Feature Article: The Social Norms Marketing Research Project: Results for Study 1

By Shari Kessel Schneider, MSPH, Laura Gomberg Towvim, MSPH, and William DeJong, PhD

> "This study is the first randomized trial to investigate the impact of campus-wide social norms marketing campaigns on student drinking."

Social norms marketing involves a simple, but potentially important idea: Use a campus-based media campaign to provide college students with accurate information about campus drinking norms. Confronted with this data, students will develop less exaggerated views of peer drinking, they will feel less social pressure to drink heavily, and, in turn, they will drink more moderately.. This prevention approach is consistent with behavior change theory, and it has a strong, commonsense appeal, but does it work?

Past investigations of the social norms approach have been limited to single-site case study reports and quasi-experimental research designs involving small numbers of campuses. Understanding the limitations of this research, but being emboldened by the large number of encouraging studies, proponents have strongly advocated the widespread adoption of social norms marketing (Perkins, 2003). In response, critics of this approach, stating that it serves the alcohol industry by minimizing the scope of the student drinking problem, have used the absence of more rigorous studies to bolster their argument that social norms marketing should be discontinued (Wechsler & Wuethrich, 2002).

To meet the need for better research, we conducted the Social Norms Marketing Research Project (SNMRP), a five-year study funded jointly by the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) and the U.S. Department of Education. This study is the first randomized trial to investigate the impact of campus-wide social norms marketing campaigns on student drinking. We divided the trial into two studies. We report here the results of Study 1, which was launched in 2000 and completed in late 2004. In a future article, we will report the results of Study 2, which got underway in 2001.

Selection of participating schools.

Administrators from over 80 colleges and universities applied to take part in the SNMRP by submitting a letter of commitment, completing a written application, and participating in a telephone interview. In 2000, we selected 18 schools for Study 1 whose Institutional Review Board (IRB) could review and approve the study protocol in time for the baseline survey. In 2001, we selected 14 schools for Study 2. Across the two studies, we made an effort to include a diverse range of campuses with regard to census region, sector (public vs. private), size of the undergraduate population, and other key variables.

We divided the 18 colleges and universities chosen for Study 1 into pairs based on several variables: census region, sector (public vs. private), size of the undergraduate population, student demographics (gender, race/ethnicity, age), the proportion of residential versus commuter students, and the percentage of students in Greek organizations. We then randomly assigned one member of each pair to the experimental group, which implemented a social norms marketing campaign for three years (n=9). We assigned each matched school to a no-intervention control group, which delayed campaign implementation until the final year of the study (n=9).

Method. We administered annual mail surveys to 300 randomly selected undergraduates at each institution. The baseline survey conducted in 2000 provided data for each school's site-specific campaign message. The response rate for the baseline survey was 53.1%, while the

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the Gathering Place

The Gathering Place brings together news, announcements, and important developments in the field of social norms.

New Alcohol Prevention Website for Middle School Students has a Social Norms Component. The National Institute on Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse (NIAAA) has released a new version of their middle school drug prevention website "The Cool Spot." This site has a social norms component in the form of an exercise called "Reality Check" in which site visitors answer two questions about youth alcohol use and then are given the correct answer. A third question provides norms for adults age 35 and older, the likely age of the parents of students using the site. Also included are modules designed to teach peer refusal skills. The incorporation of a social norms component is becoming increasingly common in many well-known national drug prevention initiatives, including DARE. Go to: www.thecoolspot.gov.

Live Large: A Successful High School Social Norms Project is the title of a workshop that was presented at the Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America (CADCA) National Leadership Forum held in Washington, DC in January. The session featured a social norms marketing campaign conducted in the Poudre School District in Fort Collins, CO which reported a 5% increase in healthy behavior and decreases in driving with an impaired driver after one-year. Go to www.cadca.org for an abstract of the session.

The third annual **Montana Institute for Social Norms Practitioners** will be held this summer from June 15-18 in Bozeman, MT, hosted by Montana State University's "Most of Us" Project. The title of this years' Institute is "Perceptions, Policies and Social Norms: Transforming Behavioral Cultures over the Next 100 Years" and will feature Institute founder Jeff Linkenbach and Alan Berkowitz as faculty. The Institute offers an opportunity for intensive immersion in the practice and challenges of developing social norms interventions in a highly interactive, collegial environment that is adapted to participants' needs. Go to www.mostofus.org for Institute information.

