An investigation of the impact of retail distribution on tobacco purchase and smoking, and on high-kilojoule food purchases

Report prepared for the Cancer Council NSW

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6/1/2012

This research was funded by the Cancer Council of NSW

Lindie Clark, Ross MacKenzie (Macquarie University), Kristina Jackson (Brown University) and Janet Hoek (University of Otago) contributed to the design of the study, and may be involved in future related research. However since the funding for this study was provided to the University of Western Sydney, this component of the research was conducted and analysed by Suzan Burton and Daniela Spanjaard.
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Executive Summary

This report summarises the results of a pilot study designed to investigate environmental, particularly retail, influences on cigarette purchase and smoking, and for overweight subjects trying to lose weight, environmental influences on purchase and consumption of high kilojoule foods (HKF).

The study included three stages of data collection: 1) in-depth interviews with 36 subjects, including quitters, smokers, and overweight and obese subjects trying to lose weight 2) collection of audio recordings and photos from 35 subjects over a four day period, recording when and why they were tempted to buy tobacco and/or smoke, and/or for individuals trying to lose weight, purchase and consume HKF and 3) follow up interviews with 18 subjects, presenting general and specific results to subjects to test the researchers’ interpretation of the data with subjects.

Consistent with previous research, and unsurprisingly, smokers recorded that they were more likely to smoke when stressed, bored, when they were drinking and/or with other smokers. The strength of the association between smoking and alcohol was, however unexpected: almost without exception, subjects reported 1) that they smoked more when drinking alcohol and 2) that pictures showing alcohol or bars made them think of smoking. Bars and pubs were also mentioned as locations where subjects smoked when more then they intended, and as the location where attempting quitters were more likely to lapse, and/or which would have to be avoided in order to successfully quit smoking. The presence of designated smoking areas in licensed premises appears to provide, as one subject described it, an ‘invitation’ to smoke, and may reflect the public area where non-smokers are most likely to be exposed to any significant level of second hand smoke. The strength of the association between consumption of alcohol and smoking suggests that licensed premises (and to a lesser extent cafés and restaurants) play an important, and apparently unique role, in normalising and encouraging smoking.

The role of licensed premises in promoting smoking is reinforced by the finding that the vast majority of subjects didn’t smoke inside at home, or smoke in their cars, and make an effort not to smoke when non-smokers are around. The definition of a smoking area in current NSW legislation as being less than 75% enclosed thus creates smoking areas which are substantially more enclosed than where smokers themselves choose to smoke at home.

While an association between alcohol and smoking is strongly established in the literature, the results suggest that with increasing restrictions on smoking, licensed premises (e.g. bars, pubs and restaurants with smoking areas) provide an environment where smoking is normalised and thus encouraged, and where the presence of other smokers, alcohol, and sometimes the ability to buy cigarettes, significantly increase the probability of smoking.

The results also show evidence that the removal of point-of-sale display is not sufficient to remove retail prompts for smoking. Subjects reported that cues such as tobacco cupboards, a tobacco price list, a ‘Smoking kills – Call the Quit Line’ sign and the sight of tobacco retailers (especially tobacconists and liquor stores) could encourage them to buy cigarettes and/or provide a trigger for smoking.
There was even stronger evidence of the importance of retail triggers on the purchase and consumption of HKF; subjects reported that the sight of fast food stores, and/or smell of HKF could trigger an urge to purchase and consume such foods.

Food subjects also reported being particularly tempted to buy and consume HKF in the presence of others, due to perceived pressure to comply with a group’s social expectations. The data suggest that retail and other environmental cues outside the home led to greater temptation and tendency to consume HKF than inside the home.

The food data also showed extensive evidence of food subjects attempting to make ‘healthier’ (usually lower kilojoule) choices when outside the home, though sometimes with apparently limited knowledge (e.g. foods such as banana bread and muffins) were repeatedly mentioned as perceived healthier choices.

While few subjects recalled seeing kilojoule displays in the Stage 1 or Stage 2 data, most subjects supported such displays, suggesting that kilojoule information would help them make informed choices about healthier and/or lower kilojoule foods. There was a marked increase in mention of kilojoule displays in the Stage 3 re-interviews, with many subjects having noticed kilojoule displays, most subjects strongly supporting these displays, and several subjects reporting having changed their purchases due to such displays. The marked increase in awareness of, and use of, such displays in a relatively short time suggests that kilojoule displays will increasingly be used to influence food choices by individuals attempting to control their weight.

