably be influenced by the VTSF's 2up2down campaign: group A directly and group B indirectly.



Finally, groups D and E represent the majority of teen-aspiring middle school students. Group D is an introductory level mixture of preppy and alternative culture. These youth like skaters and punk bands, but dress in Old Navy and American Eagle. They would rather go to a punk show than a hip hop concert, but don't have an extremely alt-rock style. The fringe of this group, represented by group E, is aligned with true alt-rock and punk culture. Group E, similar to group A, likely hangs out with high school students and older teens. These youth would be reached by a campaign targeting high school students, but their slightly less culturally developed counter parts, group D, could be reached by a fusion of teen attitude and preppy-punk style. In addition, groups D and E were identified as more likely to be smokers by youth in all image groups. Repeated comments about youth in Group D, from youth in and out of this group, position it as the largest group of smokers and intenders, and the best opportunity for an intervention. For these reasons, this group was selected for further analysis.

Subpopulation Analysis

The preppy-punk group selected for analysis is a culturally-amateur blend of all that represents both prep and alternative cultures. The group includes cheerleaders, jocks, and mainstream partiers, as well as skaters, punks, and other alt-style youth, excluding Goths. As this group gets older, it will likely split into more defined and segmented groups, but for now, they are all influenced by similar images. During an IDPG, a girl identified as a smoker/intender described it as, "dresses like a prep, acts like a punk." These youth represent the most image-concerned middle school students; they identify as teens, not as kids, and are looking for a specific identity to call their own. They are extremely impressionable because of their active pursuit of a cultural definition for their identity, leading them from trend to trend. They are seeking cool in the direction of pop and alternative cultures.

The role image embodied by the focus market can be summarized as:

A mixture of basic preppy and alternative styles extremely sensitive to perceived pop/rock trends

Image and culture can be conceptualized more clearly by describing modern expressions of identity. Fashion, music, and preferred television shows are correlated with the overall image embodied by members of the focus market. These are some characteristics of each of these modern expressions of identity:

Fashion/Clothing Labels

- A preppy-style look is markedly different from the preppy of the past. Most styles are worn-looking, with rips, tears, and wearing. The popular brands for this look include: American Eagle, Abercrombie & Fitch, Hollister Co., Old Navy, Sketchers and Aeropostale.
- Youth leaning slightly towards the alternative-side are likely to wear basic skate brands such as: Volcom, Hurley, Roxy, Billabong, Vans, and Quiksilver. They are likely to shop at store like PacSun, but unlikely to shop at stores like Hot Topic, which would be considered more Goth.
- Because this group is mixed and members all interact, it is likely for wardrobes to include both preppy and skater styles. Their sense of identity is still forming and they wear what they think is in style with only a vague definition of their own image.
- Leaders of this group are likely to be aiming more successfully at one more defined style. These leaders are not necessarily taking fashion risks, rather wearing newer and more up-to-date brands. Most leaders fit into one of these styles and are likely to wear these slightly less mainstream brands:
 - Preppy: Penguin, Lucky Jeans, and Paul Frank
 - Skater: Kr3w, LRG, Element and Obey
 - Rocker/Punk: Fallen, and Ed Hardy
 - Band shirts are very symbolic in this subpopulation because many youth have never been to a show where their band performs. Wearing a band shirt symbolizes having participated in the very teen-like activity of a band in concert.

Music

- There are many different bands and/or artists that these youth like to listen to. Again, the broad nature of their image allows them to listen to a mixture of artists. While most like music within the pop or punk genres, some hip hop is also included. To see the currently popular music for these youth, one simply needs to tune into MTV's TRL. These youth are interested in hip hop, but when directly asked if they would prefer a rock or hip hop concert, they chose rock.
 - *Pop music artists: Amerie, Beyonce, Ciara, Kelly Clarkson, Ashley Simpson, Danity Kane, and Justin Timberlake*
 - *Punk/Rock music artists: AFI, Hinder, My Chemical Romance, Avril Lavigne, Evanescene, Fall Out Boy, The Fray, Panic! At The Disco, and Hellogoodbye.*
 - *Hip Hop music artists: Lil John, T.I., Dem Franchise Boys, Bow Wow, Lil Wayne, Jay-Z, Young Joc, and Akon.*