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Editor's notes

This issue of *The Report on Social Norms* brings good "New Years" news to the world of social norms. Highlighted are three important developments. First, as indicated in this issue's "Gathering Place," normative feedback is increasingly being integrated into Federal efforts to address youth risk behavior. Second, the two articles reviewed in the "Recent Research" portray a shift in published research on social norms away from questions about the validity of the model to a focus on what works and why. Thus, explanations for why some social norms interventions have failed emphasize incorrect implementation rather than flawed theory.

The third development offers the best news of all and is contained in the "Feature" and "From the Field" articles. These two articles report on the Center for College Health and Safety's "Social Norms Marketing Research Project" (SNMRP), a four million dollar, five-year project funded by the NIAAA to test the efficacy of social norms marketing interventions on college campuses. This study is the first multi-campus randomized trial using a true experimental design to test campus-wide media campaigns, one in which fidelity to the model was strictly monitored. It thus represents the "gold standard" of research "proof" for the efficacy of an intervention.

In phase one of the project, the SNMRP found that social norms media campaigns exerted a protective effect on campuses that blunted significant increases in use that occurred on control campuses. This important finding suggests that without these campaigns, use would have increased dramatically on the experimental campuses during the three years of the project. Yet if any one of these campaigns had been evaluated alone, without a control group, we might have concluded that the social norms intervention were "failures" because of small increases in use. With the opportunity to measure campaign effects against a comparison-control group, however, it is clear that the campaigns did have a major effect. It is also notable that these campaigns were successful with relatively modest budgets. Based on the promise of the social norms model, the NIAAA has also funded a high-school social norms intervention, termed "SNAPPY." This project, which is still in the implementation phase, is reviewed in this issue.

The initial findings of the SNMRP, along with other recent research reported here (see in particular the successful intervention conducted by Lewis and Mattern reviewed in the September 2004 *Report* and published in the J*ournal of Studies on Alcohol*), provide strong support for the efficacy of social norms interventions when correctly implemented. Bill DeJong and his SNMRP team are to be congratulated for an extremely well-conceived and well-executed study with important implications for the field. We look forward to other findings that will emerge from their efforts.

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Feature: The Social Norms Marketing Research Project

response rate for the final post-test survey three years later was 58.7%, rates that are comparable to those achieved by other national studies of college alcohol use (Wechsler, et al., 2002).

We examined each institution's survey results to find a set of alcohol-related behaviors that were not perceived as normative but were in fact reported by a clear student majority. Staff at each school used pretesting to select one behavior for the campaign message. Seven campaigns reported how many drinks students have when they party (e.g., "75% of School X students have 4 or fewer drinks when they party"), while two campaigns reported how many drinks students consume per week (e.g., "Two out of three School Y students have 4 or fewer drinks per week").

Staff at each school developed a unique set of campaign materials that followed strict development and implementation guidelines (e.g., a list of content elements for posters and newspaper advertisements). We gave each school a small stipend to guarantee a specified minimum level of campaign activity, but encouraged the staff to identify additional financial and in-kind resources to increase the scope and reach of the campaign by using a wide variety of media venues. All schools were required to use the following venues: newspaper display advertisements,

posters, and reinforcement activities (e.g., students receiving a prize for being able to recall the campaign message). In addition, schools used other venues specifically suited to reaching students on their campuses. Five or more schools used the following: flyers, presentations, banners, giveaways (e.g., a pen with the campaign message written on it), newspaper classified advertisements, television advertisements, and table tents. Four or fewer schools used messages on websites, sidewalk chalkings, radio advertisements, and electronic mail messages.

Results. We used a weighted hierarchical regression analysis to examine

> "Staff at each school developed a unique set of campaign materials that followed strict development and implementation guidelines."