Finally, as a pilot for further data collection, the study showed that it is feasible to collect voice recording data from subjects over a four day period, and that such data provides evidence of retail influences on smoking and consumption of HKF above and beyond the evidence revealed by interviews. While collection of such data is complex, and expensive relative to survey data and/or interview data, it provides real-time data and increased insight into the complex and multiple influences on people’s smoking and eating behaviour.
Section 1: Rationale and objectives

Recent changes to tobacco legislation in NSW and in other Australian states have removed cigarettes from display at the point of sale, and have banned all point-of-sale (POS) promotional material, thus removing any cue to purchase or smoke cigarettes due to POS displays. Until the removal of POS displays, the presence of retail displays has made it impossible to distinguish between any cues to smoke caused by POS material and/or cues to smoke due to the widespread availability of cigarettes. It is possible, however, that the widespread distribution of tobacco continues to increase cigarette smoking, even in the absence of POS displays.

Reducing the number of tobacco outlets has been called the ‘new frontier' for tobacco control, but with POS present in almost every legislative area until recently, any association between tobacco outlets and tobacco consumption could be blamed purely on exposure to POS materials. Recent legislative changes removing POS tobacco display could thus be used as an excuse to continue to allow tobacco sales in a multitude of retail outlets. The current research therefore presents what to our knowledge is the first to explore whether wide availability of tobacco, in the absence of tobacco displays, contributes to incremental tobacco sales and smoking. The research therefore has the potential to inform future policy decisions on the potential benefits of restricting tobacco distribution.

Smoking is usually considered a socially undesirable behaviour, so there is the potential for attribution bias – for subjects to blame POS displays for purchases which they would have made anyway. In order to test the effect of distribution and the resultant retail cues on purchase of a comparable product where subjects may, like tobacco, be trying to minimise purchase, the research also investigates the purchase of high-kilojoule food items by smoking and non-smoking subjects who are trying to decrease their consumption of these foods. This component of the research provides data during progressive implementation of kilojoule count displays in NSW restaurants, allowing early evidence on the extent to which the provision of kilojoule count information influences consumers’ choice of food items.

The current study has been designed to provide preliminary data, but also, given the novelty of the research approach (using voice recorders) to pilot the feasibility of the methodology for a proposed larger scale project.

Research Objectives

1. To investigate the impact of tobacco and high-kilojoule food retailing outlets on smoking and high-kilojoule food consumption

2. To pilot methodology which will be extended in an ARC linkage application, involving a larger scale investigation of the effect of distribution on smoking and consumption of high-kilojoule foods.
Section 2: Methodology

Since the research aimed to provide insight into the multiple and subtle environmental influences on people’s choices to buy cigarettes, smoke and/or buy and consume high-kilojoule food, three distinct stages of qualitative research were used, as detailed below. All three stages included three separate cohorts:

1. Cohort A: Smokers and quitters
2. Cohort B: Overweight or obese subjects trying to lose weight
3. Cohort C: A mixed group, comprising smokers and quitters who are also overweight and trying to lose weight

Stage One: In-depth Interviews

The first stage consisted of 36 in-depth semi-structured interviews lasting approximately 45 to 90 minutes, exploring the circumstances under which subjects smoke and/or buy cigarettes (for Cohorts A and C) and/or buy and consume high kilojoule foods (for Cohorts B and C). A comprehensive discussion guide (Appendix 1) was designed and piloted with a small number of subjects prior to expanding this to the larger group. Minor changes were made as a result of this pilot but overall, it was determined that the guide met the needs of the study. Since there were only minor changes to the pilot interview guide, data from early pilot subjects is included.

Stage One interviews included a range of projective techniques and image associations allowing probing of specific situations. Images included retail stores and hypothesised triggers for smoking and/or eating. These are detailed in Table 1, and copies of these images are contained in Appendix 2.