Other Influences

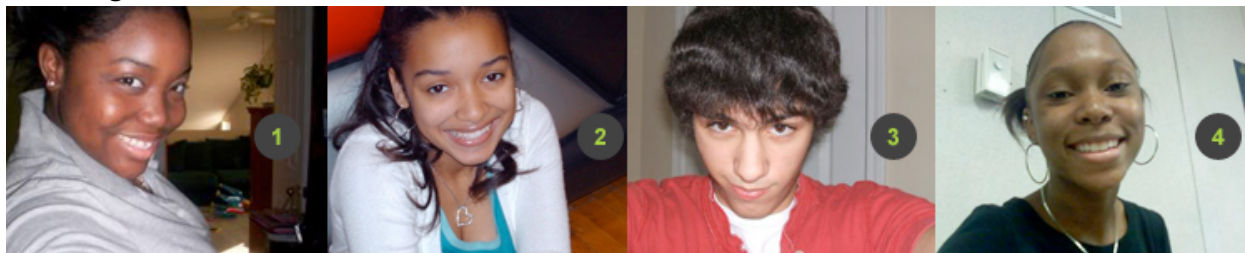
- Television: Like any other teen, these youth watch a lot of TV. It is interesting, however, that their list of shows is indistinguishable from say a youth 15 year-old or even a 17 year-old teenager. They watch channels like MTV, BET, VH1, ESPN, ABC, Showtime, HBO, Fuse, and tune into shows that include: The Fresh Prince of Bel Air, Pimp My Ride, Next, The OC, CSI, ER, The Dave Chapelle Show, South Park, The Wire, Yo Mama, Wild 'N Out, Flava of Love, Mind of Mencia, and Laguna Beach.
- Social Environments: Where they go and what they do is also influential to their image. Youth reported "no-parent parties" as their favorite weekend activity, also mentioning concerts, skating rinks (roller and ice), and skateboarding.

The role image evaluated in this study, being a preppy punk of sorts, mixes with the role state goal to promote behaviors consistent with teenage skaters, punks, and partiers. These youth want to go to shows and skate competitions that are full of teens. They want to have parties where they try behaviors such as smoking and drinking, perceiving such behaviors as part of the teenage social experience. They see teenagers as more culturally knowledgeable than they are, and seek to establish themselves as more knowledgeable. For example, if they can share a cultural fact, such as a new band, upcoming show, or new website, that their peers do not know, they feel older and socially empowered. They simply want to be perceived as older.

Contrast Groups

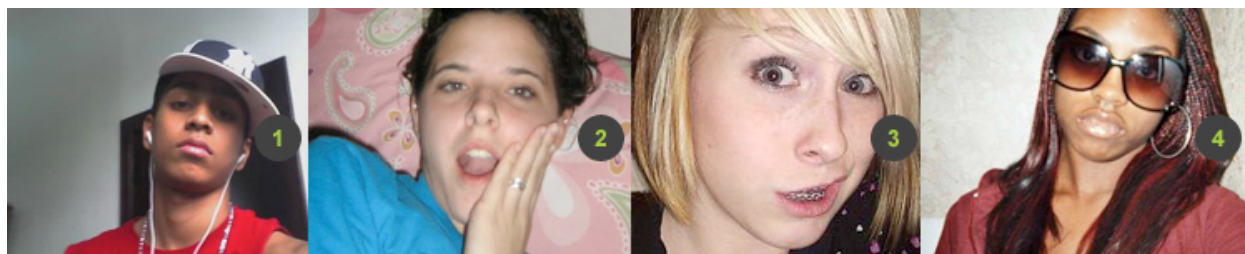
RSCG utilizes images of peers as part of the IDPG's. These images are discussed by youth, following an immediate designation as smoker/non-smoker, and which social group they belong to. Images that were consistently identified as smoker or non-smoker and part of a certain image were selected for further analysis.

Non-Targets



These four youth were always considered to be non-smokers. They were described as nice, goodie goodie, or simply following the rules. One youth, referring to image 1, stated, “she don’t do anything.” These youth are happy, youthful, and from the perspective of the focus market, innocent. They don’t smoke, and are unlikely to ever start. They also have little influence over their peers. They are simply kids in middle school.

Fit Role State Goal



These four youth were considered to be smokers by all four focus groups. While physically they look young, their attitude or style represents an older image. #3 is a great example of the physically obvious youthfulness being ignored, and the attitude standing out. The participants of this study considered these individuals to be social. #2 was described as more of a wanna-be, or “trying hard,” while the other three seemed to be considered as socially successful. They were all described to have an attitude, and the girls in the study consistently referred to these girls as “bitchy.” Their attitude and what youth seemed to perceive as successfully portraying an older-image attributed to the participant’s designation of those pictured above as smokers.