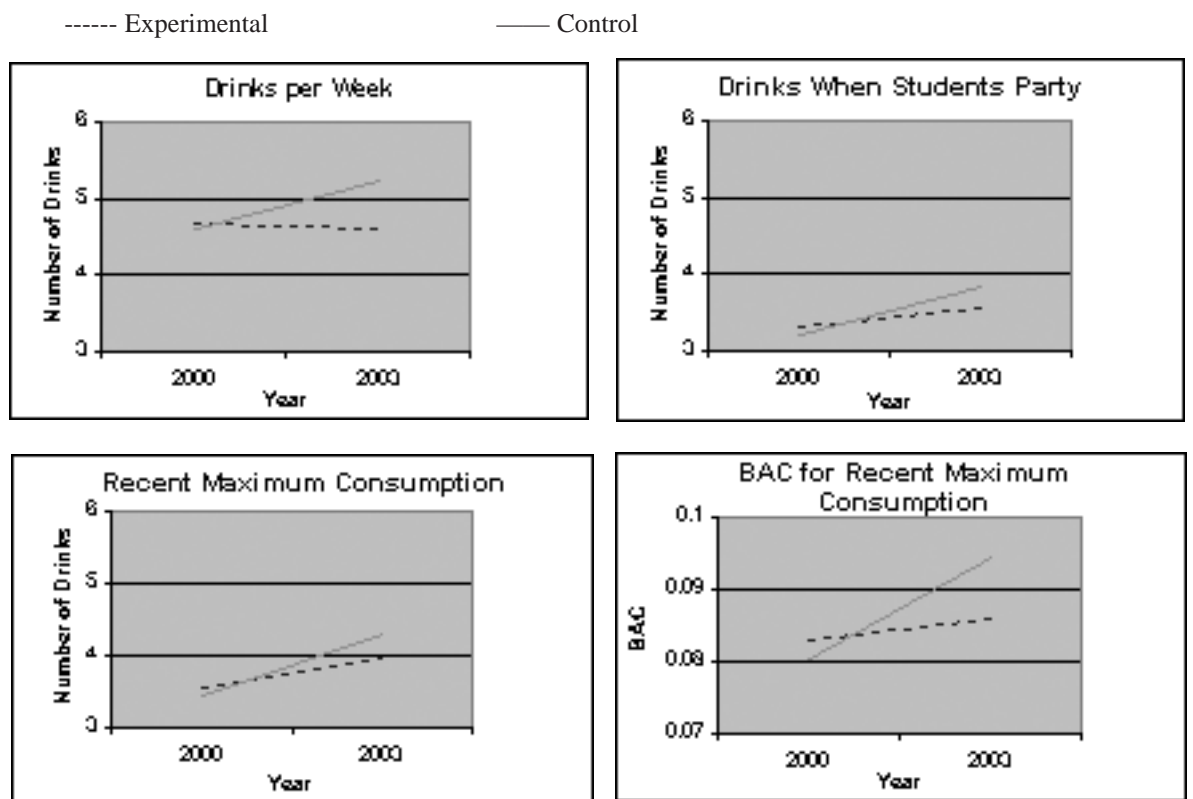our results. This analysis took into account that students were clustered by school, while also controlling for the variable survey response rates across schools and several individual-level variables associated with college student alcohol use (e.g., gender, race/ethnicity, Greek participation).

Figure 1 provides a graphic display of the changes in drinking rates from baseline (prior to campaign implementation) to post-test (after three years of implementation) at both the experimental and control sites, using four different alcohol consumption measures.

Looking at the raw data, the mean number of drinks consumed per week decreased by .05 drinks among the experimental schools from baseline to post-test, but increased by .63 drinks among the control schools. With the multivariate regression, controlling for other variables associated with alcohol use, the experimental group's weekly consump-

Figure 1: Changes in Alcohol Use from Baseline to Post-test for Four Measures by Treatment Group

------ Experimental   —— Control

from *the* field

The Social Norms Marketing Research Project

by Laura Gomberg Towvim, MSPH, Melissa Murphy, BA, and William DeJong, PhD

The Social Norms Marketing Research Project (SNMRP) is a randomized trial designed to test the effectiveness of social norms marketing campaigns in reducing alcohol consumption among college students. Previous investigations have not always guaranteed that the campaigns were implemented in accordance with principles based on communications theory and derived from best practice in the field. For the SNMRP, we sought to avoid this shortcoming by developing extensive campaign guidelines for the nine colleges and universities participating in Study 1 and then training and monitoring the work of the on-site coordinators. In this article we describe those guidelines, discuss the challenges of campaign administration, and review lessons learned. *(For a description of Study 1's results, see this month's Feature article – Ed)*

Campaign guidelines. Each campus-based coordinator developed campaign materials according to basic guidelines set forth by the research team. These guidelines included the following elements:

The core campaign materials had to include a normative message, a campaign logo, identification of the information source (e.g., "Based on data from a survey of randomly selected students conducted in spring 2003"), and drink equivalency information (i.e., "1 drink = 12 oz. beer = 4 oz. wine = 1 oz. liquor").