Table 1: Scenarios and images presented to subjects during Stage 1 interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Smokers/Quitters</th>
<th>Images</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Going to meet family/friends, and see somewhere that sells cigarettes. What do you think about?</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiting in line to pay for petrol at the service station, and you see this. What do you think about?</td>
<td>Service station cigarette cupboard shutters, with sign ‘Smoking kills, Call the Quitline, and tobacco prices’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would any of these places influence you to buy?</td>
<td>Liquor store, tobacconist, service station, 7-Eleven, newsagent, Coles, Woolworths, open display of cigarettes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do any of these photos make you think about smoking or are places that you would normally smoke?</td>
<td>Beer drinker with cigarette, smoker, football, band, bar, open air café, crowded bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scenario</td>
<td>Images</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imagine it’s mid afternoon and you’re a bit hungry. You walk into a food court and there are lots of places selling food. Tell me what you would be thinking? How would you decide what you’d buy, if anything?</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast food outlet offering a 2 hours special of ‘50% off’. Are you tempted?</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would any of these pictures influence whether or not you would buy foods you think you should avoid – even if you weren’t planning to buy any?</td>
<td>Donut shop, food court, McDonald’s drive through, KFC outlet, hamburger, chocolates, savoury food, chocolate vending machine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After completion of the Stage 1 interviews, subjects were offered the opportunity to participate in Stage 2. Nearly all agreed, though some did not provide Stage 2 data despite several reminders, and some provided poor quality data.

**Stage Two: Self Completion Audio Diaries and Photos**  
The second stage included respondents from the first group (and nine additional respondents recruited directly for Stage 2) using digital voice recorders and disposable cameras to collect verbal and visual data about their exposure to environmental cues and their purchase behaviour over a four-day period. This allowed study subjects to provide real-time data on why they smoke and buy cigarettes (for Cohorts A and C) and when they buy and eat high-kilojoule foods (for Cohort B and C).

Stage 2 subjects were given a ‘data collection pack’ which included a digital voice recorder, a disposable camera and an instruction sheet explaining when and where to use the equipment. Subjects were also shown how to use the voice recorder and camera. Copies of instructions given to subjects are contained in Appendix 3. The majority of recorders and cameras were returned with enough data to allow analysis, however a small number of cameras had a few unusable photos (e.g. fingers blocking the picture, blurred imagery or not enough light to distinguish what the photo represented) and several cameras were returned without pictures. One voice recorder was returned without data, and the respondent agreed to collect data for an additional four days.

**Stage Three: Re-interviews**  
This final step in data collection re-interviewed a sub-section of 18 subjects from Stage 2, and presented them with the themes identified from their own data and from other subjects, to test those themes against their explanations for the major influences on their own behaviour. By re-interviewing the subjects, the interpretation drawn from overall data was able to be validated against subjects’ own reports, providing greater credibility for the research findings, and giving respondents a chance to make any additional comments about their experience.

**Changes to the methodology outlined in the project proposal**  
1) *Inclusion of photo records for Stage 2*: After ethics approval had been sought and received for the project, and one pilot stage 1 interview performed, the possibility of extending data collection for stage 2 (initially designed only to include collection of voice recordings) was considered, to provide disposable cameras for subjects to take a photograph of situations
which triggered them to smoke buy cigarettes (for smoking subjects), and/or buy or consume high kilojoule foods (for food subjects). Accordingly, an ethics variation was submitted and approved by the UWS ethics committee, allowing collection of visual data from subjects.

2) *Increase to sample size for Stage 2:* A further change to the proposed methodology was to recruit additional subjects directly for Stage 2 (voice recordings) since the quality of data obtained at Stage 2 for some Stage 1 subjects was not good. As a result, an additional nine subjects were recruited directly for Stage 2, allowing contrasting of the quality of data obtained from subjects recruited for Stage 1 (face to face interviews) and carried forward to Stage 2, compared to subjects recruited directly for Stage 2.

**Sample**

A market research agency was used to recruit subjects from the two target populations i.e. smokers/quitters and overweight subjects trying to lose weight. Subjects were assigned to one of three cohorts:

1. Cohort A: attempting quitters and occasional smokers, exploring their explanations for when they smoke, and for when they buy cigarettes. Smoking subjects were roughly evenly split between light to medium smokers (less than ten a day) and heavy smokers (more than ten a day).

2. Cohort B: overweight or obese subjects attempting to lose weight exploring their explanations for when they buy and eat high-kilojoule foods.

3. Cohort C, a mixed group, (that is, smokers/attempting quitters who are also overweight and trying to lose weight). This group was used to explore if retail cues operate in the same manner for different product categories, and the extent, if any, to which cigarettes and high-kilojoule foods are used as substitutes for each other; i.e. if subjects report smoking to avoid consumption of high-kilojoule foods or vice versa.

