



# GAMBLING TOMMY

Evaluation Report

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## About this report

This report summarises the findings from an evaluation of the Gambling Tommy drink-driving prevention campaign, developed by Co-Pilot. The evaluation examined two Gambling Tommy campaign executions: a Christmas version targeting tradesmen and van drivers, and a Summer version targeting young male drivers. These were compared with an existing THINK! drink-driving advertisement and a road safety control film focused on tyre safety.

The evaluation was conducted using Prolific, with male UK participants aged 18–35 who held a full or provisional driving licence and reported drinking or purchasing alcohol regularly. Participants completed a baseline survey, viewed one of the four campaign films, and completed an immediate post-exposure survey. The evaluation assessed both outcome measures, including attitudes, intentions, perceived behavioural control, subjective norms, anticipated regret and perceived risk, and process measures, including cognitive processing, engagement, sharing intentions, message recall and participant feedback.

The Gambling Tommy intervention design and evaluation were completed by Co-Pilot and self-funded by Co-Pilot. The intervention is now available to Co-Pilot Toolbox members for use.

## Disclaimer

This report has been prepared by Dr Elizabeth Box who is a Behavioural Science Consultant at Co-Pilot. Responsibility for the final content, including any errors or omissions, rests solely with the author.

## About the author

**Dr Elizabeth Box** is Co-Pilot's Behavioural Science Consultant and Director of ECM Research Solutions Ltd. She is an accomplished transport researcher and commissioner with over two decades of experience and an excellent track record in influencing and contributing to road safety policy outcomes at the national level.

Elizabeth's doctorate in Transport Psychology focused on [developing and trialling pre-driver education interventions grounded in behavioural science](#), with the resulting intervention being awarded a [Prince Michael International Road Safety Award in 2023](#). On completing her doctoral studies, Elizabeth founded ECM Research Solutions Ltd to provide consultancy services to public and private sector clients to support the development of high-quality evidence-based public safety interventions.

In 2025, Elizabeth received the [Excellence in Achievement Award for Recent Safety Graduates from Cranfield University's Faculty of Engineering and Applied Sciences](#), recognising the outstanding impact of her work in transport safety. The award acknowledges her contribution to advancing behavioural science in safety, shaping national policy, and translating research into real-world change.

[In addition to her consultancy work](#), Elizabeth advises a number of road safety industry and government project boards and is a judge for the Prince Michael International Road Safety Awards. She is also a Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Highways and Transportation, a technical champion for the organisation, and a judge for the Institute's annual Road Safety Award.

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## Executive summary

Drink-driving remains a significant road safety issue despite widespread awareness of its dangers. The Gambling Tommy campaign was developed by Co-Pilot as a novel behavioural science-based intervention designed to increase perceptions of risk associated with drink-driving. Using a gambling metaphor, the campaign reframes the decision to drive after drinking as a high-stakes and irrational gamble with potentially severe legal, social, financial and personal consequences.

This evaluation examined the effectiveness of two Gambling Tommy campaign executions: a Christmas version targeting tradesmen and van drivers, and a Summer version targeting young male drivers. The films were compared with an existing THINK! drink-driving advertisement and a road safety control film focused on tyre safety. A total of 277 male participants aged 18–35 years completed a controlled online study. Participants completed measures of attitudes, intentions, perceived behavioural control, subjective norms, anticipated regret and perceived risk before and immediately after viewing one of the four films. Process measures examined cognitive processing, engagement, likelihood of sharing, message recall and participant feedback.

The findings indicated that participants entered the study with strongly anti-drink-driving attitudes, intentions and social norms. As a result, there was limited scope for improvement on many behavioural determinants. No statistically significant differences between study conditions were observed for attitudes, intentions, perceived behavioural control, subjective norms or anticipated regret. Perceived risk was the only outcome measure that significantly differentiated the study conditions. After controlling for baseline differences, participants exposed to the Gambling Tommy Summer execution reported significantly higher perceived risk related to drink driving (i.e. perceived likelihood of seriously harming someone and being caught by the police if driving after drinking) than participants exposed to the tyre safety control condition. This effect remained evident after controlling for prior drink-driving behaviour and alcohol consumption frequency. Perceived risk increased across all study conditions, suggesting that exposure to road safety messaging more generally may increase awareness of risk.

The process evaluation demonstrated that the Gambling Tommy approach was particularly successful at engaging audiences. The Christmas execution generated the highest engagement and sharing scores, while both Gambling Tommy films achieved significantly higher engagement than the tyre safety control condition. Message recall was high across all four films, indicating that participants clearly understood the intended campaign messages. Participant feedback highlighted strong support for the originality, memorability and clarity of the Gambling Tommy concept. Some participants suggested that future versions could place greater emphasis on real-world consequences and harm to others. However, the wider evidence base suggests that highly graphic or fear-based approaches do not necessarily improve effectiveness and may risk disengagement or defensive reactions.

The evaluation also found that the Gambling Tommy executions compared favourably with the existing THINK! drink-driving advertisement. While no statistically significant differences were observed between the drink-driving films on the behavioural determinants measured, the Gambling Tommy executions generated higher engagement and, in the case of the Christmas execution, greater willingness to share the film with others. Message recall was similarly high

across all drink-driving films. These findings suggest that the Gambling Tommy concept was able to achieve comparable behavioural outcomes while generating stronger audience engagement. However, these comparisons should be interpreted cautiously, as the films differed substantially in duration, with the Gambling Tommy executions lasting approximately 90–106 seconds compared with 15 seconds for the THINK! advertisement.

Overall, the evaluation provides encouraging evidence that the Gambling Tommy concept can successfully engage its target audience, communicate key drink-driving messages, and increase perceptions of risk associated with drink-driving. The findings suggest that the Gambling Tommy approach provides an effective and engaging way of communicating drink-driving risk and could play a valuable role in wider efforts to reduce drink-driving and support safer road user behaviour.

## 1.0 Introduction

This report presents the evaluation of two Gambling Tommy drink-driving prevention campaigns: a Christmas campaign targeting tradesmen in their late 20s to early 30s, and a Summer campaign targeting young male drivers in their 20s. Both films use a gambling metaphor to reframe drink-driving as an irrational and high-stakes “bet”, highlighting the severe legal, social, financial and personal consequences associated with the behaviour.

The creative concept draws on the stylistic cues of gambling advertising, using parody to expose flawed decision-making at the critical moment when a driver considers driving after drinking. Through exaggerated betting language and tonal contrast, the films juxtapose perceived short-term convenience with the potential for serious legal, social and personal loss. The metaphor is designed to make risk salient and emotionally engaging without glamorising alcohol, gambling or unsafe behaviour.

Grounded in behavioural science and the COM-B model of behaviour change, the campaigns were designed to increase risk awareness (Capability), normalise safer alternatives (Opportunity), and shift motivation by reframing drink-driving as reckless and inconsistent with valued identities such as being responsible, professional or a good parent. The interventions seek to disrupt automatic, habitual decision-making at the moment of transition from social drinking to driving, prompting reflective reassessment and safer choices.

This evaluation examines whether brief exposure to the Gambling Tommy campaigns influences key behavioural determinants associated with drink-driving, including attitudes, intentions, perceived behavioural control, perceived social norms, perceived risk and anticipated regret. It also assesses cognitive processing, engagement, likelihood of sharing, recall of key messages and participant feedback.

The sections that follow outline the methodology, participant recruitment and screening procedures, survey measures, data preparation and analysis strategy, and the evaluation results. A discussion of the findings, alongside conclusions and implications for future campaign development, is also provided.

## 2.0 Method

This section describes the design and implementation of the Gambling Tommy evaluation. It outlines the campaign materials, participant recruitment procedures, survey measures, and the analytical approach used to assess both the effectiveness of the campaign executions and participants' responses to them. The evaluation combined quantitative measures of key behavioural determinants associated with drink-driving with process measures examining engagement, message recall and participant perceptions of the films.

### 2.1 Gambling Tommy Campaigns

The Gambling Tommy campaign series consists of two short-form drink-drive prevention films: a Summer execution and a Christmas execution. Both films use a satirical gambling metaphor to reframe drink driving as an irrational and high-stakes “bet,” highlighting the severe legal, financial, social, and personal consequences associated with the behaviour.

Each film is approximately 90 seconds in length and centres on a male driver who has been drinking in a socially normative setting (a summer BBQ with friends; an after-work pub visit during the festive period). At the critical moment when the protagonist is about to drive home, a parody character, “Gambling Tommy”, appears in the passenger seat. Drawing on the exaggerated tone and language of gambling advertising, Tommy presents a series of escalating “bets” that contrast perceived short-term gains (e.g., getting home quickly, avoiding inconvenience, protecting tools, tucking children into bed) with stark real-world losses (e.g., arrest, imprisonment, loss of licence, job loss, injury, reputational harm, and impact on family life).

The creative approach deliberately uses humour, tonal shifts, and stylised parody to make consequences vivid and emotionally salient without glamorising alcohol, gambling, or unsafe behaviour. In both executions, the protagonist ultimately rejects the “bet” and chooses a safe alternative (calling a taxi in the Summer version; locking the van and walking home in the Christmas version). Safe behaviour is modelled as responsible, realistic, and socially acceptable.

The two executions differ slightly in audience targeting and contextual emphasis:

| Campaign  | Setting                                 | Target audience focus                | Behaviour modelled             |
|-----------|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Summer    | Daytime BBQ among peers                 | Young male drivers (20-29)           | Calling a taxi                 |
| Christmas | After-work pub setting (trades context) | Tradesmen and van drivers aged 28-35 | Walking home / leaving the van |

Although both executions were based on the same underlying behavioural framework and creative concept, they differed in their setting, audience targeting and behavioural substitution message. The evaluation therefore sought to examine whether these variations influenced participant responses to the campaigns.

Both campaigns were developed using the COM-B model of behaviour change and were designed to influence:

- **Capability:** Increasing awareness of impairment and legal consequences.
- **Opportunity:** Normalising alternatives such as taxis, walking, or leaving the vehicle overnight.

- **Motivation:** Reframing drink driving as reckless and inconsistent with valued identities (e.g., responsible adult, professional tradesman, good friend, good parent).

Intervention functions include education, persuasion, modelling, incentivisation, and enablement. Behaviour Change Techniques employed include information about consequences, salience of consequences, anticipated regret, framing/reframing, behavioural substitution, identity-based appeals, and techniques intended to increase perceptions of risk associated with drink-driving.

The full intervention plans and scripts for both the Summer and Christmas Gambling Tommy campaigns are provided in Annex A. In addition to the two Gambling Tommy executions, two existing road safety films were included as control conditions. One of these films also addressed drink driving, with the other covering an alternative road safety topic (i.e., tyre safety). This enabled the evaluation to assess whether any observed effects were specific to the Gambling Tommy campaigns rather than being attributable to exposure to road safety messaging more generally.

### 2.1.1 Advertising standards review and safeguards

Given the themes of alcohol consumption, gambling metaphors, and driving behaviour, the *Gambling Tommy* campaign series was proactively reviewed against the UK Advertising Codes prior to dissemination. Although the campaign is a public-safety initiative rather than a commercial product promotion, advertising communications are regulated according to placement and promotional function. The work was therefore assessed against both the CAP Code (non-broadcast) and the BCAP Code (broadcast) to ensure suitability across digital, social, and potential broadcast environments.

Particular attention was paid to:

- The portrayal of alcohol (ensuring no implication of social enhancement or glamourisation)
- The use of fear and emotional tone (ensuring proportionality and absence of graphic or distressing imagery)
- The use of gambling metaphors (ensuring satire rather than promotion of gambling behaviour)
- The depiction of driving after drinking (ensuring no illegal behaviour is shown or condoned)
- The portrayal of peer influence and personal responsibility

The review concluded that the campaign aligns with relevant CAP and BCAP principles, including social responsibility, proportionate use of fear, and avoidance of unsafe behavioural endorsement. In all executions, drink driving is clearly framed as irrational, unsafe, and socially unacceptable, and the safe alternative behaviour is explicitly modelled. As an additional safeguard, age-targeting controls are recommended for digital placements to ensure delivery to audiences aged 18 and over. A full summary of the advertising standards review is provided in Annex B.

## 2.2 Participants and Recruitment

The Gambling Tommy evaluation was conducted as a controlled pre–post study. Data was collected using Prolific, an online research recruitment platform used to access participants across the United Kingdom. The surveys were conducted on 30<sup>th</sup> – 31<sup>st</sup> May 2026.

Participants were allocated to one of four study conditions:

- Study 1: Gambling Tommy Christmas execution<sup>1</sup>
- Study 2: Gambling Tommy Summer execution<sup>2</sup>
- Study 3: Existing THINK! Drink-driving advertisement<sup>3</sup>
- Study 4: Road safety control film focused on tyre safety<sup>4</sup>

All participants completed a baseline survey (T1), viewed their allocated film, and completed an immediate post-exposure survey (T2).