We instructed the schools to focus each year on a central normative message that reported a behavior engaged in by a clear student majority yet not perceived to be the norm (e.g., "75% of School X students have 4 or fewer drinks when they party," "Two out of three School Y students have 4 or fewer drinks per week"). The campaign materials could include secondary or supportive messages once field testing showed that the central message had gained widespread recognition.

Major print materials had to include photographs, as anecdotal evidence suggests that photos bring attention to a social norms marketing campaign and make it seem more personally relevant to students. Our guidelines stated that the photographs should be taken in familiar campus locations, include groups of students (at least one man and one woman), and portray desirable images (e.g., positive group activities). Importantly, there could be no images of student using alcohol or suffering any negative consequences due to drinking (e.g., being drunk, throwing up, in an acquaintance rape situation). Such images would work against the campaign's normative message. For similar reasons, the guidelines prohibited images of alcoholic beverages, beer cans, or kegs.

Our guidelines encouraged the schools to develop multiple sets of posters, flyers, and newspaper advertisements, using new photographs and making small changes to layout and design in order to increase variety and keep the campaign fresh. At the same time, all materials had to have a similar "look" so that they would be a recognizable part of the larger campaign.

All messages and materials had to be pretested with the target audience to show clarity, credibility, and appeal. Preliminary research also had to be used to select media channels that would reach large numbers of undergraduate students. The coordinators received instructions on how to conduct intercept interviews, focus groups, and questionnaires to make these assessments.

Each coordinator annually submitted a media plan that ensured a minimum level of student exposure to the campaign's central message—specifically, that 50 percent or more of all undergraduates would see or hear the message at least two times per month. In practice, the media plans—relying on a mix of traditional print media venues (e.g., posters, flyers, newspaper ads) and free and low-cost venues (e.g., electronic venues, presentations, newsletters)—far exceeded this minimum.

We used several methods to monitor each site's adherence to these guidelines: (1) a written guidebook that outlined each step for developing, implementing, and tracking the campaign effectively; (2) an in-person training event for campus-based personnel; (3) frequent contact with the site-based staff via e-mail, phone, and mail, including special features, such as a "topic of the week" that highlighted important campaign issues; (4) a rigorous checkpoint schedule to ensure the quality of each site's messages, materials, and implementation plans; and (5) required reports each semester to document campaign activities.

Administrative challenges. The schools had limited budgets for campaign implementation. We wanted to offer sufficient resources to stimulate interest in participation, but not so many that the schools would fail to develop their own resources or think creatively about how to use free or low-cost media venues. We gave each campus $2,000 per academic year. In addition, during two academic years, campuses could apply for supplemental campaign funding awards ranging from $300-$1,650. As a result of these modest resources, the quality and reach of each campaign was greatly affected by the coordinator's ability to build relationships, develop collaborations, and establish volunteer support. We designed the

From the Field

training and monitoring methods described above to provide the skills and information necessary to maximize each coordinator's ability to carry out this work effectively. Even so, some schools relied entirely on the limited funding provided by the research, while others found additional funds. In all cases, however, the schools took advantage of free and low-cost venues and in-kind contributions when implementing their campaigns.

Another challenge was to find the right balance between establishing a consistent approach and building in the flexibility needed to meet the individual needs of each campus. The participating schools varied widely in terms of size, student characteristics, available resources, and media options. Clearly, a campaign designed for a small, private, residential campus would have to differ from one designed for a large, public, commuter campus. Our guidelines helped the schools tailor their campaigns while working within the same overall structure. The variety of campuses in the SNMRP, coupled with the encouraging results from Study 1, lend credibility to the claim that social norms marketing campaigns can be effectively tailored to different types of institutions.

Because of this variability, it was essential for us to track and quantify the campaigns in order to compare them. Accordingly, we asked each coordinator to submit detailed reports of campaign activities. We encountered several difficulties. First, it was not always possible for coordinators to report how many students were reached by certain materials, such as table tents and posters. The duration of individual activities also proved hard to estimate. For example, the coordinators might have intended for posters to stay up for a month, but many of them might be removed earlier. As a result, we could not describe the campaigns in terms of message reach, but had to instead develop general indicators of campaign intensity based on

numbers of activities. (These indicators will be discussed in a future article about SNMRP.)