The composition of the sample is shown in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: Sample composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stage One</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smokers/Quitters Only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quitters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smokers (unknown amount)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smokers (less than 10/day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smokers (more than 10/day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Weight Loss Only</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined Smoker/Quitter/Weight Loss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quitters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smokers (unknown amount)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smokers (less than 10/day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smokers (more than 10/day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Subjects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females 53% Males 47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During the recruitment stage, care was taken to ensure that subjects were only advised of the general nature of the topic (e.g. smoking habits, dieting habits) until they had commenced their first in-depth interview. This prevented them from undertaking any additional research in the matter which they might feel the researcher might want to hear, thus increasing the probability of spontaneous input.

**Participant Incentives**

After discussion with the market research agency about appropriate reimbursement for the time of subjects, subjects for Stage 1 and Stage 3 received Coles or Woolworths gift vouchers (depending on their preference) to the value of $80 as compensation for the time spent in participating in the study. Stage 2 required more effort on the part of the participant, who accordingly received a higher incentive of a $120 voucher. This was posted by delivery notified mail, upon return of the voice recorder and camera.

**Dates and duration of fieldwork**

Data for all three stages was collected from November 2011 through to February 2012. Stage 1 interviews ranged from 45-90 mins in duration, and Stage 2 interviews from approximately 30 minutes to 45 minutes. Stage 2 diaries were completed over a four day period and recording was designed to take place whenever the participant was tempted to smoke, buy cigarettes (for Cohorts A and C) or engage in unhealthy eating (for Cohorts B and C). The recording times for stage 2 varied from less than 5 minutes to 27 minutes.

**Ethics approval**

Ethics approval was sought and obtained for the project from the UWS ethics committee, including approval for the variation to allow supply of disposable cameras to subjects to take photos during Stage 2.
Section 3: Results:

Smoker and Quitter interviews (Stage 1)

Prior to a more detailed analysis, the data from Stage 1 was run through the content analysis software, Leximancer, to determine underlying themes. Analyses were run separately for smokers/quitters and for weight loss subjects. The results for the smoker/quitter group can be seen in Figure 1. The figure shows themes based on the frequency of word use (shown by larger circles) and by association between word groups (shown by words being frequently used together). Thus when subjects talked about ‘smoke’ or ‘smoking’, they also tended to use words such as ‘outside’, ‘work’, ‘time’ and ‘day’. The list to the left of Figure 1 shows the number of times each word was used in transcripts (i.e. 758 for ‘smoke’) and the percentage of times each word was associated with the most common word ‘smoke’. Thus 78% of the uses of the word ‘buy’ were associated with the word ‘smoke’, while only 26% of the uses of the word ‘avoid’ were associated with the word ‘smoke’.

Figure 1: Word frequency association, smokers and quitters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Word-Like</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Relevance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>smoke</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cigarettes</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buy</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avoid</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>home</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coffee</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eating</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>places</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>packet</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinner</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morning</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outside</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shop</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>family</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lunch</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mind</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smoker</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The left column of this figure shows that the word ‘smoke’ occurred 758 times throughout the transcripts, thus being the most commonly discussed theme. Not surprisingly, ‘cigarettes’ was the second most frequent word with 78% of occurrences also being part of the conversation about ‘smoking’. In decreasing frequency are the words ‘buy’ (55% occurring near the word smoke) ‘time’ (41% co-occurrences) and ‘day’ 28% co-occurrences).

The figure reveals the four main themes that resulted from the transcript analysis; smoke, cigarette, home and buy. Each theme was separately associated with a subset of words, as shown below, with the only overlap being ‘packet’, which was associated with both the ‘cigarette’ and ‘buy’ themes.

- **Smoke**: outside, smoker, day, time, people
- **Home**: lunch, morning, dinner, coffee, eating, drink
- **Buy**: shop, avoid, places, and packet
- **Cigarette**: family, feel, packet and mind

The size and position of the circles for ‘Smoke’ and ‘Home’ show that there is a connection between where people smoke and the time of day when they smoke. Not unexpectedly, there is no direct connection between ‘Buy’ and ‘Home’. Instead, buying is more closely aligned with the ‘Cigarettes’ theme, and also with a sub-theme of ‘avoid’.

The appearance of ‘weight’ appears to be an outlier and is most likely due to the inclusion of smokers/quitters who are also attempting to lose weight. Since this theme is furthest away from the rest, this theme will be discussed in more detail within the Weight Loss group analysis (see page 42).