The inclusion of two Gambling Tommy executions enabled direct comparison of the relative effectiveness of the Summer and Christmas campaign films. The two comparison conditions enabled the evaluation to distinguish between effects associated with the Gambling Tommy executions, drink-driving advertising more generally, and exposure to road safety messaging more broadly.

The films varied in duration, reflecting their intended use in real-world campaign settings. The THINK! drink-driving advertisement was 15 seconds in length, the tyre safety control film was 50 seconds, the Gambling Tommy Christmas execution was 1 minute 32 seconds, and the Gambling Tommy Summer execution was 1 minute 46 seconds. All participants were required to view their allocated film in full before completing the post-exposure survey.

Each survey wave lasted approximately 6 minutes. Participants received payment in line with Prolific's recommended hourly rates. Figure 2-1 illustrates the study design.

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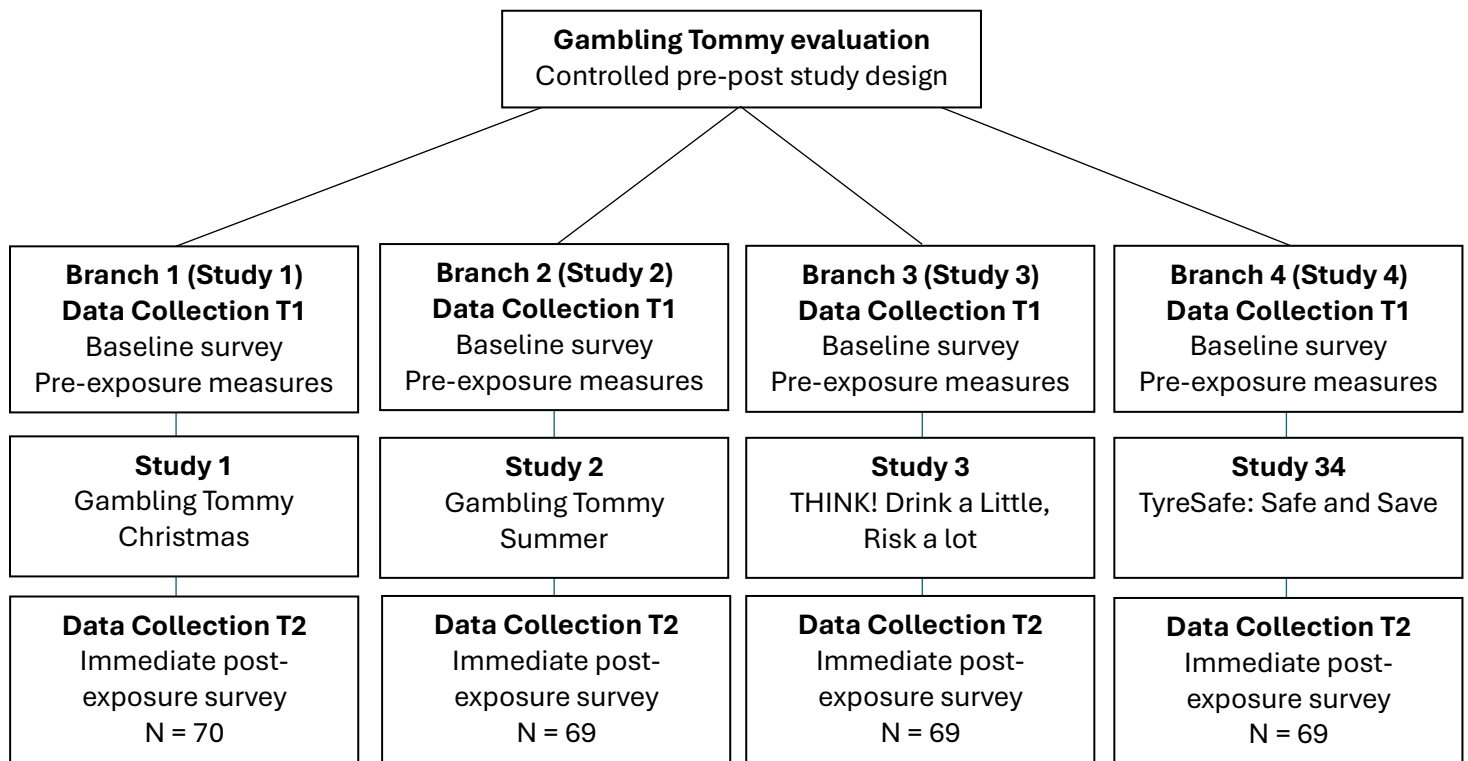
<sup>1</sup> Co-Pilot (2025) Gambling Tommy Christmas <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b6udQYE6Wdc> (1 min 32 secs)

<sup>2</sup> Co-Pilot (2025) Gambling Tommy Summer <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0cwfbYxfLh0> (1 min 46secs)

<sup>3</sup> THINK! (2023) Drink a little, risk a lot <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mjy4yqY6izQ&t=3s> (15 secs)

<sup>4</sup> TyreSafe (2024) Tyre Safety Month 2023 – Safe and Save (Car – part worn) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EpMTolPYaOM> (50 secs)

**Figure 2-1: Measurement sessions for Gambling Tommy evaluation**



### 2.2.1 Screening criteria and participant recruitment

Participants were recruited through Prolific, an online research recruitment platform. Screening criteria were applied to ensure that participants reflected the intended target audience for the Gambling Tommy campaigns and were able to provide informed responses to questions relating to drink-driving attitudes and decision-making. To minimise repeat participation and potential contamination effects, individuals who had previously completed one study condition were prevented from enrolling in another.

Eligible participants were required to:

- Be male.
- Be aged between 18 and 35 years.
- Be a current resident of the United Kingdom.
- Hold either a full or provisional UK driving licence.
- Report drinking or purchasing alcohol on a regular basis.

These criteria were selected to align with the primary target audience of the Gambling Tommy campaign executions, which were developed for young adult male drivers who consume alcohol and may encounter situations in which decisions about driving after drinking are required.

Participants received payment in line with Prolific's recommended hourly rates. Compensation was structured to reflect survey completion time, with partial payments provided where screening criteria were not met. Upon entering the survey, participants were required to provide their Prolific ID to enable secure payment processing and to allow survey responses to be matched with participant demographic information collected through the Prolific platform.

All participants were presented with an informed consent form prior to beginning the survey (see Annex C). Participation was voluntary, and respondents were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any point before submitting their responses.

## 2.3 Survey measures

The survey measures were designed to assess both outcome and process variables associated with drink-driving attitudes, decision-making and responses to the campaign films. Item selection was informed by the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB), anticipated regret frameworks and research on behavioural risk perception, reflecting the theoretical foundations underpinning the Gambling Tommy campaigns.

### 2.3.1 Outcome measures

The primary outcome variables focused on key psychological determinants of drink-driving behaviour. These included participants' attitudes towards drink-driving, intentions to avoid driving after drinking, perceived behavioural control, subjective norms, perceived risk and anticipated regret.

Attitudes were assessed using two items measuring agreement that driving after drinking is not worth the risk and disagreement that it is acceptable to drive after a few drinks. Intentions were assessed using two items measuring whether participants would choose not to drive if unsure whether they were safe to drive and whether they would plan to use another way home after drinking.

Perceived behavioural control was assessed using two items measuring participants' confidence that they could avoid driving after drinking, even if inconvenient, and could arrange another way home. Subjective norms were assessed using two items measuring perceived disapproval of drink-driving from important others. Perceived risk was assessed using two items measuring perceived likelihood of seriously harming someone and being caught by the police if driving after drinking. Anticipated regret was assessed using two items measuring worry about what could go wrong and expected regret after taking the risk of driving after drinking.

These outcome measures were collected before exposure to the film and repeated immediately after exposure, enabling assessment of change in key behavioural determinants.

### 2.3.2 Process measures

Immediately following exposure to the film, participants completed process evaluation measures assessing how they received and interpreted the campaign material.

Three items assessed cognitive processing, including the extent to which participants perceived the video message as credible, useful and important. Three items assessed engagement, including whether the video held participants' attention, was memorable, and made the consequences of drink-driving feel real.

Participants were also asked whether they had watched the full video, what they thought was the main message of the video, whether they would share the video with friends or family, and whether they had any additional comments or suggestions about the film.

These measures enabled assessment of whether the films were understood, whether they generated engagement and cognitive processing, and whether participants perceived them as shareable.

### 2.3.3 Background and screening measures

The survey also included background and behavioural measures to describe the sample and assess comparability between study conditions. These included driving frequency, alcohol consumption frequency, previous drink-driving behaviour in the past 12 months, and previous exposure to drink-driving campaigns.

Previous drink-driving behaviour was assessed by asking participants how often, in the past 12 months, they had driven after drinking alcohol when unsure whether they were safe to drive. Previous campaign exposure was assessed by asking whether participants had seen or heard any drink-driving campaigns in the past 12 months.

### 2.3.4 Measurement structure and coding

Most outcome and process items were measured using seven-point Likert-type response scales. For all outcome and process measures, items were coded so that higher scores reflected safer or more favourable responses. For example, higher scores indicated stronger anti-drink-driving attitudes, stronger intentions not to drive after drinking, greater perceived behavioural control, stronger perceived social disapproval, higher perceived risk, stronger anticipated regret, greater cognitive processing, higher engagement and greater likelihood of sharing.

The attitude item "It is acceptable to drive after a few drinks" was reverse-coded so that higher scores represented stronger disagreement with drink-driving acceptability. Where constructs were assessed using multiple items, internal consistency was examined using Cronbach's alpha. Constructs demonstrating acceptable reliability (Cronbach's  $\alpha \geq .70$ ) were combined into composite mean scales, while constructs with lower reliability were analysed at the individual item level. Full survey items, response formats and coding details are provided in Annex D.

## 2.4 Data preparation and analysis

All analyses were conducted using IBM SPSS Statistics (Version 31). Statistical significance was assessed using an alpha level of .05. Effect sizes are reported where appropriate to aid interpretation of practical significance.

### 2.4.1 Baseline comparability

Prior to examining campaign outcomes, demographic and behavioural characteristics were compared across the four study samples to assess baseline comparability. One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to compare mean age across study conditions, while chi-square tests were used to compare categorical variables including driving frequency, ethnicity, student status, employment status, alcohol consumption frequency, previous drink-driving behaviour, and previous exposure to drink-driving campaigns.

These analyses were undertaken to establish whether the study samples were broadly comparable prior to exposure and to reduce the likelihood that any subsequent differences could be attributed to pre-existing participant characteristics.

## 2.4.2 Outcome evaluation analyses

The primary outcome evaluation examined whether exposure to the different campaign films influenced key behavioural determinants associated with drink-driving. Outcome measures included attitudes, intentions, perceived behavioural control, subjective norms, perceived risk and anticipated regret.

For constructs assessed using multiple items, internal consistency was assessed using Cronbach's alpha. Constructs demonstrating acceptable reliability ( $\alpha \geq .70$ ) were combined into composite scales, while constructs with lower reliability were analysed at the individual item level.

To account for baseline differences between participants, analyses were conducted using analysis of covariance (ANCOVA), with post-exposure scores (T2) entered as the dependent variable, study condition entered as the fixed factor, and corresponding baseline scores (T1) entered as covariates. Estimated marginal means and Bonferroni-adjusted pairwise comparisons were examined where appropriate to identify differences between study conditions.

## 2.4.3 Process evaluation analyses

The process evaluation examined participants' responses to the campaign films immediately following exposure. Reliability analyses were conducted for the cognitive processing and engagement scales prior to analysis. Composite scores were then created using the mean of the relevant items.

One-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were used to compare study conditions on cognitive processing, engagement and likelihood of sharing. Where statistically significant overall differences were identified, Bonferroni-adjusted post hoc comparisons were conducted to determine which study conditions differed from one another.

Open-ended recall responses and participant comments were reviewed to identify common patterns and recurring themes across participants' responses. Responses were summarised according to the key messages recalled, perceived strengths and weaknesses of the films, and suggestions for improvement. Illustrative quotations were selected to provide examples of commonly expressed views.

## 2.4.4 Supplementary analyses

Additional analyses were conducted to explore whether perceived risk outcomes varied according to participant characteristics. Separate ANCOVA models examined the potential influence of previous drink-driving behaviour, previous exposure to drink-driving campaigns, driving frequency and alcohol consumption frequency.

For each analysis, the relevant participant characteristic and its interaction with study condition were added to the ANCOVA model. These analyses enabled assessment of whether the effectiveness of the campaign films differed across participant subgroups and whether the primary perceived risk findings remained robust after controlling for these factors.

## 3.0 Results

This section presents the findings from the evaluation of the Gambling Tommy campaign films. A total of 277 participants completed the evaluation and were included in the analyses (Study 1: n = 70; Study 2: n = 69; Study 3: n = 69; Study 4: n = 69). Results are reported in three stages. First, the comparability of the four study samples is examined. Second, outcome evaluation findings are presented, focusing on changes in key behavioural determinants associated with drink-driving. Finally, process evaluation findings are reported, including cognitive processing, engagement, sharing intentions, message recall and participant feedback. Detailed statistical outputs are provided in the annexes. Unless otherwise stated, higher scores indicate safer or more favourable responses.