Lessons learned. In addition to evaluating effectiveness, another primary goal of the SNMRP was to identify methods by which social norms marketing campaigns can be executed most effectively. Some of the lessons we have learned may be useful to others implementing a campus-based campaign:

(1) Be patient. Because social norms marketing is such a popular and promising approach, many practitioners are eager to get started. Remember, however, that developing an effective campaign takes time. Getting key campus officials to support the campaign, building collaborations, and developing good campaign messages and materials will save substantial time and reduce frustration later on. *(This issue is discussed in the March 2003 issue of the REPORT and was titled "Is Your Campus Ready for a Social Norms Marketing Campaign?"- Ed)*

(2) Gain the support of top administrators on campus and let stakeholders know about the campaign ahead of time. Having top administrators on board with the project will help when problems arise or additional resources are needed and will facilitate the distribution of the message through free and low-cost media venues.

(3) Use a credible student survey as the basis of your campaign. Conducting a high-quality survey can be expensive, but may be the most important investment of your campaign. When conducting a survey, you will need to consider sampling procedures and sample size, response rates, and measures to guarantee confidentiality. These factors are what will establish a credible foundation for your campaign message. (A copy of the SNMRP

survey can be obtained by writing to Melissa Murphy at mmurphy@edc.org.)

(4) Encourage dialogue. Students, faculty, and administrators alike may be critical or skeptical of your campaign, especially in the beginning. Learn to see discussion of the campaign on campus as positive; it means students are seeing and thinking about your message.

(5) Learn when to respond to criticisms of the campaign. It is common for students to express disbelief about the campaign, express anger, or question the validity of the campaign message. While it is unnecessary to respond to every individual's concern about the campaign, there may be cases where the credibility of the campaign is being drawn into question and it may be beneficial to respond. When doing so, remember to address the concerns raised, to respond to as large a group as possible (e.g., through a letter to the editor of the student newspaper), and to redirect the conversation to the campaign's purpose—to share accurate information so that students can make informed choices about their behavior. Again, conducting a high-quality survey, reporting accurate data, and pilot testing your messages and materials will help you in responding to student criticism of your campaign.

(6) Keep track of your campaign. While it may seem like an unnecessary addition to your workload, keeping track of campaign planning and implementation has many benefits. It provides a history of your campaign so that you can assess campaign effectiveness, learn from mistakes, and pass on responsibility for the campaign to your successor.

Results from the SNMRP suggest that social norms marketing campaigns, when implemented correctly, can posi-

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tion rate was .86 drinks lower than the control group's rate (p=.055).

Similarly, the mean number of drinks consumed when students party increased by .27 drinks among the experimental schools, but increased by .65 drinks among the control schools. With the multivariate analysis, again controlling for other variables associated with alcohol use, the experimental group reported a relative change of .57 fewer drinks when students party compared to the control group, a result that was statistically significant (p=.010).

Critics of social norms marketing have argued that drinking rates might appear to be decreasing only because students are reporting back the drinking levels they see in campaign materials. Therefore, we looked at two additional measures of alcohol use that were not the subject of any campaign messages.

Looking at the raw data, the greatest number of drinks consumed on one occasion in the past two weeks increased by .38 drinks among the experimental schools, but by nearly an entire drink (.86 drinks) among the control schools. The multivariate regression analysis showed the experimental group to be associated with a relative change of .73 fewer drinks than the control group, a highly significant finding (p=.002).

Using a formula provided by the National Highway Transportation Safety Administration (NHTSA), we also calculated estimates of maximum blood alcohol concentration (BAC) for this drinking episode, using survey data on the number of drinks consumed, the length of the episode, and the student's gender and body weight. Based on past research comparing self-reported and actual BACs among college students (Foss et al., 1999; Thombs et al., 2003), our estimated BAC measures are a reasonable approximation of actual BACs. Estimated BAC increased by only .0029% among experimental schools, but by .0141% among control schools. As expected, the multivariate regression

analysis showed the experimental group to be associated with a relative change of .0146% BAC compared to the control group (p=.018).