Figure 2 shows the words associated with the two themes of ‘Smoke’ and ‘Cigarettes’. For ‘Smoke’, the word ‘outside’ appears most frequently (41% of all occurrences of outside are closely linked to smoke), followed by ‘people’ (33%) and further down the list ‘day’ (24%). For the theme of ‘Cigarettes’, ‘family’ is the highest co-occurrence (36%) followed by ‘packet’ (29%), ‘buy’ (29%), ‘feel’ (28%) and outside (27%)
This top level summary, suggests a number of themes in the data;
1. The location of smoking
2. Environmental prompts for smoking or not smoking
3. Smokers attitudes and behaviour about smoking
4. Where they buy
5. Reaction to retailer activity
6. Substitution between smoking and eating
7. The influence of time of day

These will now be further discussed in detail, though since theme 7 (the influence of time of day) appeared less important in influencing smoking than other factors (e.g. work breaks, going out) it will not be discussed as a separate theme. Themes are discussed separately, but an overview of a representative smoker is provided in Appendix 6.

**Where they smoke: the evolving location of smoking**

When asked about the circumstances in which they were likely to smoke, there were several unsurprising and recurrent themes: subjects report that they are more likely to smoke when they are bored, stressed, when drinking and with other smokers. The influence of alcohol and other smokers will be discussed separately below. However an unexpected, very strong theme emerged that almost without exception, people smoked outside, even when at home or at other people’s homes, suggesting that restrictions on smoking in public places have translated into social norms of smoking outside. Even for heavy smokers, smoking outside the house appears to be the norm:

*I say good morning to the kids and the family, but then I’m like - I’m straight out that door (to smoke). (S4, Female, smoker)*
I don’t smoke inside, I go out on the balcony when I’m at home... (S10, Male smoker)

We smoke outside - I've always smoked outside. Rain, hail, shine - it doesn’t matter. We’ve got a veranda with a table - at one stage my husband was that cranky because we’d smoke for ages - like when we all used to smoke...
[Q: When your girlfriends came over?]
We’d have an ashtray; it’d be full like that. We’d smoke all night. He goes, I'm going to move that table and put it right up the back of the yard - I don’t want it here. (S29, Female, Quitter/Weight loss)

No way (would I smoke inside), it's just disrespectful. (S36, Male quitter/weight loss)

One subject reported that he smoked ‘away up the back’ but did not allow his adult son or the son’s friends to smoke on the property:
Now that I’m a father of three boys, they don’t see me drunk, yes, they see me smoke, but I smoke away up the back. Consequently they’ve got to do the same thing. And two have moved out, but the one that’s home he smokes and his mates come over, and I’ve said to them, ‘you guys are not to smoke on these premises,’ because as I say, they’re pigs, they throw their butts everywhere. So now they’ve got to smoke out the front. And they go, ‘but you smoke,’ I said, ‘yes, when you get your house you make the rules, I make the rules here.’ But yes, there’s things you try and do to lead, guide. (S11, Smoker/weight loss)

Even a subject who was unemployed and smoking a packet a day reported that she always smoked outside at home:
Outside - definitely outside. I need to be able to escape it. I can't regurgitate the same smoke, if that makes sense. (S16, Female, Quitter/Weight loss)

For one smoker, the fact that he was now smoking in his car (during a period of significant stress and extra travel), was an indication that his smoking had increased, but the same subject was vehement that he didn’t smoke inside:
I'm even now smoking in my own car which before I didn't...No, no, no, no, no, no. I mean I don't smoke in the house. (S14, Male smoker)

Similarly, another subject described typically smoking:
... at home, sitting out the back with my cup of tea, regardless of the weather. [Q: So you don’t smoke in the house?] God no, no. (S19, Female smoker)

There was evidence that the tendency to smoke outside was associated with a decreased frequency of smoking:
If I’m home, like my wife doesn’t smoke, so I think, well, I’m not going to go and sit out in the backyard and smoke by myself. (S11, Smoker/weight loss)

...late at night if I'm playing on my iPhone I'd still consider maybe going out and sneaking out for a cigarette. Like if I'm at my mother’s, but then - but then I say, what the hell, I'm too tired. I just keep playing with my iPhone until I get sleepy enough and then just go to sleep. So I guess it comes and goes the temptation. (S14, Male smoker)

...certain restaurants you can't smoke in obviously any more. So sometimes you might actually go outside during the course of entrée and main or mains and dessert to have a
cigarette. Don't always, but sometimes I do. Yeah, it's a bit painful, and probably more so I would not smoke when it came to a restaurant situation... It's just painful to have to go outside and have one in between, so I just go bugger it. (S14, Male smoker)

...if I’m sitting down having a beer with some friends, and I’m forced to go outside to have a cigarette, I’ll do it, but generally I don’t do it. Unless I’ve had a meal in a club and I might duck out for one. But for me it’s inconvenient actually to move from where I’m sitting to go and have a cigarette, so I don’t do it. (S10, Male smoker)

Almost no subjects smoked inside their home, and there was some suggestion that for some subjects this was a relatively recent change, possibly reflecting an evolution in the normal location of smoking.