### 3.1 Descriptives

Prior to examining campaign outcomes, demographic and behavioural characteristics were compared across the four study samples to assess their comparability. Establishing similarity between groups at baseline increases confidence that any differences observed following exposure are attributable to the campaign materials rather than underlying differences between participants.

As shown in Table 3-1, the four samples were broadly similar in terms of age, driving frequency, ethnicity, student status, employment status and alcohol consumption patterns.

**Table 3-1: Descriptive statistics of participants in the Gambling Tommy evaluation**

|                   |                                       | Study 1      | Study 2      | Study 3      | Study 4      |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| N participants    |                                       | 70           | 69           | 69           | 69           |
| Age (SD)          |                                       | 28.33 (5.02) | 28.49 (4.98) | 29.10 (4.21) | 27.80 (5.12) |
| Driving Frequency | Frequent driver (3+ days/week)        | 40 (57.1)    | 42 (60.9)    | 47 (68.1)    | 47 (68.1)    |
|                   | Occasional driver (up to 2 days/week) | 18 (25.7)    | 17 (24.6)    | 11 (15.9)    | 15 (27.7)    |
|                   | Non-driver (Never)                    | 12 (17.1)    | 10 (14.5)    | 11 (15.9)    | 7 (10.1)     |
| Ethnicity         | White (%)                             | 49 (70.0)    | 53 (76.8)    | 50 (72.5)    | 52 (75.4)    |
|                   | Non-white (%)                         | 19 (27.1)    | 16 (23.2)    | 19 (27.5)    | 17 (24.6)    |
|                   | Unknown (%)                           | 2 (2.7)      | -            | -            | -            |
| Student           | Yes (%)                               | 18 (25.7)    | 16 (23.2)    | 12 (17.4)    | 10 (14.5)    |
|                   | No (%)                                | 48 (68.6)    | 49 (71.0)    | 52 (75.4)    | 55 (79.7)    |
|                   | Unknown (%)                           | 4 (5.7)      | 4 (5.8)      | 5 (7.2)      | 4 (5.8)      |
| Employment status | Full-time (%)                         | 39 (55.7)    | 44 (63.8)    | 49 (71.0)    | 46 (66.7)    |
|                   | Part-time (%)                         | 8 (11.4)     | 3 (4.3)      | 7 (10.1)     | 7 (10.1)     |
|                   | Not currently in work (%)             | 16 (22.9)    | 11 (15.9)    | 8 (11.6)     | 13 (18.8)    |

|                                                        |                             | Study 1    | Study 2    | Study 3    | Study 4    |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Employment status cont...                              | Unknown (%)                 | 7 (10.0)   | 11 (15.9)  | 5 (7.2)    | 3 (4.3)    |
| Alcohol consumption frequency                          | Infrequent (< monthly)      | 11 (15.7)  | 11 (15.9)  | 10 (14.5)  | 9 (13.0)   |
|                                                        | Monthly (1-2 times a month) | 22 (31.4)  | 26 (37.7)  | 16 (23.2)  | 15 (21.7)  |
|                                                        | Weekly (1-2 times a week)   | 27 (38.6)  | 22 (31.9)  | 29 (42.0)  | 35 (50.7)  |
|                                                        | Frequent (3+ days a week)   | 10 (14.3)  | 10 (14.5)  | 14 (20.3)  | 10 (14.5)  |
| Previous drink-driving behaviour in the last 12 months | Never                       | 60 (85.7%) | 58 (84.1%) | 55 (79.7%) | 59 (85.5%) |
|                                                        | More than once              | 10 (14.3%) | 11 (15.9%) | 13 (18.8%) | 8 (11.6%)  |
|                                                        | Prefer not to say           | 0 (0.0%)   | 0 (0.0%)   | 1 (1.4%)   | 2 (2.9%)   |
| Previous campaign exposure in the last 12 months       | Yes                         | 38 (54.3)  | 37 (53.6)  | 41 (59.4)  | 40 (58.0)  |
|                                                        | No                          | 25 (35.7)  | 18 (26.1)  | 17 (24.6)  | 20 (29.0)  |
|                                                        | Not sure                    | 7 (10.0)   | 14 (20.3)  | 11 (15.9)  | 9 (13.0)   |

To assess the comparability of the study samples, a series of statistical tests were conducted examining age, driving frequency, ethnicity, student status, employment status and alcohol consumption frequency. A one-way ANOVA found no significant differences in age between samples,  $F(3,272) = 0.85$ ,  $p = .469$ . Chi-square tests similarly identified no significant differences in driving frequency,  $\chi^2(6) = 4.14$ ,  $p = .658$ , ethnicity,  $\chi^2(6) = 6.52$ ,  $p = .367$ , student status,  $\chi^2(6) = 3.61$ ,  $p = .730$ , employment status,  $\chi^2(9) = 11.76$ ,  $p = .227$ , or alcohol consumption frequency,  $\chi^2(9) = 8.53$ ,  $p = .482$ , previous drink-driving behaviour,  $\chi^2(3) = 1.42$ ,  $p = .700$ , or prior campaign exposure,  $\chi^2(6) = 4.74$ ,  $p = .578$ . These findings indicate that the four study samples were broadly comparable at baseline, reducing the likelihood that any subsequent differences in campaign outcomes were attributable to underlying differences in participant characteristics or previous experience of drink-driving campaigns.

## 3.2 Outcome evaluation results

The outcome evaluation examined whether exposure to the Gambling Tommy films influenced key behavioural determinants associated with drink-driving, including attitudes, intentions, perceived behavioural control, subjective norms, anticipated regret and perceived risk.

To account for baseline differences between study samples, analyses were conducted using analysis of covariance (ANCOVA), with baseline scores included as covariates. Internal consistency analyses indicated that Perceived Behavioural Control, Subjective Norms, Perceived Risk and Anticipated Regret demonstrated acceptable reliability and were analysed as composite scales. Attitude and Intention measures demonstrated lower reliability and were therefore analysed at the individual item level. Details of scale construction and reliability analyses are provided in Annex E.

Across most outcome measures, participants reported highly favourable scores at baseline, indicating that they already held strong anti-drink-driving attitudes, intentions and social norms prior to viewing the films. As a result, there was limited scope for further improvement on many measures. Descriptive statistics for all outcome measures are presented in Annex F. Table 3-2 summarises the findings across all behavioural determinants.

**Table 3-2: Summary of outcome evaluation findings**

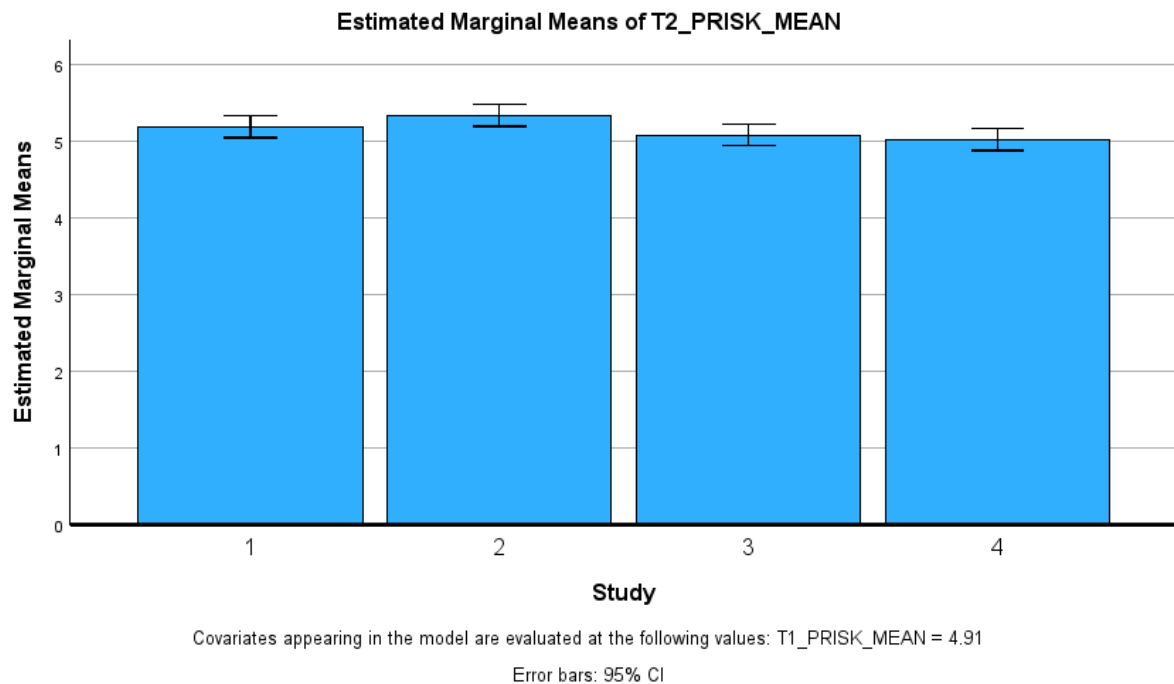
| Outcome                       | Significant difference between study conditions? | Key finding                                                                                                          |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Attitude 1                    | No                                               | Scores were high at baseline and remained high across all conditions.                                                |
| Attitude 2                    | No                                               | Small improvements were observed but no significant differences between films.                                       |
| Intention 1                   | No                                               | No evidence that any execution was more effective than another.                                                      |
| Intention 2                   | No                                               | Scores increased slightly across all conditions but differences were not significant.                                |
| Perceived Behavioural Control | No                                               | Participants already reported high confidence in avoiding drink-driving.                                             |
| Subjective Norms              | No                                               | Strong social disapproval of drink-driving was evident across all conditions.                                        |
| Anticipated Regret            | No                                               | Study 2 produced the highest adjusted scores, but differences were not statistically significant.                    |
| <b>Perceived Risk</b>         | <b>Yes</b>                                       | <b>Study 2 produced significantly higher perceived risk than Study 4 after controlling for baseline differences.</b> |

Full ANCOVA results, adjusted means and pairwise comparisons are presented in Annex G.

Perceived risk was the only outcome measure for which statistically significant differences between study conditions were observed. Perceived risk increased following exposure across all four study conditions, suggesting that all films contributed to increasing awareness of the risks associated with drink-driving.

After controlling for baseline perceived risk, there was a significant effect of study condition on post-intervention perceived risk,  $F(3,272) = 3.68$ ,  $p = .013$ . Participants exposed to the Study 2 execution reported significantly higher perceived risk than participants exposed to the Study 4 control film (mean difference = 0.32,  $p = .013$ ). Adjusted post-intervention mean scores indicated that Study 2 produced the highest perceived risk score after controlling for baseline differences. Figure 3-1 presents the adjusted post-intervention perceived risk scores by study condition.

**Figure 3-1: Adjusted post-intervention perceived risk scores controlling for baseline perceived risk**



Supplementary analyses were conducted to examine whether the perceived risk findings were influenced by participants' prior drink-driving behaviour, previous exposure to drink-driving campaigns, driving frequency, or alcohol consumption frequency. Across all analyses, there was no evidence that any of these factors moderated the effectiveness of the films, as none of the interaction effects were statistically significant. The significant difference between Study 2 and Study 4 remained evident when controlling for prior drink-driving behaviour and alcohol consumption frequency. Full details of these analyses are presented in Annex H.

Overall, the findings suggest that participants entered the study with strong anti-drink-driving beliefs, intentions and social norms, resulting in limited opportunity for the interventions to generate substantial improvements on many measures. Consequently, statistically significant differences between study conditions were observed for only one outcome measure: perceived risk. After controlling for baseline differences, Study 2 produced significantly higher perceived risk scores than the Study 4 control condition. No statistically significant differences between study conditions were observed for attitudes, intentions, perceived behavioural control, subjective norms or anticipated regret.

The results suggest that the Gambling Tommy films were most effective at influencing perceptions of risk rather than changing behavioural determinants that were already highly favourable prior to exposure. While all films were associated with increases in perceived risk, the strongest evidence of differential effectiveness was observed for the Study 2 film, which generated higher perceived risk scores than the control condition after accounting for baseline differences between participants. To better understand how participants responded to the different campaign films, the following section presents findings from the process evaluation.

### 3.3 Process evaluation results

The process evaluation examined participants' responses to the Gambling Tommy films and control conditions, focusing on cognitive processing, engagement, likelihood of sharing, message recall and qualitative feedback. Together, these measures provide insight into how participants received and interpreted the campaign materials, and whether differences in effectiveness may be attributable to differences in audience engagement or message comprehension. Detailed reliability analyses and statistical outputs are provided in Annex I.

#### 3.3.1 Cognitive processing

Three items assessing cognitive processing were combined to create a composite cognitive processing score. The scale demonstrated acceptable internal consistency (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .73$ ), indicating that the items measured a common underlying construct and could be combined into a single measure.