Finally, we examined how students' perceptions of peer alcohol use changed over time, and whether those changes could account for the more favorable changes in alcohol use shown by the experimental group over the control group. Our analysis showed a small decrease in perceived alcohol consumption for the experimental group, compared to a substantial increase in perceived consumption for the control group. Returning to the alcohol consumption measures, we repeated the multivariate regression analyses, this time adding perceptions of peer alcohol use as a predictor variable. Adding this variable, which was strongly predictive of alcohol consumption, attenuated the relative advantage of being in the experimental group; this is strong evidence that the effect of the social norms marketing campaigns on drinking behavior was mediated by their effect on student perceptions of drinking norms.

Conclusions. We found slight decreases or modest increases in alcohol consumption at the schools randomly assigned to conduct a social norms marketing campaign, compared to fairly substantial increases at the control group schools. In sum, the social norms marketing campaigns conducted by the experimental schools appear to have provided a protective effect against the increases in alcohol consumption shown by the control group.

The relative advantage of conducting a campaign is apparent when examining the greatest number of drinks students consumed on one occasion in the past two weeks. Students attending schools with a campaign reported a rela-

> "The social norms marketing campaigns conducted by the experimental schools appear to have provided a protective effect against the increases in alcohol consumption shown by the control group."

tive change of .73 fewer drinks and .0146% lower BAC compared to students from the control sites. By any calculus, these are meaningful differences in drinking behavior and alcohol-related impairment.

Study 2 is a replication study involving 14 institutions. We completed the final round of data collection last spring and have started the analysis. We will report these findings in a separate article. As a final step, we will combine the data from all 32 institutions to conduct analyses that control for various contextual factors (e.g., new alcohol-related programs and policies, critical events) and the alcohol environment. Richard Scribner and his colleagues at Louisiana State University are presently collecting data on alcohol outlet density in all 32 campus communities that will be included in this analysis.

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Foss, R., Marchetti, L., Holladay, K., and Scholla, K. (1999). BACs of university students returning home at night. Paper presented at 78th Annual Meeting of Transportation Research Board, Washington, D.C.

Recent Research

The two studies reviewed here introduce an important conceptual distinction into the published literature on social norms interventions. Rather than merely asking if social norms interventions work and questioning the underlying theory, they ask why social norms interventions may not always work, and identify a variety of implementation issues that may affect efficacy. – Ed

A Close Look at Why One Social Norms Campaign Did Not Reduce Student Drinking. (2004). Dennis Thombs, Scott Dotterer, Scott Olds, Katherine Sharp, and Carrie Raub. *Journal of American College Health,* 53(2):61-68.

In this article the authors examine why a social norms marketing campaign at a large public university was not successful. In their introduction they highlight "a weakness of the literature on failed social norms interventions: these studies have not generated information to explain *why* social norms interventions may fall short of their intended objectives." The article then examines two primary reasons for campaign failure: lack of salience of norms,

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Perkins, H. W. (ed.). (2003). *The social norms approach to preventing school and college age substance abuse: A handbook for educators, counselors, and clinicians.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Thombs, D.L., Olds, R.S., and Snyder, B.M. (2003). Field assessment of BAC data to study late-night college drinking. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol,* 64, 322-330.

Wechsler, H., Lee, J.E., Kuo, M., Seibring, M., Nelson, T.F., and Lee, H. (2002). Trends in college binge drinking during a period of increased prevention efforts. Findings from 4 Harvard School of Public Health College Alcohol Surveys, 1993-2001. *Journal of American College Health,* 50, 203-217.

Wechsler, H., and Wuethrich, B. (2002). *Dying to drink: Confronting binge drinking on college campuses.* New York, NY: Rodale Books.

and lack of believability of messages. In this study, a campaign lasting four years showed no significant differences in use patterns between pre- and post-campaign samples. The authors found that many students did not perceive the campaign messages to be credible and did not understand the purpose of the campaign. They also found that perceived credibility of the campaign was inversely correlated with alcohol use intensity – i.e., the more someone drank, the less likely they were to perceive the campaign as credible. The fact that heavier drinkers are less likely to believe in campaign messages is well-documented in the literature and is a predictable outcome of social norms campaigns. The authors do not say how the campaign was conducted and whether or not it included standard methods of assessing student reactions such as focus groups and intercept interviews. The latter are extremely important because they can indicate how a campaign is perceived after it is launched and allow for corrective measures to be taken if there are questions about credibility and believability. The authors conclude that their findings "do not necessarily challenge the conceptual underpinnings of the social norms model. However, they do point to the need to develop more effective applications of the model." This is an important issue facing the field of social norms and it is crucial that social norms practitioners take advantage of best practices to address the issues of believability and credibility raised in this study.