I'm smoking outside, but I used to smoke in the house, and the walls needed painting. (S8, Female quitter)

One subject (who did smoke inside at home ‘because I have no balcony at my apartment’) reported that she went to the bathroom to smoke (presumably because of better ventilation)

[Q: Not in front of the TV or somewhere?] No, I get up and go to the bathroom… (S23, Female smoker)

Smoking inside a home was sufficiently unusual that one subject commented:

...a mate of mine, we smoke in his house because nobody's complaining but certainly most of the time I'm in a place where I can't smoke while I'm in front of the TV so that's the exception when we smoke at his place because there's no one looking over our shoulder. (S35, Male, Quitter/weight loss)

The tendency for subjects to smoke only outside extended, for many subjects, to not smoking in the car.

I don't smoke in my car. No, I don't want the habit. I don't want my car to stink. And I don't smoke inside the house either. (S17, Female, Smoker/weight loss)

I stopped doing that (smoking in the car). (S35, Male, Quitter/weight loss)

Up to recently, I've been smoking in the car. I'm trying to break that habit...(S34, Male smoker)

There was no indication that recent legislation banning smoking in a car in the presence of children had directly influenced the decision to not smoke in the car. For example one subject was adamant in her response to a question about whether she smoked in the car:

No way.
[Q: Not inside the home?]
No, never. I'm very aware of that, especially with kids in the car.
[Q: Is there a fine now or something?]
I don't know what they do. (S27, Female, Smoker/Weight loss)
Environmental prompts for smoking

**Alcohol**

Unsurprisingly, and consistent with previous research showing a positive association between smoking and alcohol, the strongest association between any environmental factor and smoking was with alcohol. Almost without exception, in response to the question as to when they were most likely to smoke, and without prompting about alcohol, respondents reported that they were more likely to smoke when they were drinking.

> Yes, when I'm having a drink. After work when I get home I have a beer. That and possibly after dinner. Finishing off a glass of wine, something like that - they're the ones that I would really miss. I hear from reformed friends that they're the ones that they really miss as well. (S34, Male smoker)

> ...you know, when you do drink too much you tend to eat too much, you tend to smoke too much. (S11, Smoker/weight loss)

> I couldn't go from a smoker and drinking to a non smoker and just drink.... I don't even know how that would work. I know non smokers that only smoke when they drink. (S4, Female smoker)

> If I've had a few wines, it's not that often that I'd be drinking, but if I am I would tend to light up a lot more and it might be the case where I'll be having that cigarette going I don't want that and I'll put it out. (S27, Female, Smoker/Weight loss)

Only one subject reported not being influenced by alcohol:

'(Alcohol is) not a trigger for me... I think the fact that the alcohol might be there it's almost in some ways to me a bit of a substitute for the cigarette. (S14, Male smoker)

**Other smokers**

After alcohol, the second most frequently reported prompt for smoking was the presence of other smokers. As discussed above, other smokers were particularly likely to contribute to smoking at bars, but even in the absence of mentions of alcohol, other smokers were a frequently mentioned trigger for smoking.

> If I'm at my parents house having a family barbeque, I'll go outside with my dad, but if my dad's not having a cigarette, I won't have a cigarette. (S4, Female, Smoker)

> There's a guy that I catch up with in Rotary, and it's a social thing, we have a cigarette outside the meeting and talk Rotary and talk other stuff. It's just a social thing. And I smoke more when I'm with someone. (S6, Male, Smoker)

> I guess if other people are smoking sometimes I have a smoke just because they're smoking. (S10, Male smoker)

> I think sometimes maybe when I'm with other people. If they lit one up, I do subconsciously light one up and then everyone's - I just done it because that person reminded me to smoke. (S16, Female, Quitter/weight loss)
Sometimes I’ll ask one of my girlfriend who works upstairs...you want to go for a smoke?...and then we'll go downstairs, we'll have a little chat, we have a smoke... (S17, Female, Smoker/weight loss)

If other people are smoking...depending on where you can smoke, and other people are smoking, it's sort of an invitation for you to light up I guess, and a couple of drinks, resolutions get lost, and habits get broken. (S34, Male smoker)