Table 3-3 presents mean cognitive processing scores by study condition. Cognitive processing scores were high across all four conditions, ranging from 6.09 to 6.40 on the seven-point scale. Participants in Study 1 reported the highest level of cognitive processing, although scores were consistently high across all conditions.

**Table 3-3: Mean cognitive processing scores by study condition**

| Study | Mean (SD)   |
|-------|-------------|
| 1     | 6.40 (0.71) |
| 2     | 6.24 (0.88) |
| 3     | 6.09 (0.87) |
| 4     | 6.13 (0.90) |

A one-way analysis of variance indicated that cognitive processing did not differ significantly across the four study conditions,  $F(3,273) = 1.90$ ,  $p = .130$ . These findings suggest that participants thought carefully about the content of the films regardless of which execution they viewed, providing no evidence that any one film was more successful than another in stimulating cognitive engagement with the issue.

#### 3.3.2 Engagement

Three items assessing engagement were combined to create a composite engagement score. The scale demonstrated acceptable internal consistency (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .72$ ). Engagement scores varied across study conditions, with participants in Study 1 reporting the highest levels of engagement, followed by Study 2, Study 3 and Study 4.

**Table 3-4: Mean engagement scores by study condition**

| Study | Mean (SD)   |
|-------|-------------|
| 1     | 6.17 (0.96) |
| 2     | 5.93 (1.13) |
| 3     | 5.48 (1.36) |
| 4     | 4.72 (1.36) |

A one-way analysis of variance revealed a statistically significant difference in engagement between study conditions,  $F(3,273) = 19.26$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .175$ . Post hoc analyses indicated that participants exposed to the Gambling Tommy executions generally reported higher engagement than participants exposed to the control conditions.

The findings therefore suggest that the Gambling Tommy films were successful in capturing participants' attention and interest, with Study 1 generating the highest levels of engagement. In contrast, the tyre safety control film (Study 4) received the lowest engagement ratings.

### 3.3.3 Likelihood of sharing

Participants were asked how likely they would be to share the film with others. Mean sharing scores differed across study conditions, with Study 1 generating the highest likelihood of sharing, followed by Study 2, Study 4 and Study 3.

**Table 3-5: Mean likelihood of sharing scores by study condition**

| Study | Mean (SD)   |
|-------|-------------|
| 1     | 5.33 (1.67) |
| 2     | 4.96 (1.49) |
| 3     | 4.33 (1.94) |
| 4     | 4.54 (1.75) |

A one-way analysis of variance indicated a significant difference in sharing intentions across study conditions,  $F(3,273) = 4.63$ ,  $p = .004$ ,  $\eta^2 = .048$ . Post hoc analyses indicated that participants exposed to Study 1 were significantly more likely to report that they would share the film than participants exposed to either of the control conditions.

These findings suggest that Study 1 possessed the strongest potential for organic sharing and dissemination. While Study 2 also performed favourably, only Study 1 demonstrated significantly greater sharing intentions than the control films.

### 3.3.4 Message recall

To assess message comprehension, participants were asked an open-ended question about the main message of the film they had viewed. Across all four study conditions, participants demonstrated strong recall of the intended campaign messages, suggesting that the films successfully communicated their core behavioural propositions.

**Table 3-6: Dominant recalled message by study condition**

| Study | Dominant recalled message                                                                              |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1     | Drink-driving is a gamble that can cost you your future, freedom and relationships.                    |
| 2     | The risks of drink-driving vastly outweigh any short-term convenience or benefit.                      |
| 3     | Even a small amount of alcohol can lead to significant personal losses ("Drink a little, lose a lot"). |
| 4     | New tyres are safer and more cost-effective than part-worn tyres.                                      |

Participants exposed to the three drink-driving films consistently identified the risks and consequences associated with drink-driving. However, each film appeared to generate recall of a slightly different behavioural proposition.

Responses to Study 1 frequently referenced the campaign's gambling analogy and the potential consequences of drink-driving for employment, family life and personal freedom. Study 2 responses commonly focused on the imbalance between the small convenience of driving home and the potentially severe consequences of a drink-driving offence. Study 3 responses centred on the cumulative personal consequences of drink-driving and the campaign's central proposition that "a little" alcohol can result in losing "a lot". Participants exposed to Study 4 accurately recalled the tyre safety message, demonstrating that the control condition communicated a distinct road safety proposition that was not confused with the drink-driving interventions.

Overall, recall was high across all four study conditions, suggesting that differences observed elsewhere in the evaluation are unlikely to be attributable to failures of message comprehension. Rather, participants appeared to understand and retain the key messages of each film, with the executions differing primarily in the specific consequences and themes that participants recalled most readily.

### 3.3.5 Participant feedback on the campaign executions

At the end of the survey, participants were invited to provide any additional comments about the film they had viewed. Responses to this question were voluntary. Across the four study conditions, between one-third and two-fifths of participants chose to provide additional feedback, indicating a relatively high level of engagement with the materials.

**Table 3-7: Response rates for voluntary participant feedback**

| Study | No. of comments | % of sample |
|-------|-----------------|-------------|
| 1     | 27              | 39%         |
| 2     | 23              | 33%         |
| 3     | 25              | 36%         |
| 4     | 23              | 33%         |

Participant comments revealed a number of common themes relating to engagement, message delivery and perceived effectiveness.

**Table 3-8: Summary of participant feedback by study condition**

| Study | Positive feedback                                                                                                                                                       | Suggested improvements                                                                                                                                                  | Illustrative participant comment                                                                                         |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1     | Engaging, creative and memorable. Participants appreciated the novel gambling analogy and the balanced approach to challenging common justifications for drink-driving. | Some participants felt the humorous tone reduced the seriousness of the issue. Others suggested stronger visual impact and greater emphasis on injury and loss of life. | <i>"I think it was an incredibly engaging video and very fun to watch."</i>                                              |
| 2     | Viewed as clear, entertaining and effective. Participants praised the originality of the approach and felt the risks of drink-driving were communicated clearly.        | Several participants felt the film was too long and that a more serious tone could have increased emotional impact and credibility.                                     | <i>"This was a very interesting and entertaining watch. The approach was clever and original and held my attention."</i> |

| Study | Positive feedback                                                                                                   | Suggested improvements                                                                                                                                                                                  | Illustrative participant comment                                                                                |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3     | Participants appreciated the concise format and felt the message was easy to understand.                            | The animated style was frequently criticised for reducing realism and emotional impact. Participants often suggested using real people, real-world consequences and stronger emphasis on physical harm. | <i>"A drink driving ad would hit much harder if it showed the effects of the action rather than a cartoon."</i> |
| 4     | Viewed as informative, educational and easy to understand. Participants clearly recognised the tyre safety message. | Suggestions focused on improving the clarity of the financial comparison and strengthening the seriousness of the safety message.                                                                       | <i>"It was informative, straight to the point and light but with a strong message."</i>                         |

Across the three drink-driving films, participants generally responded positively to the creative approaches used and felt that the films successfully communicated the risks associated with drink-driving. However, comments also highlighted an important tension between engagement and emotional impact. While some participants appreciated the lighter and more novel approaches adopted in Studies 1 and 2, others felt that the humorous tone reduced the perceived seriousness of the issue. Similarly, while participants valued the brevity and simplicity of Study 3, many felt that the animated execution lacked the realism required to create a strong emotional response.

A recurring theme across all three drink-driving executions was a desire for greater emphasis on the real-world consequences of drink-driving, particularly the potential for injury or loss of life. Several participants suggested that highlighting the impact on victims, passengers and other road users would have increased the credibility and persuasive impact of the campaigns.

Feedback on Study 4 differed substantially from the other conditions, reflecting its role as a control film. Participants clearly recognised that the film focused on tyre safety rather than drink-driving, suggesting that the control condition successfully communicated a distinct road safety message and was not confused with the drink-driving interventions.

Overall, the findings suggest that participants found the drink-driving films engaging, memorable and easy to understand. While the creative approaches used in Studies 1 and 2 generated the highest levels of engagement, participant feedback indicates an interest in future campaign development balancing creativity and humour with stronger emotional consequences and greater emphasis on the potential harms caused to others.

## 4.0 Discussion

### 4.1 Overview of findings

This evaluation examined whether brief exposure to the Gambling Tommy campaign films influenced key behavioural determinants associated with drink-driving and how participants responded to the films. Overall, the findings suggest that the campaign executions were well understood, engaging and effective in increasing perceptions of risk. Participants were able to recall the core messages of each film, and the Gambling Tommy executions generated stronger engagement than the comparison films.

The strongest outcome finding was observed for perceived risk. Perceived risk increased across all four study conditions, but after controlling for baseline scores, Study 2 (Gambling Tommy Summer execution) produced significantly higher perceived risk scores than the Study 4 (Tyre safety) control condition. No statistically significant differences between study conditions were observed for attitudes, intentions, perceived behavioural control, subjective norms or anticipated regret. This pattern suggests that the Gambling Tommy films were most effective at influencing perceptions of risk, rather than changing behavioural determinants that were already strongly anti-drink-driving prior to exposure.

The process evaluation provided additional insight into how participants responded to the films. Cognitive processing scores were high across all conditions, indicating that participants generally considered the messages credible, useful and important. Engagement differed significantly between conditions, with Study 1 (Gambling Tommy Christmas execution) generating the highest engagement and Study 4 (Tyre Safety) the lowest. Study 1 also generated the strongest likelihood of sharing. These findings suggest that the Gambling Tommy approach was successful in attracting attention and encouraging audience engagement, although the film that generated the highest engagement was not the same film that produced the strongest perceived risk effect.

### 4.2 Perceived risk as the primary mechanism of impact

Perceived risk was the only behavioural determinant that significantly differentiated the study conditions. This is an important finding because perceived risk is a central mechanism in many behaviour change models. Protection Motivation Theory, for example, emphasises the role of perceived severity and perceived vulnerability in motivating protective behaviour. In the context of drink-driving, perceived risk include both the perceived likelihood of harm, such as seriously injuring someone, and the perceived likelihood of detection, such as being caught by the police.

The Gambling Tommy concept was specifically designed to make risk more salient by reframing drink-driving as a high-stakes gamble. The findings provide some support for this creative strategy. Study 2 (Gambling Tommy Summer execution), in particular, appeared to strengthen perceptions of the risks associated with drink-driving more effectively than the tyre safety control condition. This suggests that the risk-reward framing used in the Study 2 execution may have helped participants re-evaluate the perceived convenience of driving after drinking against the potential severity of the consequences.

This finding is also relevant to wider Safe System approaches. Increasing perceived risk may help legitimise and reinforce other road safety interventions, including police enforcement, roadside testing and legal sanctions. If drivers perceive drink-driving as genuinely risky, both in

terms of harm and detection, they may be more receptive to enforcement and more likely to view sanctions as relevant and justified. Campaigns that increase perceived risk may therefore have value not only as standalone educational interventions, but also as part of a wider system of deterrence, enforcement and social norm change.

It is also notable that the supplementary analyses found no evidence that the perceived risk effect varied according to prior drink-driving behaviour, previous campaign exposure, driving frequency or alcohol consumption frequency. This suggests that the films were not only relevant to one subgroup of participants. Instead, the pattern of findings was broadly consistent across different participant characteristics, including those who had and had not reported previous drink-driving behaviour.

### 4.3 Ceiling effects and the challenge of evaluating drink-driving campaigns

The absence of statistically significant effects on attitudes, intentions, perceived behavioural control, subjective norms and anticipated regret should be interpreted in the context of very high baseline scores. Participants entered the study with strongly anti-drink-driving beliefs, strong intentions not to drive after drinking and high perceived confidence in their ability to avoid doing so. This created limited scope for measurable improvement following a single exposure to a short campaign film.

This type of ceiling effect is a common challenge when evaluating interventions targeting behaviours that are already socially disapproved of, such as drink-driving. Many participants may already know that drink-driving is unacceptable, intend not to do it, and believe that important others would disapprove. In this context, the most meaningful campaign effects may not be found in broad attitudes or intentions, but in more specific and modifiable beliefs, such as perceived likelihood of being caught, perceived likelihood of harm, or the salience of consequences at the point of decision-making.

The findings therefore suggest that future evaluations of drink-driving campaigns should pay particular attention to more sensitive intermediate outcomes. Perceived risk may be especially useful because it can still vary even among audiences who already express strong anti-drink-driving attitudes. It may also be more closely aligned with the moments of decision-making targeted by the Gambling Tommy films, where individuals may not need to be convinced that drink-driving is wrong, but may need to be reminded that the risks are immediate, personal and not worth taking.

### 4.4 Engagement versus seriousness

The process evaluation highlighted an important tension between audience engagement and perceived seriousness. Participants generally responded positively to the Gambling Tommy executions (Studies 1 and 2), describing them as engaging, memorable and creative. Study 1 (Gambling Tommy Christmas execution) generated the highest engagement scores and the strongest likelihood of sharing, suggesting that the humorous gambling parody was effective in capturing attention and creating a film that participants could imagine sharing with others.