Predicting Drinking Behavior and Alcohol-Related Problems Among Fraternity and Sorority Members: Examining the Role of Descriptive and Injunctive Norms. Mary Larimer, Aaron Turner, Kimberly Mallett, and Irene Geisner. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors,* 18(3):203-212.

This study adds to the growing literature on social norms interventions for Greeks and examines two types of normative feedback, distinguishing between perceptions of descriptive norms (what people think others actually do) and perceptions of injunctive norms (what people think others believe about what is right to do). The authors suggest that injunctive normative feedback may be most appropriate to use with Greeks because it has been found to

> "injunctive norms significantly predicted drinking one year later as well as negative consequences at baseline and follow-up."

be more influential and salient in close-knit groups. They note that "the limited impact of these interventions is not due to the lack of potential efficacy of social norms approaches but rather that these efforts have tended to focus on descriptive norms while ignoring or underemphasizing other important types of normative influences on college campuses." In this extremely well-designed study of 279 men and 303 women from incoming pledge classes of 12 fraternities and 6 sororities, descriptive norms predicted current drinking behaviors but not future drinking, while injunctive norms significantly predicted drinking one year later as well as negative consequences at baseline and follow-up. These findings suggest that feedback about Greek injunctive norms may be more likely to leverage behavior change than descriptive normative feedback, and that injunctive norms may be misperceived in this population even when descriptive norms are not.

To be reviewed in a future issue:

Targeting Misperceptions of Descriptive Drinking Norms: Efficacy of a Computer-Delivered Personalized Normative Feedback Intervention. Neighbors, C, Larimer, M & Lewis, M. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology,* 72(3):434-477.

Lewis, MA and Neighbors, C (2004). Gender-Specific Misperceptions of College Student Drinking Norms. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors*, 18:340-349.

"SNAPPY" – A High School Social Norms Project

by Linda Langford, ScD

The Social Norms Alcohol Problem Prevention for Youth (SNAPPY) Project is funded by an NIAAA grant to the Education Development Center, Inc. in Newton, MA and a MetroWest Community Foundation Grant to the Wellesley Board of Health.

SNAPPY project is a three-year pilot study of a school-based media campaign to correct misperceptions of high school student drinking norms involving one intervention community and one comparison community. Now in its third and final year, activities accomplished to date have included: (1) designing and administering a survey in two high schools; (2) designing, testing, and implementing a social norms marketing campaign in the intervention community; (3) conducting formative and process evaluation, including key informant interviews, student intercept interviews, and ongoing meetings with a community advisory group; (4) educating the school and community about the campaign.

As expected, baseline survey data revealed misperceptions about peer alcohol use and attitudes (when parallel questions about self and peer norms were asked) and numerous healthy majority behaviors and attitudes among surveyed students, thus yielding ample material for use in a media campaign designed to convey healthy norms. Specific statistics selected by project staff in consultation with a community advisory committee were used in a school-based campaign. Despite questions about whether the community would accept a normative approach, response to the SNAPPY campaign has been very positive among parents, law enforcement officers, school personnel, and other community members.

SNAPPY staff have identified several unique aspects of the high school environment that influence the design and implementation of a social norms marketing campaign. High school students are a captive audience and message saturation is easy. These circumstances, however, create other challenges. While many students have responded positively to the campaign, at times some have complained about overexposure to messages. In addition, they question the credibility and believability of the campaign messages. The SNAPPY team responded to these challenges using a variety of strategies, including capitalizing on opportunities to educate the students and the community about the social norms approach and the campaign, organizing the campaign by themes in order to vary the look and feel of the media yet emphasizing central messages, and addressing credibility issues directly in the campaign materials.

Current project efforts are focused on working with the comparison community to utilize the survey data in their prevention efforts and analyzing study outcomes.

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tively impact student drinking. Campus-based practitioners wishing to implement social norms campaigns should be encouraged to do so. At the same time, they should take care to ensure that they have the adequate resources and institutional support necessary to plan and implement a successful campaign.

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