Fit Role Image



These final four youth fit the role image described in this report. The girls, 1 and 4, were consistently considered to be smokers, while answers to the boy images were inconsistent in terms of smoker status. They all fit the broad role image of preppy punk. Their images represent the variety of styles that can fit within this image, ranging from #2's preppy polo shirt to #1's alt-rock shirt and bracelet.

Conclusions and Strategic Direction

This study revealed characteristics about the subjects that, in retrospect, could have been expected. These tween subjects want nothing to do with the concept of being a tween. As practitioners we seem to celebrate the perceived identity that is the tween and the wonderful mixture of Nickelodeon and MTV that defines their culture. Unfortunately, in reality, this identity does not exist. There are 12 year-olds that claim to watch MTV and there are 12 year-olds that claim to watch Nickelodeon, each representing a different level of psycho-social consciousness. The middle ground between being a teenager and being a kid is not perceived as an actual place to the youth living it. They are teens, or at least they want to be perceived as such. A campaign that is going to reach these individuals must treat them as they age they think they are, rather than the age they look. Sure it is obvious to an adult that these kids are not yet teens, and that in the next few years many changes in their identity will occur, but to them they are already teens and they perceive they know all there is to know.

The middle school may be the culprit for creating the notion of the tween as a separate stage of childhood. In reality, there comes a time a kid stops asking his friends to come over and play, and starts asking them to hang out. This occurs at different times for different youth, some in 6th grade or earlier, while others in 8th grade or later. Middle school is indeed the complex timeframe that is home to most of these transitions, resulting in an audience that is responding to very different stimuli. If the findings of this study are representative of most middle school students in VA, then a strategy to reach all of them is nearly impossible. Efforts should concentrate on the individuals that are acting like teenagers, which conveniently are also the ones starting to smoke.

The image of the ydouthink campaign fits logically with the concept of a tween. It is not quite a teen and no longer a kid. These findings suggest, however, that the tween identity is not common and not desired. These youth respond to images that reflect a socially successful teenager. They want to dress like, act like, and talk like teenagers. Whatever a social teenager does has the potential of impacting these youth. As a campaign, ydouthink must not establish itself as a bubbly tween, but as a social teen. Ydouthink must represent the teen they all long to be, while being constantly exposed to this age group.

To these youth, the social environment is new and exciting. They are learning how to act socially, whether it is how to act at a party, a teen club, or just while hanging out with their friends. Some have already associated the behavior of smoking with the teen social experience. To fight this, a campaign must teach what they are so eager to learn. These are not lessons learned in books or in classes, rather through social experiences. Ydouthink must provide these lessons through examples that position it as a social teen. Whether through media, events, or web, the campaign should focus on the ideal teen identity, and the alluring aspects of teenage life. Whether being at a party, a concert, or with friends, these kids need examples of the socially successful teens they want to be, living smokefree.

Ydouthink's efforts should focus on the lifestyle associated with teenage life. It is not necessary for the actual teenagers to participate, however, because they think of themselves as teenagers. For example, a party could be perceived as a teenager activity if certain elements like a DJ, lighting and dancing are incorporated. The event could then be promoted to middle school students. While high school students are unlikely to show up, the simple fact that the environment is associated with being a teenager is enough to be effective. The presence of older teens would simply add to the environment. Media and web could also focus on these similar situations where younger looking teens are participating in traditionally older teen experiences.

This study presents a number of challenges for the brand. Whether events, media, or web, ydouthink faces these challenges to effectively change smoking behaviors:

Establish being smokefree as the best strategy to be a social teenager
Establish a cultural identity for ydouthink that fits the preppy/punk image

As the brand positions itself culturally, these challenges must be prioritized. How can an event make youth feel older? How can a commercial communicate social success in teenage terms? How can an online experience feel more mature? These are the questions brand managers should ask themselves as the brand's next exposures are determined.

Future studies are necessary to expand on these topics. This study only included 32 students in one region of the state. While the participants were diverse by many demographic and psychographic accounts, additional research is needed to further define the identity they desire. Role image analysis would most benefit from additional research, since the two schools studied symbolized the two major images discovered. In addition, a future Ibase Survey™ could quantify these findings to confirm the existence of such distinct groups in middle school and the correlation with smoking. If accurately segmented, a very clear and significant correlation could emerge. Additional qualitative and quantitative research would make these findings more conclusive.

Overall, this study revealed the impact of the transitional nature of middle school on the identities of middle school students. To reach 10 – 14 year-olds, one must decide what level of social maturity is desired. For the purposes of smoking behaviors, the subpopulation to be targeted is clear since these behaviors are strongly associated with being a social teen. Now the challenge is to create an image that resembles a teenage lifestyle while predominately reaching middle school students.