At the same time, participant feedback indicated that some viewers would have preferred the films to place greater emphasis on injury, loss of life, harm to others or more graphic real-world consequences. Similar feedback was evident for Study 3 (the existing THINK! drink-driving advertisement), where some participants felt that the animated execution reduced realism and

emotional impact. Several participants across the study conditions expressed a preference for campaigns that felt more serious, emotionally powerful or hard-hitting.

While these views are valuable, they should be interpreted alongside the wider evidence base on road safety communications. Research consistently demonstrates that audience preferences do not necessarily align with campaign effectiveness. Although participants often report wanting more graphic or emotionally intense messages, evidence suggests that highly fear-based approaches can lead to defensive responses, message avoidance, disengagement or perceptions that the message applies to other people rather than themselves<sup>5</sup>. In contrast, campaigns that successfully attract attention, encourage reflection and maintain engagement may be more effective in supporting behaviour change, particularly when audiences already recognise that the behaviour is socially unacceptable<sup>6</sup>.

This is particularly relevant in the context of drink-driving. Participants in the present study already held strongly anti-drink-driving attitudes, intentions and social norms prior to exposure. The challenge was therefore not persuading participants that drink-driving is wrong, but maintaining attention and making the risks feel personally relevant at the point of decision-making. The Gambling Tommy concept was specifically designed to achieve this by reframing drink-driving as an irrational gamble and encouraging viewers to actively consider the potential consequences of their actions.

The findings provide some support for this approach. The Gambling Tommy executions generated significantly higher engagement than the comparison films, while Study 2 also produced the strongest perceived risk outcomes. Although some participants expressed a preference for more serious messaging, there was little evidence that the more traditional execution outperformed the Gambling Tommy films on the behavioural determinants measured. This suggests that creative, engaging approaches may be capable of increasing risk salience without relying solely on fear or graphic consequence-based messaging.

Future campaign development may therefore benefit from retaining the distinctive Gambling Tommy framing while exploring opportunities to strengthen the realism and personal relevance of the consequences depicted. Rather than increasing the intensity of fear appeals, the evidence suggests that the most effective campaigns may be those that balance engagement, credibility and consequence salience in a way that encourages reflection rather than defensive rejection.

## 4.5 Interpreting the control condition findings

An interesting finding was that perceived risk increased across all four study conditions, including the tyre safety control film. One possible explanation is that exposure to any road safety message may prime broader risk awareness. Although the tyre safety film did not address drink-driving, it may have encouraged participants to think more generally about driving risk, responsibility and potential consequences. This may have influenced how participants responded to subsequent drink-driving risk questions.

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<sup>5</sup> Box, E. (2023). Empowering Young Drivers with Road Safety Education: Practical guidance emerging from the Pre-driver Theatre and Workshop Education Research (PdTWER). RAC Foundation: London. <https://www.racfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/Road-Safety-Education-report-Box-November-2023-1.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> Albarracín et al. (2024). Determinants of behaviour and their efficacy as targets of behavioural change interventions. *Nature Reviews Psychology* <https://doi.org/10.1038/s44159-024-00305-0>

This is a potentially useful insight. It suggests that safety-related messages may have some transferable effect on general risk salience, even when the specific topic differs. In practical terms, this raises the possibility that road safety campaigns addressing adjacent behaviours may contribute to a broader safety mindset. However, this interpretation should be treated cautiously because the study was not designed to test cross-domain priming effects.

The use of an active road safety control condition strengthened the ecological validity of the evaluation because participants in all conditions viewed a genuine safety-related film. However, it may also have made it harder to isolate the specific effects of the drink-driving campaigns. A true neutral control condition, unrelated to road safety, may have provided a clearer comparison for assessing whether changes in perceived risk were specifically attributable to drink-driving content. Future evaluations could consider including both an active road safety control and a neutral control to distinguish between campaign-specific effects and broader safety priming effects.

## 4.6 Study limitations

Several limitations should be considered when interpreting the findings. First, the evaluation measured immediate post-exposure responses. Although this design is appropriate for assessing short-term changes in behavioural determinants and message processing, it cannot determine whether the observed changes in perceived risk would persist over time or influence real-world behaviour.

Second, the outcome measures were self-reported. Participants may have provided socially desirable responses, particularly given the strong social disapproval associated with drink-driving. This may have contributed to the high baseline scores observed for attitudes, intentions and subjective norms.

Third, the films varied in length. The THINK! comparison film was substantially shorter than the Gambling Tommy executions, and the tyre safety control film was also shorter. This means that differences in engagement, recall or sharing intentions may partly reflect differences in exposure time as well as differences in creative content. The longer Gambling Tommy films may have provided more opportunity for narrative development, humour and consequence framing, while the shorter THINK! film may have been experienced differently because of its format.

Fourth, the active control condition addressed tyre safety rather than being neutral. While this was useful for comparing the Gambling Tommy films with another road safety message, the control film may have primed general safety awareness and therefore contributed to the observed increase in perceived risk. This should be considered when interpreting the finding that perceived risk increased across all conditions.

Finally, the study was conducted with male participants aged 18–35 who reported drinking or purchasing alcohol regularly. This was appropriate given the intended target audience of the campaign, but the findings may not generalise to women, older drivers, non-drinkers or other population groups. Despite these limitations, the evaluation provides useful evidence that the Gambling Tommy approach can engage the intended audience, communicate its core message clearly and increase perceptions of the risks associated with drink-driving. The findings suggest that future campaign development should focus on retaining the engaging and memorable creative concept while strengthening the seriousness, realism and emotional salience of the consequences presented.

## 5.0 Conclusions

The Gambling Tommy campaign executions successfully communicated their intended messages, generated high levels of message recall, and achieved strong engagement among participants. Participants clearly understood the central proposition that drink-driving represents a high-risk gamble with potentially serious legal, social, financial and personal consequences. Across all study conditions, recall of the core campaign messages was high, indicating that the films effectively communicated their intended behavioural propositions.

The strongest evidence of campaign impact was observed for perceived risk. Although participants already reported strongly anti-drink-driving attitudes, intentions, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control at baseline, perceived risk increased following exposure to all four films. After controlling for baseline differences, participants exposed to the Gambling Tommy Summer execution reported significantly higher perceived risk associated with drink driving, related to serious harm and police enforcement, than those exposed to the tyre safety control condition. This finding remained evident after controlling for prior drink-driving behaviour and alcohol consumption frequency, suggesting that the effect was not driven by differences in participant characteristics.

The process evaluation demonstrated that the Gambling Tommy approach was particularly successful at engaging audiences. The Christmas execution generated the highest engagement and sharing scores, while both Gambling Tommy films outperformed the control conditions on engagement. These findings suggest that the gambling metaphor provided an effective mechanism for capturing attention and encouraging participants to reflect on the risks associated with drink-driving. Importantly, the findings also indicate that highly engaging campaigns do not necessarily produce the strongest changes in behavioural outcomes, highlighting the value of evaluating both process and outcome measures. The findings suggest that creative, narrative-based approaches such as Gambling Tommy can engage audiences while increasing perceptions of risk associated with drink-driving. Given the important role that perceived risk potentially plays in supporting wider Safe System interventions, including enforcement, roadside testing and legal deterrence, increasing risk salience represents a promising mechanism for future drink-driving campaigns.

The findings also suggest that the Gambling Tommy approach compares favourably with more traditional drink-driving communications. Although the Gambling Tommy executions did not demonstrate significantly stronger effects than the existing THINK! advert on most behavioural determinants, they generated higher levels of engagement and sharing intentions while achieving similarly strong message recall. This is noteworthy given the contrasting creative approaches adopted by the campaigns. However, these comparisons should be interpreted cautiously, as the films differed substantially in duration, with the Gambling Tommy executions lasting approximately 90–106 seconds compared with 15 seconds for the THINK! advert.

Future campaign development should build on the strengths of the Gambling Tommy concept by retaining its distinctive and engaging creative approach while exploring opportunities to strengthen the realism and personal relevance of the consequences presented. The findings suggest that campaigns may be most effective when they balance attention-grabbing creative execution with credible and personally meaningful consequences that encourage reflection without provoking defensive rejection, as is often prompted by traditional fear and threat appeals.

Overall, the evaluation provides encouraging evidence that the Gambling Tommy approach can successfully engage its intended audience, communicate key drink-driving messages clearly, and increase perceptions of risk associated with drink-driving. The findings suggest that the concept could make a valuable contribution to wider Safe System efforts by increasing the salience of drink-driving risks while maintaining high levels of audience engagement.

# Annex A: Gambling Tommy Intervention Plans

## A.1 Summer campaign

### Aim of the intervention

To reduce instances of drink driving among young men by reframing drink driving as a risky and irrational “bet” that leads to severe personal and social losses, encouraging safer, alternative behaviours (e.g. using a taxi, planning ahead).

### Target audience

Young male drivers aged 20–29 who are regular social drinkers and likely to underestimate the risks of drink driving or overestimate their ability to drive safely after drinking.

### What they need to do differently

They need to:

- Decide not to drive after consuming alcohol.
- Plan their journey home *before* drinking (e.g. arrange a lift, taxi, or stay over).
- Reject peer pressure to drive after drinking.

### When they need to do this behaviour

- **Before** drinking (pre-commitment/planning stage).
- **Immediately after** drinking, when deciding how to get home.
- **During** social events when peers might encourage risky choices.

### Where they need to be to do it

- At social gatherings (e.g. BBQs, parties, pubs).
- In or near their car (moment of decision).
- In digital/social media environments where the advert will be viewed.

### How often they need to perform the behaviour

Every time they plan to drink alcohol and might otherwise consider driving home afterwards.

### With whom they need to perform the behaviour

- With friends or peers (who may influence decisions around drink driving).
- Alone, when making post-drinking travel decisions.

### What needs to change (Applying COM-B)

| COM-B component | What needs to change                                                                                                                                                       |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Capability      | Increase awareness of the real consequences of drink driving (legal, physical, emotional). Improve planning and decision-making skills regarding transport after drinking. |
| Opportunity     | Enhance access and perceived acceptability of alternatives (taxis, lifts, staying overnight). Encourage peer support for sober travel choices.                             |

|            |                                                                                                                                                             |
|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Motivation | Shift beliefs from “I’ll be fine” to “It’s not worth the risk.” Reframe the act of not driving as a smart, self-respecting, and socially endorsed decision. |
|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

### Intervention functions

- **Education:** Communicate risks and outcomes of drink driving clearly and vividly.
- **Persuasion:** Use emotional contrast (positive/negative tones) to evoke concern and self-reflection.
- **Modelling:** Show the protagonist making the right choice (calling a taxi).
- **Incentivisation:** Implicitly position non-driving as a “win” and drink driving as a “loss.”
- **Enablement:** Provide practical suggestions (call a taxi, plan ahead).

### Behaviour Change Techniques (BCTs)

- **Commitment (1.9):** Deliver a closing message that encourages viewers to make a pre-commitment to alternative transport before drinking, to reinforce personal responsibility and planning ahead as key protective actions.
- **Information about consequences (5.1):** Describe realistic and severe outcomes of drink driving including causing injury or death, imprisonment, loss of licence, and damage to career and relationships.
- **Salience of consequences (5.2):** Shifting the tone from bright, upbeat scenes to dark, tense imagery reinforces the seriousness of the potential outcomes, making the risks more emotionally impactful and memorable.
- **Anticipated regret (5.5):** Encourage the viewer to imagine the guilt and lifelong regret they would feel if they caused harm through drink driving to strengthen motivation to avoid the behaviour.
- **Framing/reframing (13.2):** Reframe drink driving behaviour as a reckless gamble (i.e. “betting” with your life and the lives of others) turning what some might perceive as a minor risk into a clearly irrational and dangerous act.
- **Social comparison (6.2):** Show the driver’s peers as supportive and responsible, so that choosing not to drink drive aligns with accepted social norms and peer approval.
- **Behavioural substitution (8.2):** Promote a safer, achievable alternative (e.g. calling a taxi) positioning it as the “smart bet” compared to the devastating consequences of drink driving.
- **Credible source (9.1):** Use the tone, setting, and a relatable scenario to lend authenticity and credibility, helping the audience trust the message and see themselves in the situation.

### Logic model for the intervention

#### Inputs:

- Creative concept
- Production funding
- Media placement

#### Activities:

Develop and distribute the advert across television, online platforms, and social media channels.

### **Outputs:**

Target audience is exposed to the campaign message about the dangers of drink driving and the benefits of choosing safer alternatives.

### **Outcomes:**

- **Short-term:** Increased awareness of the consequences of drink driving and stronger intentions not to drive after drinking.
- **Medium-term:** Greater planning and use of alternative transport options after drinking.
- **Long-term:** Reduction in drink driving incidents and related casualties.