When I see someone smoke and I haven't had a cigarette for a while, yep, I'll feel like it definitely. (S36, Male quitter/weight loss)

There was some evidence that other smokers would directly or indirectly discourage quit attempts:

All it would take (for me to quit smoking) is that circle of friends that I run with that do still smoke just to sort of have the same objective and you're just going to say well, why am I doing it because nobody else is. But I've always got a partner in crime and that's that. I'm sure that they would view me the same way, yeah. (S35, Male, Quitter/weight loss)

...this afternoon, tonight, I try and cut my quota and say that’s my quota I shouldn’t have any more, but if I’m sitting there and the mate will light up a smoke, ’do you want a smoke?’ and you go, ‘yes, okay’. And if you say, ‘no, no, I’m fine,’ they go, ‘oh, you’ve joined the altar boys have you?’. Or they’ll say, ‘oh fine, what, your husband won’t let you smoke,’ and you go, ‘yes, okay’. But it’s not pressured, it’s just what you do – ’have a smoke,’ ‘thanks,’ and before you know you’ve had a smoke, you’ve started and you go, well, I can’t throw this away because you can’t waste them. (S11, Male, Smoker/weight loss)

Alcohol, other smokers and licensed premises
Consistent with research showing that other smokers increase smoking, the combination of other smokers and alcohol was repeatedly mentioned as a trigger for smoking, and a situation where people smoke more than they intend.

Alcohol, when I’m drinking, definitely....It’s the hardest, you’re having a few drinks, wine and beer, and people smoking. And you say, ‘oh well, I’ll just have one.’ (S7, Male quitter)

...social situations, parties, around friends that do smoke, etc, yes. With some wine you’d probably have a few more than you would normally. (S19, Female smoker)

I think if I have one too many tubes it always gets out of hand...it's down to like who's surrounding you, what's going on, because if I'm getting a lot of - what do you call it....passive smoking. If I'm getting that well that's sort of - that does drive it to me and I've got to have one. (S35, Male, Quitter/weight loss)

I seem to have friends that smoke, they go outside, they want to have a smoke a bit more. Then you have a glass of wine and you feel like you want to have another smoke and then in the end coffee, and you feel like you want to have another smoke. And if the night carries on, sometimes you enjoy another smoke towards the night. I try to say no, but sometimes you get influenced by other people too, and I think it's like your mind is not thinking straight because you've had a few drinks. And you sort of think, okay yeah,
let's go and have a chat and a smoke and get a bit of fresh air outside...(S17, Female, Smoker/weight loss)

In particular, licensed premises were repeatedly mentioned as a location where people smoked more than usual, and/or more than they intended to:

I have a job in a pub, where I run poker tournaments. So it's quite social - we go out for breaks every hour-and-a-half and before the game and after the game, we catch up. I do that four nights a week, so the evening is probably where I smoke the most. (S21, Female, Smoker/Weight loss)

It's always a conscious decision, except maybe after a few drinks in the pub... I think there it's just the chemicals in your head that just click, I haven't got a cigarette - I think actually it's true there, because you do go, even if you've just had one, it's sort of like, oh I'm having a beer, I should have a cigarette. (S22, Male, smoker/weight loss)

If I'm just sitting at home for an evening I won't smoke just because I'll be doing other stuff. If I go out to a pub or a social event then I'll be smoking...Because everyone around you is smoking and when you've had a drink you have a cigarette (S23, Female smoker)

I'd probably have about five - four at night after dinner max, two or three during the day ... But if I go out or go anywhere, I'm a binger. I binge smoke...If I'm going to go out and have a big night out...like if we go out with the girls for a night out I'll have a packet of cigarettes in one night...we call it binge smoking. (S29, Female, Quitter/Weight loss)

...when you go to the pub...you can basically go to any venue now and they've got their designated smoking....the imperative is how far away is it, and how much time are you spending out of your circle of friends, we catch up sort of intermittently so you don't want to be the odd one out. But generally, fortunately I've got...a smoking gang so we find our own little group in the smoking area, and that's when it really does become something that kicks up again, like getting quite a few in there on the weekend. (S35, Male, Quitter/weight loss)

(It’s really hard not to smoke) if I’m at a pub and I'm socially drinking. Actually alcohol seems to expand the want for a cigarette. (S36, Male quitter/weight loss)

If we are at the club and my boyfriend has got a cigarette, I’ll go, ‘can I have a puff,’ and I’ll have a couple of puffs of his rather than light one. (S8, Female quitter)