### **Measures of success**

- Intentions to drive after drinking / plan alternative transport
- Perceived level of risk
- Knowledge of legal and personal consequences
- Recall of key campaign messages
- Emotional engagement/concern
- Behaviours: Planning alternative transport before drinking / reported drink driving

### **Finalised/filmed script**

#### **[EXT. HOUSE – DAY | SUMMER BBQ]**

*Friends in their mid-20s chat, laugh, clink bottles. Someone snaps a selfie.*

#### **FRIEND (O.S.)**

“Hi!”

#### **LEAD (mid-20s, smiling):**

“Hey... Oh, you shouldn’t have.”

*They cheer, take a selfie. The lead waves goodbye and heads to his car.*

#### **[INT. CAR – DRIVEWAY – CONTINUOUS]**

*The lead gets in to drive home. He reaches for the seatbelt.*

**SFX:** *Confetti pop. Slot-machine chimes.*

**LIGHTING:** *Shifts from bright/daylight to harsh, stylised neon.*

**GAMBLING TOMMY** *(suddenly in passenger seat; fast-talking, ad-parody tone)*

“Wooo, feeling lucky? Here’s your chance to win big and get home in ten minutes.”

(beat)

“Or you might hit someone and never get home, because they never get home. And the police? They’ll arrest you. And the judge? He’ll make prison your new home. Your family? They can come and visit... but only for ten minutes.”

(rolls on, breezy)

“But supercharge your bet by not having to walk back to your car in the morning.”

(darkens)

“Or you could cause a life-changing crash that leaves you seriously hurt. So all those big plans for the future? Maybe they don’t happen, at least not how you imagined.”

(back to patter)

“We’ve also got boosted odds on not having to order a taxi. I mean, they’re so pricey!”

(leans in)

“And even if you don’t crash, when you get caught it’ll still cost you big time: up to six months in custody, an unlimited fine, and you’ll lose your licence for at least a year.”

(pushing)

“And that’ll affect your job. What are you going to do for money? Ask your mates? They won’t want anything to do with you.”

(grins)

“Taxi seems like a good bet now, ay?”

#### **[EXT. HOUSE – DRIVEWAY – LATER]**

*The driver stands, leaning on the car, phone to ear, calling a taxi. He notices a piece of glitter on his clothes — a trace from Tommy’s arrival — and brushes it off, contemplative.*

#### **ON-SCREEN TEXT / VO:**

“Don’t bet on drink driving.”

## **A.2 Christmas campaign**

### **Aim of the intervention**

To reduce instances of drink driving among tradesmen in their late 20s to early 30s by reframing the decision to drive after drinking as an irrational, high-stakes gamble that threatens safety, employment, family life, and reputation. The intervention encourages the individual to pause, recognise risk, and choose a safe alternative (walking home, leaving the vehicle, or arranging transport).

### **Target audience**

Male drivers aged 28–35 working in trades or manual professions. This group typically:

- Sees after-work pub drinks as a normal extension of the working day
- May rely on instinct or “experience” to judge whether they are “fine to drive”
- May undervalue subtle impairment
- Is motivated by protecting their livelihood, family role, and social reputation

Unlike younger groups, they are less influenced by peer pressure and sometimes exposed to dismissive or cavalier peer norms.

### **What they need to do differently**

Instead of relying on instinct or habit, they need to:

- Pause and reassess the decision to drive after drinking
- Choose a safe alternative (walking, taxi, lift, or leaving the vehicle overnight)
- Recognise the real consequences, to their job, licence, family, and reputation
- Override unhelpful peer cues, e.g., colleagues encouraging “one more drink”

In this version of the campaign, the behavioural shift is internal: the driver must make an independent, responsible choice despite the social environment.

#### When they need to do this behaviour

- **After drinking**, at the critical moment alone in the vehicle deciding whether to drive
- **During after-work socialising**, when consumption may escalate past the intended limit
- **At the point of transition** from pub to the vehicle, when habit takes over

#### Where they need to be to do it

- **In pubs/bars during** informal after-work drinks
- **In or next to their van** when making the choice
- **On digital platforms** where the film is delivered, prompting reflection before similar situations occur

#### How often they need to perform the behaviour

- Every time they drink alcohol after work
- Every occasion when a “quick drive home” feels normal, convenient, or harmless

#### With whom they need to perform the behaviour

Although drinking takes place with colleagues, the critical behaviour is performed alone:

- Alone in the van when making the decision
- Independently of colleagues, whose influence may be neutral or negative
- Potentially with family in mind, as a source of motivation, not social presence

This campaign deliberately models autonomous responsible decision-making rather than peer-assisted safety.

#### What needs to change (Applying COM-B)

| COM-B component | What needs to change                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Capability      | Increase understanding of how any alcohol affects reaction times and driving ability. Clarify legal consequences (arrest, fines, loss of licence). Improve recognition that “I feel fine” is not a reliable indicator of fitness to drive.                                                                      |
| Opportunity     | Normalise the acceptability of choosing not to drive after drinking. Highlight that alternatives (walking or leaving the van overnight) are legitimate, respected, and often the safest option. Reduce perceived barriers (e.g., “I need the van early”, “Tools will be unsafe”).                               |
| Motivation      | Replace the belief that driving after a few drinks is manageable with the belief that it is a reckless, irrational gamble that could cost: job, van, tools, reputation, children’s trust, and freedom. Amplify identity-based motivations such as pride, professionalism, reliability, and being a good parent. |

## Intervention functions

- **Education:** Inform viewers about the legal, financial, and emotional consequences of drink driving.
- **Persuasion:** Use satire and tonal contrast to evoke discomfort and reflection about real-world risks.
- **Modelling:** Show the protagonist making a safe, independent choice, despite prior drinking.
- **Incentivisation:** Portray not driving as the “smart” decision — one that protects livelihood and family.
- **Enablement:** Encourage viewers to consider safer alternatives in the moment (walk, leave the van, taxi).

## Behaviour Change Techniques (BCTs)

- **Information about consequences (5.1):** Clear articulation of injury risk, arrest, job loss, tool loss, reputational harm, and family impact.
- **Salience of consequences (5.2):** Contrast between the upbeat pub scene and the darker “Gambling Tommy” sequence heightens emotional engagement.
- **Anticipated regret (5.5):** Imagining not getting home to his children or appearing in the news cultivates emotional discomfort and future-oriented thinking.
- **Framing/reframing (13.2):** Drink driving framed as a reckless gamble with “bets”, “offers”, and “odds”, highlighting its irrationality.
- **Behavioural substitution (8.2):** Walking home is presented as the immediate, achievable alternative.
- **Credible source (9.1):** Use of authentic setting, relatable working-class cues, and realistic social environment for credibility.
- **Identity associated with behaviour (13.1):** Implicit appeal to being a responsible father, reliable tradesman, and trustworthy adult.

## Logic Model for the intervention

### Inputs:

- Creative concept
- Production funding
- Media placement targeting working-age men

### Activities:

- Develop and distribute the advert on digital and social channels
- Target placements around pub culture, trade pages, sport content, and evening browsing time

### Outputs:

- Tradesmen view the ad and recognise drink driving as an irrational gamble
- Increased emotional salience around risks to job, family, van, and freedom

### Outcomes:

- **Short-term:** Improved awareness of consequences, heightened emotional recognition (“this could be me”), stronger instinct to pause and reassess after drinking

- **Medium-term:** More instances of choosing not to drive after drinking, greater acceptance of walking, leaving the van, or arranging a lift, shift from habitual “I’ll be fine” to reflective “Is this worth it?”
- **Long-term:** Fewer drink driving incidents among working-age men, stronger norms around not mixing alcohol and driving

### Measures of success

- Intentions not to drive after drinking (Strength of intentions to avoid driving after consuming alcohol)
- Attitudes towards drink driving (Degree to which drink driving is viewed as reckless, irresponsible, or not worth the risk)
- Perceived behavioural control (Confidence in ability to avoid driving after drinking and belief in ability to choose safer options when inconvenient)
- Perceived social norms (Perceptions of what responsible tradesmen typically do, beliefs about whether family or ‘people like me’ approve or disapprove of drink driving.
- Knowledge of legal, financial and personal consequences (penalties: arrest, fines, licence loss, job loss, injury risk and family impact)
- Perceived risk (Injury, arrest, licence loss, job loss, family impact)
- Anticipated regret (regret, guilt, shame after drink driving/being caught)
- Emotional engagement (How uncomfortable viewers felt imagining consequences shown in the advert, how emotionally effected by the risks described)
- Recall of the campaign and key messages (Likelihood of thinking about advert next time drink after work/ at the moment of future drink-driving decisions)
- Behavioural outcomes:
  - Self-reported decisions to avoid driving after drinking
  - Choosing safer alternatives (walking home, taxi, lift)
  - Leaving the van overnight
  - Post-campaign drink-driving crash and enforcement data (where available)

### Final script

[Opening scene: EXT. STREET – DAY. A quiet residential street.

Dan loads tools into the back of his work van. A toolbox drops with a loud CLANK.]

[WHIP PAN]

[INT. PUB – EVENING. The pub is decorated for Christmas: warm lights, garlands, a tree behind the bar. Dan meets two mates for after-work drinks. They are all still in their work gear.]

**DAN:** “It’s your round mate”

[WHIP PAN – A pint being poured. Quick cuts: Dan drinking. Dan missing darts board.]

**MATES (calling out):** “Whehey!”

[WHIP PAN – Dan drains his empty pint and sets the glass down.]

**DAN:** “See ya, lads.”

[His mates don’t say goodbye. One of his friends looks at him holding up an empty beet glass:]

**MATE:** “It’s your round!”

**DAN:** “Go on then”

[Dan puts car keys back on table.]

[WHIP PAN – Three pints being poured. Dan and his mates drink together.]

[EXT. STREET – NIGHT. Dan unlocks his van. He climbs inside.]

[INT. VAN – NIGHT. He pauses, hesitating momentarily then nods his head and reaches for his seatbelt. Just as the buckle is about to click—]

BANG!

[An explosion of gold glitter fills the van. The lighting shifts to harsh neon. GAMBLING TOMMY appears suddenly in the passenger seat.]

### **BET ONE**

**GAMBLING TOMMY:**

“Woooo! Feeling lucky? Here’s your chance to win big and have your van on the driveway, bright and early for tomorrow’s football game.”

[Dan continues to look baffled and surprised]

**GAMBLING TOMMY** (continuing):

“Or you don’t make it to football... because you lose control and now your van’s a write-off.”

[Gambling Tommy is now dressed as a football referee. He blows a whistle and flashes a red card.]

**GAMBLING TOMMY** (Referee Tommy):

“Red card. Drunk driver on the pitch.”

[Dan smiles slightly and shakes his head]

[Tommy switches back to his normal clothes.]

### **BET TWO**

**GAMBLING TOMMY** (leaning in):

“BUT... multiply your bet by not having to leave your expensive tools in the van overnight.”

**GAMBLING TOMMY** (continuing):

“OR say goodbye to those tools, goodbye to your job, goodbye to your reputation. You don’t get to keep those if you hit someone.”

[Dan looks concerned and thoughtful]

[Tommy is now a reporter, holding a dictaphone up to Dan.]

**GAMBLING TOMMY** (Reporter Tommy):

“Any comments for tomorrow’s paper? You’re gonna be front-page news.”

[Dan looks terrified. Waving his hand to indicate Tommy to stop. Tommy switches back again.]

## **BET THREE**

### **GAMBLING TOMMY:**

“Oh wait, wait - new offer just in. Supercharge your bet and get home just in time to tuck the kids in.”

[Dan smile - clearly wants this.]

### **GAMBLING TOMMY** (darkening):

“OR the only bed you see tonight is inside a cell because you’ve failed a roadside breath test.”

[Dan looks concerned]

[Tommy is now a police officer, holding out a breathalyser.]

### **GAMBLING TOMMY** (Officer Tommy):

“Blow into here please sir.”

[Tommy switches back to his usual appearance.]

### **GAMBLING TOMMY:**

“How are you going to explain to your kids why Dad didn’t come home last night?”

[Dan has head in his hands]

### **GAMBLING TOMMY** (softening, final push):

“Half-hour walk home in the cold doesn’t sound so bad, right? You can probably get it done in twenty.”

[EXT. STREET – NIGHT. Dan steps out of the van and locks it with a BLEEP. Carrying his toolbox, he walks off into the cold night.]

[Final tagline – Don’t bet on drink driving – stay safe this Christmas]

[END]

## Annex B: Advertising standards review and safeguards

This note outlines how the *Gambling Tommy: Don't Bet on Drink Driving* campaign has been assessed against the UK Advertising Codes. Although the campaign is a public-safety initiative, the ASA regulates communications based on their placement and promotional function, not whether a product is sold. To ensure best practice, we proactively reviewed the work against relevant ASA and CAP/BCAP standards.

In doing so, we paid particular attention to areas most relevant to public-safety advertising such as fear and distress, social responsibility, and the portrayal of alcohol and gambling, to ensure the campaign is delivered responsibly and avoids any areas of concern.

### Codes considered

The campaign was reviewed against both the [CAP Code \(non-broadcast\)](#) and the [BCAP Code \(broadcast\)](#) to ensure compliance across all potential placements. The CAP Code applies to non-broadcast materials such as paid social content, YouTube pre-roll, digital display, outdoor, press, cinema advertising, and any promotional posts published on owned channels. The BCAP Code applies to all broadcast executions, including television advertising, subject to Clearcast approval, and radio advertising, which requires Radiocentre clearance.

### Key areas reviewed

This section summarises the key aspects of the campaign reviewed against the CAP and BCAP Codes. The focus was on areas most relevant to public-safety advertising, including the portrayal of alcohol, use of humour and fear, driving behaviour, gambling imagery, and the role of peers.

### Portrayal of alcohol

Under [CAP Code 18.7](#), advertising must not imply that alcohol enhances confidence, success, or attractiveness. In this campaign, alcohol is incidental to the social environment rather than the source of enjoyment, confidence, or group bonding. The scenes portray moderate drinking without glamour or suggestion that alcohol improves social standing or performance. Based on this review, the portrayal of alcohol meets the relevant CAP guidelines and raises no concerns.

### Fear and distress

[CAP Code 4.2](#) permits fear-based messaging when it is justified and proportionate, provided it is not excessively distressing. The films use tonal shifts and implication to create reflection, not shock. There is no graphic imagery, no depiction of injury, and no traumatising content. All references to consequences are verbal or implied, keeping the emotional impact appropriate for a public-safety message. The approach aligns well with ASA expectations for proportionate and responsible use of fear.

### Use of gambling metaphors

[CAP Codes 16.1](#), [16.3](#), and [18.4](#) govern the use of gambling-related content, particularly where alcohol also appears. The “Gambling Tommy” character functions as an exaggerated parody, clearly positioned as satire. The metaphor is used to highlight recklessness rather than to promote or glorify gambling. Risk-taking is consistently framed as the losing choice. This execution sits comfortably within the guidelines for responsible handling of gambling imagery.

## **Depiction of driving after drinking**

[CAP Code 19.2](#) states that ads must not condone or encourage unsafe or illegal driving behaviour. In all films, vehicles remain stationary and no illegal action is ever shown. The moment of risk is portrayed only as a consideration, which is then firmly rejected by the character. Drink driving is clearly presented as irrational, unsafe, and socially unacceptable. This treatment is in line with CAP expectations for responsible handling of driving behaviours.

## **Peer influence and responsibility**

Under [CAP Codes 1.3](#) and [4.1](#), advertising must not pressure individuals into unsafe or irresponsible behaviour. In the scripts where peers appear, their influence reflects real-world social dynamics but is not depicted as positive or desirable. The creative consistently shows characters making responsible, autonomous choices despite any background peer pressure. This positioning meets the relevant guidance and presents peer influence sensitively and responsibly.

## **Overall campaign position**

Overall, the campaign series shows strong alignment with the principles set out in the CAP and BCAP Codes. It maintains a clear and socially responsible anti-drink-driving message throughout, with alcohol presented only as a background element rather than something glamorous or aspirational. The gambling motif is used solely as a parody device to expose risk-taking and is never portrayed as attractive or rewarding. The tone balances humour and tension in a way that supports the public-safety purpose without creating excessive distress, and any consideration of driving after drinking is portrayed as irrational and ultimately rejected. With a few straightforward safeguards in place, the campaign is well-positioned for both broadcast and digital environments.

## **Recommended safeguards**

To ensure clarity, appropriateness, and consistency across all placements, a small number of practical safeguards are advised. Age targeting should be applied across all digital and social media activations, restricting placements to audiences aged 18 and over and avoiding youth-skewed environments unless strong targeting controls are in place.

## **Summary**

All versions of the Gambling Tommy campaign demonstrate responsible creative judgement and close attention to the expectations of the ASA, CAP, and BCAP Codes. The work uses humour carefully, avoids glamorising alcohol consumption, and consistently positions drink driving as unacceptable. It models the safe choice as the only rational outcome and steers clear of any content that could be distressing, misleading, or harmful. This review reflects the consideration given to developing a campaign that is socially responsible, clearly messaged, and appropriate for public-safety communication.

## Annex C: Consent Form - Views and reactions to short videos

Thank you for your interest in this research.

In this study, you will be asked to complete a short questionnaire, watch a short video, and answer some additional questions. The study will take approximately 6 minutes to complete.

The aim of the research is to understand how people respond to different types of video content. The findings may be used to inform future communication and education campaigns.

Your participation is voluntary. Any information you provide will be treated confidentially and no personally identifiable information will be included in any reports arising from the study.

Co-Pilot Group Limited is responsible for processing the information collected through this survey in accordance with UK GDPR.

By selecting "I agree" below, you confirm that:

- You are aged 18 years or over.
- You have read and understood the information provided above.
- You agree to take part on this study.

If you give your consent to take part please click 'I agree' below.

- ☐ I agree
- ☐ I do not agree

## Annex D: Survey Questions

Higher scores, safer responses

| T1 & T2          |                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Item             | Question                                                                                                                     | Measure                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Q1_Driving_FREQ  | How often do you drive a car or van?                                                                                         | Every day or almost every day, 3-5 days a week, 1-2 days a week, Less than once a week, never                                                                                                          |
| Q2_ALCO_FREQ     | How often do you drink alcohol?                                                                                              | Almost every day, Five or six days a week, Three or four days a week, Once or twice a week, Once or twice a month, Once every couple of months, Once or twice a year, Not at all in the last 12 months |
| Q3_PRIOR_BEH     | In the past 12 months, how often have you driven after drinking alcohol when you were unsure whether you were safe to drive? | Never, once, 2-3 times, 4-5 times, 6 or more times, Prefer not to say                                                                                                                                  |
| Q4_ALCO_ATT_1    | Driving after drinking is not worth the risk                                                                                 | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7)                                                                                                                                                             |
| Q5_ALCO_ATT_2    | It is acceptable to drive after a few drinks +                                                                               | Strongly disagree (7) – Strongly agree (1)                                                                                                                                                             |
| Q6_ALCO_INT_1    | If I was unsure whether I was safe to drive after drinking, I would choose not to drive                                      | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7)                                                                                                                                                             |
| Q7_ALCO_INT_2    | If I had been drinking alcohol, I would plan to use another way home rather than drive.                                      | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7)                                                                                                                                                             |
| Q8_ALCO_PBC_1    | I could avoid driving after drinking even if it was inconvenient                                                             | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7)                                                                                                                                                             |
| Q9_ALCO_PBC_2    | I could arrange another way home after drinking                                                                              | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7)                                                                                                                                                             |
| Q10_ALCO_SNORM_1 | People important to me would disapprove of drink driving                                                                     | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7)                                                                                                                                                             |
| Q11_ALCO_SNORM_2 | The people whose opinions I value would not approve of me driving after drinking.                                            | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7)                                                                                                                                                             |
| Q12_PRISK_1      | If you drove after drinking alcohol, how likely to do you think it is that you would seriously harm someone?                 | Very unlikely (1) – Very likely (7)                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Q13_PRISK_2      | If you drove after drinking alcohol, how likely do you think it is that you would be caught by the police?                   | Very unlikely (1) – Very likely (7)                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Q14_REGRET_1     | If I drove after drinking, I would worry about what could go wrong                                                           | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7)                                                                                                                                                             |

| Item                      | Question                                                                                                     | Measure                                    |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Q15_REGRET_2              | If I drove after drinking, I would later regret taking the risk                                              | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |
| Q16_CAMPAIGN_EXP<br>OSURE | In the past 12 months, have you seen or heard any drink-driving campaigns?                                   | No, Yes, Not sure                          |
| <b>FILM</b>               |                                                                                                              |                                            |
| Q17_ALCO_ATT_1            | Driving after drinking is not worth the risk                                                                 | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |
| Q18_ALCO_ATT_2            | It is acceptable to drive after a few drinks +                                                               | Strongly disagree (7) – Strongly agree (1) |
| Q19_ALCO_INT_1            | If I was unsure whether I was safe to drive after drinking, I would choose not to drive                      | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |
| Q20_ALCO_INT_2            | If I had been drinking alcohol, I would plan to use another way home rather than drive.                      | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |
| Q21_ALCO_PBC_1            | I could avoid driving after drinking even if it was inconvenient                                             | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |
| Q22_ALCO_PBC_2            | I could arrange another way home after drinking                                                              | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |
| Q23_ALCO_SNORM_1          | People important to me would disapprove of drink driving                                                     | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |
| Q24_ALCO_SNORM_2          | The people whose opinions I value would not approve of me driving after drinking.                            | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |
| Q25_PRISK_1               | If you drove after drinking alcohol, how likely to do you think it is that you would seriously harm someone? | Very unlikely (1) – Very likely (7)        |
| Q26_PRISK_2               | If you drove after drinking alcohol, how likely do you think it is that you would be caught by the police?   | Very unlikely (1) – Very likely (7)        |
| Q27_REGRET_1              | If I drove after drinking, I would worry about what could go wrong                                           | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |
| Q28_REGRET_2              | If I drove after drinking, I would later regret taking the risk                                              | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |
| Q29_FILM_WATCH            | Did you watch the full video?                                                                                | Yes/No                                     |
| Q30_RECALL                | What do you think was the main message of the video?                                                         | Free text                                  |
| Q31_COG_1                 | To what extent do you agree or disagree that the video message was credible?                                 | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |
| Q32_COG_2                 | To what extent do you agree or disagree that the video was useful?                                           | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |

| Item         | Question                                                                                                 | Measure                                    |
|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Q33_COG_3    | To what extent do you agree or disagree that the message of the video was important?                     | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |
| Q34_ENGAGE_1 | To what extent do you agree or disagree that the video held your attention?                              | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |
| Q35_ENGAGE_2 | To what extent do you agree or disagree that the video was memorable?                                    | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |
| Q36_ENGAGE_3 | To what extent do you agree or disagree that the video made the consequences of drink driving feel real? | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |
| Q37_SHARE    | I would share this video with friends or family.                                                         | Strongly disagree (1) – Strongly agree (7) |
| Q38_COMMENT  | If you have any comments or suggestions about the video, please provide them below.                      | Free text                                  |

## Annex E: Outcome evaluation: Scale construction and reliability

### E.1 Internal consistency reliability

Internal consistency reliability was assessed using Cronbach's alpha to determine whether items could be combined into composite scales.

**Table E1. Reliability coefficients for behavioural determinant measures**

| Construct                     | T1 Cronbach's Alpha | T2 Cronbach's Alpha | Interpretation         |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Attitude                      | .449                | .356                | Poor                   |
| Intention                     | .515                | .683                | Poor to questionable   |
| Perceived Behavioural Control | .884                | .856                | Excellent              |
| Subjective Norms              | .797                | .934                | Good to excellent      |
| Perceived Risk                | .770                | .778                | Acceptable             |
| Anticipated Regret            | .665                | .742                | Moderate to acceptable |

### E.2 Scale construction

Based on the reliability analyses, composite scale scores were created for:

- Perceived Behavioural Control (PBC)
- Subjective Norms (SNORM)
- Perceived Risk (PRISK)
- Anticipated Regret (REGRET)

Scale scores were calculated by averaging the constituent items, producing scores on the original seven-point response scale.

Attitude and Intention measures were not combined into composite scales because the items demonstrated insufficient internal consistency. Instead, each item was analysed separately to preserve the integrity of the measurement and avoid combining conceptually distinct constructs.

### E.3 Item-total statistics

For all composite scales retained for analysis, corrected item-total correlations exceeded acceptable thresholds and removal of individual items would not have materially improved reliability. The final scales therefore retained all constituent items.

## Annex F: Outcome evaluation: Descriptive Statistics

**Table F1: Mean Attitude 1 scores before and after exposure by study condition**

| Study | T1 Attitude 1 Mean (SD) | T2 Attitude 1 Mean (SD) |
|-------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1     | 6.89 (0.32)             | 6.79 (0.78)             |
| 2     | 6.61 (0.94)             | 6.67 (0.85)             |
| 3     | 6.64 (0.79)             | 6.72 (0.51)             |
| 4     | 6.61 (1.03)             | 6.71 (0.67)             |

**Table F2: Mean Attitude 2 scores before and after exposure by study condition**

| Study | T1 Attitude 2 Mean (SD) | T2 Attitude 2 Mean (SD) |
|-------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1     | 6.06 (1.33)             | 6.19 (1.30)             |
| 2     | 5.78 (1.40)             | 6.13 (1.34)             |
| 3     | 5.59 (1.48)             | 5.99 (1.33)             |
| 4     | 5.88 (1.42)             | 5.77 (1.59)             |

**Table F3: Mean Intention 1 scores before and after exposure by study condition**

| Study | T1 Intention 1 Mean (SD) | T2 Intention 1 Mean (SD) |
|-------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1     | 6.63 (1.14)              | 6.77 (0.80)              |
| 2     | 6.30 (1.22)              | 6.67 (0.61)              |
| 3     | 6.51 (0.68)              | 6.51 (0.96)              |
| 4     | 6.42 (1.25)              | 6.71 (0.55)              |

**Table F4: Mean Intention 2 scores before and after exposure by study condition**

| Study | T1 Intention 2 Mean (SD) | T2 Intention 2 Mean (SD) |
|-------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1     | 6.76 (0.71)              | 6.87 (0.34)              |
| 2     | 6.59 (0.73)              | 6.72 (0.59)              |
| 3     | 6.65 (0.66)              | 6.67 (0.56)              |
| 4     | 6.52 (1.16)              | 6.68 (0.58)              |

**Table F5: Mean Perceived Behavioural Control scores before and after exposure by study condition**

| Study | T1 PBC Mean (SD) | T2 PBC Mean (SD) |
|-------|------------------|------------------|
| 1     | 6.74 (0.58)      | 6.81 (0.41)      |
| 2     | 6.44 (0.92)      | 6.68 (0.59)      |
| 3     | 6.50 (0.60)      | 6.60 (0.60)      |
| 4     | 6.57 (0.74)      | 6.64 (0.63)      |

**Table F6: Mean Subjective Norm scores before and after exposure by study condition**

| Study | T1 Subjective Norm Mean (SD) | T2 Subjective Norm Mean (SD) |
|-------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1     | 6.66 (0.87)                  | 6.72 (0.81)                  |
| 2     | 6.51 (0.98)                  | 6.64 (0.59)                  |
| 3     | 6.67 (0.61)                  | 6.79 (0.45)                  |
| 4     | 6.78 (0.52)                  | 6.72 (0.80)                  |

**Table F7: Mean Anticipated Regret scores before and after exposure by study condition**

| Study | T1 Regret Mean (SD) | T2 Regret Mean (SD) |
|-------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1     | 6.51 (0.77)         | 6.61 (0.80)         |
| 2     | 6.25 (0.94)         | 6.58 (0.63)         |
| 3     | 6.48 (0.79)         | 6.55 (0.72)         |
| 4     | 6.34 (1.15)         | 6.46 (0.93)         |

**Table F8: Mean perceived risk scores before and after exposure by study condition**

| Study | T1 Perceived Risk Mean (SD) | T2 Perceived Risk Mean (SD) |
|-------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1     | 5.06 (1.34)                 | 5.32 (1.34)                 |
| 2     | 4.70 (1.25)                 | 5.15 (1.29)                 |
| 3     | 4.80 (1.28)                 | 4.99 (1.19)                 |
| 4     | 5.06 (1.18)                 | 5.15 (1.25)                 |

## Annex G: Outcome evaluation: ANCOVA Results

**Table G1: Summary of ANCOVA results**

| Outcome                       | F(3,272) | p    | Adjusted Means (S1 / S2 / S3 / S4) | Significant Pairwise Comparisons |
|-------------------------------|----------|------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Attitude 1                    | 0.08     | .970 | 6.73 / 6.69 / 6.74 / 6.73          | None                             |
| Attitude 2                    | 2.49     | .060 | 6.04 / 6.16 / 6.14 / 5.73          | None                             |
| Intention 1                   | 1.90     | .129 | 6.72 / 6.71 / 6.50 / 6.72          | None                             |
| Intention 2                   | 1.71     | .166 | 6.83 / 6.74 / 6.66 / 6.72          | None                             |
| Perceived Behavioural Control | 1.44     | .231 | 6.71 / 6.75 / 6.64 / 6.64          | None                             |
| Subjective Norms              | 0.76     | .519 | 6.72 / 6.73 / 6.78 / 6.65          | None                             |
| Anticipated Regret            | 2.22     | .086 | 6.54 / 6.68 / 6.50 / 6.49          | None                             |
| Perceived Risk                | 3.68     | .013 | 5.18 / 5.33 / 5.08 / 5.02          | Study 2 > Study 4 (p = .013)     |

Perceived Risk was the only outcome measure for which statistically significant differences between study conditions were observed after controlling for baseline scores. Participants exposed to the Study 2 Gambling Tommy execution reported significantly higher perceived risk than participants exposed to the Study 4 control condition (mean difference = 0.32,  $p = .013$ ). No statistically significant differences were observed between study conditions for attitudes, intentions, perceived behavioural control, subjective norms or anticipated regret.

## Annex H: Outcome evaluation: Supplementary analyses

Additional analyses were conducted to explore whether the observed effects on perceived risk varied according to participants' prior drink-driving behaviour, previous exposure to drink-driving campaigns, or driving frequency. These analyses were conducted using ANCOVA models incorporating the relevant variable and interaction terms. The results are summarised below.

### H.1 Prior drink-driving behaviour

Participants were classified according to whether or not they had driven after drinking alcohol when unsure whether they were safe to drive during the previous 12 months.

**Table H1: ANCOVA results controlling for prior drink-driving behaviour**

| Effect                              | F    | p    | Interpretation                                                                                  |
|-------------------------------------|------|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Prior drink-driving behaviour       | 0.49 | .484 | No evidence that perceived risk differed according to prior drink-driving behaviour             |
| Study × Prior behaviour interaction | 1.11 | .344 | No evidence that the effectiveness of the films differed according to prior behaviour           |
| Study condition (adjusted model)    | 2.79 | .041 | Significant differences between study conditions remained after controlling for prior behaviour |

Bonferroni-adjusted pairwise comparisons indicated that participants exposed to Study 2 reported significantly higher perceived risk than participants exposed to Study 4 ( $p = .033$ ). No other pairwise differences were statistically significant.

## H.2 Previous campaign exposure

An additional analysis examined whether previous exposure to drink-driving campaigns influenced perceived risk outcomes.

**Table H2: ANCOVA results controlling for previous campaign exposure**

| Effect                                | F    | p    | Interpretation                                                                        |
|---------------------------------------|------|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Previous campaign exposure            | 0.41 | .667 | No evidence that perceived risk differed according to previous campaign exposure      |
| Study × Campaign exposure interaction | 0.28 | .945 | No evidence that campaign exposure influenced the relative effectiveness of the films |
| Study condition (adjusted model)      | 2.32 | .076 | Differences between study conditions were no longer statistically significant         |

These findings suggest that previous exposure to drink-driving campaigns did not influence perceived risk outcomes and did not alter the relative effectiveness of the different study conditions.

## H.3 Driving frequency

An additional analysis examined whether perceived risk outcomes varied according to participants' driving frequency.

**Table H3: ANCOVA results controlling for driving frequency**

| Effect                                | F    | p    | Interpretation                                                                                            |
|---------------------------------------|------|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Driving frequency                     | 0.16 | .856 | No evidence that perceived risk differed according to driving frequency                                   |
| Study × Driving frequency interaction | 0.30 | .935 | No evidence that the effectiveness of the films differed according to driving frequency                   |
| Study condition (adjusted model)      | 1.83 | .143 | No statistically significant differences between study conditions after controlling for driving frequency |

These findings suggest that driving frequency did not influence perceived risk outcomes and did not moderate the effectiveness of the Gambling Tommy executions.

## H.4 Alcohol consumption frequency

An additional analysis examined whether perceived risk outcomes varied according to participants' alcohol consumption frequency.

**Table H.4: ANCOVA results controlling for alcohol consumption frequency**

| Effect                                            | F    | p    | Interpretation                                                                                                |
|---------------------------------------------------|------|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Alcohol consumption frequency                     | 0.41 | .743 | No evidence that perceived risk differed according to alcohol consumption frequency                           |
| Study × Alcohol consumption frequency interaction | 1.00 | .443 | No evidence that the effectiveness of the films differed according to alcohol consumption frequency           |
| Study condition (adjusted model)                  | 3.11 | .027 | Significant differences between study conditions remained after controlling for alcohol consumption frequency |

Bonferroni-adjusted pairwise comparisons were not examined further because the alcohol consumption frequency main effect and interaction effect were not statistically significant. The findings indicate that alcohol consumption frequency did not influence perceived risk outcomes and did not moderate the effectiveness of the Gambling Tommy executions.

Across all supplementary analyses, there was no evidence that prior drink-driving behaviour, previous campaign exposure, driving frequency or alcohol consumption frequency moderated the effectiveness of the Gambling Tommy films. The pattern of findings was therefore broadly consistent across participant groups, suggesting that the observed effects were not driven by differences in participant characteristics, previous campaign exposure or drinking behaviour. Importantly, the significant advantage of Study 2 over Study 4 remained evident when controlling for prior drink-driving behaviour and alcohol consumption frequency, providing additional confidence that the perceived risk findings reflect genuine differences between the campaign executions rather than underlying differences between participants.

# Annex I: Process evaluation: Statistical results

## I.1 Reliability statistics

Internal consistency reliability was assessed for the cognitive processing and engagement measures to determine whether individual items could be combined into composite scales.

**Table I.1: Reliability statistics for process evaluation measures**

| Construct            | Number of items | Cronbach's Alpha | Interpretation |
|----------------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|
| Cognitive Processing | 3               | .730             | Acceptable     |
| Engagement           | 3               | .719             | Acceptable     |

Both scales demonstrated acceptable internal consistency and were therefore analysed as composite mean scores.

## I.2 Descriptive statistics

**Table I.2: Cognitive processing scores by study condition**

| Study | N  | Mean | SD   |
|-------|----|------|------|
| 1     | 70 | 6.40 | 0.71 |
| 2     | 69 | 6.24 | 0.88 |
| 3     | 69 | 6.09 | 0.87 |
| 4     | 69 | 6.13 | 0.90 |

**Table I.3: Engagement scores by study condition**

| Study | N  | Mean | SD   |
|-------|----|------|------|
| 1     | 70 | 6.17 | 0.96 |
| 2     | 69 | 5.93 | 1.13 |
| 3     | 69 | 5.48 | 1.36 |
| 4     | 69 | 4.72 | 1.36 |

**Table I.4: Likelihood of sharing scores by study condition**

| Study | N  | Mean | SD   |
|-------|----|------|------|
| 1     | 70 | 5.33 | 1.67 |
| 2     | 69 | 4.96 | 1.49 |
| 3     | 69 | 4.33 | 1.94 |
| 4     | 69 | 4.54 | 1.75 |

## I.3 Summary of statistical analyses

**Table I.5: Summary of process evaluation statistical tests**

| Measure               | Levene's Test (p) | F Statistic      | p Value | Effect Size ( $\eta^2$ ) | Interpretation                                      |
|-----------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Cognitive Processing  | .178              | F(3,273) = 1.90  | .130    | .020                     | No significant differences between study conditions |
| Engagement            | .043              | F(3,273) = 19.26 | < .001  | .175                     | Significant differences between study conditions    |
| Likelihood of Sharing | .009              | F(3,273) = 4.63  | .004    | .048                     | Significant differences between study conditions    |

## I.4 Post hoc comparisons

### Cognitive processing

No statistically significant differences in cognitive processing were observed between study conditions,  $F(3,273) = 1.90$ ,  $p = .130$ . Consequently, no further pairwise comparisons were interpreted.

### Engagement

Bonferroni-adjusted post hoc comparisons identified several statistically significant differences between study conditions.

**Table I.6: Engagement post hoc comparisons**

| Comparison         | Mean Difference | p      | Significant? |
|--------------------|-----------------|--------|--------------|
| Study 1 vs Study 2 | 0.23            | 1.000  | No           |
| Study 1 vs Study 3 | 0.69            | .006   | Yes          |
| Study 1 vs Study 4 | 1.45            | < .001 | Yes          |
| Study 2 vs Study 3 | 0.45            | .172   | No           |
| Study 2 vs Study 4 | 1.22            | < .001 | Yes          |
| Study 3 vs Study 4 | 0.76            | .002   | Yes          |

Participants exposed to Study 1 reported significantly higher engagement than participants exposed to Studies 3 and 4. Participants exposed to Study 2 also reported significantly higher engagement than participants exposed to Study 4. In addition, participants exposed to Study 3 reported significantly higher engagement than those exposed to Study 4. These findings indicate that the Gambling Tommy executions generated greater audience engagement than the tyre safety control film, with Study 1 producing the highest levels of engagement overall.

### Likelihood of sharing

Bonferroni-adjusted post hoc comparisons indicated that only Study 1 differed significantly from the control conditions.

**Table I.7: Likelihood of sharing post hoc comparisons**

| Comparison         | Mean Difference | p     | Significant? |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------|--------------|
| Study 1 vs Study 2 | 0.37            | 1.000 | No           |
| Study 1 vs Study 3 | 1.00            | .004  | Yes          |
| Study 1 vs Study 4 | 0.79            | .042  | Yes          |
| Study 2 vs Study 3 | 0.62            | .205  | No           |
| Study 2 vs Study 4 | 0.42            | .913  | No           |
| Study 3 vs Study 4 | -0.20           | 1.000 | No           |

Participants exposed to Study 1 reported a significantly greater likelihood of sharing the film than participants exposed to either control condition (Studies 3 and 4). No other pairwise differences were statistically significant. These findings suggest that Study 1 had the strongest potential for voluntary sharing and wider dissemination amongst participants.