I think it’s mainly when you’re out and you’ve had a few drinks. It’s like anything, you know, you get enough drink into you, you’ll do a lot of things that you don’t normally do. (S11, Smoker/weight loss)

...the hardest time is when you go out and have a drink on a Friday, or whatever night of the week you might go out. You have a drink, you smoke; you go out for dinner, I’ll smoke. So yes, I don’t get blind drunk anymore, but when you have your three or four or five, yes, I might as well have a few smokes. And that’s when you smoke more than you would normally smoke. (S11, Smoker/weight loss)
I’ll give you a good example. Last week we went to the races, 12 o’clock during the day we’re drinking alcohol, and I would never smoke during the day because I just don’t do it, but because I’m drinking it sort of triggers the ‘I need a cigarette,’ everyone else around you is smoking. So I did smoke last Saturday at the races. (S5, Female smoker)

The same subject related how she tried to avoid alcohol when trying to quit because the two were so closely related for her:

Yes, when I do try to quit by myself I try not to drink alcohol, because I associate it all together. (S5, Female smoker)

She related how an earlier quit attempt had failed when she started to smoke again while drinking:

I got sick about three months ago, so I quit for about a month, and then we went out to a wedding on the long weekend and I started smoking again, because I started drinking. So that all went downhill. And then I did the undercover smoking at home. (S5, Female smoker)

One subject said in response to a photo of people smoking:

It’s a trigger, there’s no two ways about it. If you see somebody else smoking, one of the things when you go to a venue is what’s a smoking venue and what’s a non-smoking venue, and quite often it’s not delineated terribly well. Seeing somebody else light up is like a - I don’t know - a litmus test, a flashlight that, this is okay to smoke here. (S34, Male smoker)

Another attempting quitter reported that he was most likely to smoke on:

Saturday nights. If I’m going to lapse, I’m going to have cigarettes, that’s the hardest... in my mind I’m going - say I’m going to go and not have a cigarette, and I have one. Yes, there have been, especially after a few drinks. I intend some nights, I go, ‘oh yes, we’ll go out and I’m not going to have a cigarette,’ so I don’t take any cigarettes. But then I’ll end up having one off someone else... (S7, Male quitter)

Another subject suggested that to successfully quit, he would have to avoid the pub:

I think mostly it's a decision I have to make that I want to do it, and to stick to it and not putting myself in situations where, basically the pub for me, where you will smoke... (S22, Male, smoker/weight loss)

Bars were also most likely to be nominated as an environment in response to the question ‘Have you ever found yourself smoking when you didn’t intend to?’:

Plenty of times. I’ve found myself smoking, like, two in a row, and gone, ‘I didn’t even realise I had two because I was just talking to someone.’ Especially drinking. I find when I’m drinking I tend to chain smoke, not one after the other, but at least every 10 minutes....And then you get to the end of the night and you’re like, ‘oh, I feel like I’ve smoked a packet of cigarettes.’ Or you’ve taken some off people, they’ve been offering them to you, stuff like that. (S2, Male, Quitter)

When shown a variety of pictures and asked whether these sorts of scenes triggered them to smoke, almost every subject nominated that bars made them more likely to smoke:

Bars, actually inside the bars, okay, I guess it’s the areas, you know, outside areas, it’s more like that stuff. (S6, Male, Smoker)
...say we just go out one night for a few drinks or whatever, I’ll smoke what I would smoke in a day at night. (S4, Female, Smoker)

Food
For some subjects, smoking was strongly associated with eating and/or coffee:

That’s a big thing...after eating. I’ve always got to have a cigarette after eating. (S4, Female, Smoker)

Yeah, yeah, always have one at - first thing in the morning I’ve got to have my coffee...and a cigarette with it...Yeah, definitely after meals as well. Sometimes I might even have one before the meal and then one after the meal, but that all depends. (S14, Male smoker)

When I have a cup of coffee, I get that pinch thing, ‘oh I need a cigarette’. So I’m trying to avoid coffee too so I don’t feel like a smoke...Coffee and smokes go together, yeah. (S17, Female, Smoker/weight loss)

...if I meet up with some friends for coffee on an afternoon, for example, I can't - I find it really hard to not have a cigarette in that setting. (S21, Female, Smoker/Weight loss)

For many subjects, work breaks provided the opportunity for smoking, so workday smoking was timed around breaks:

I go out around 10:30 for one, then at lunch I’d have a couple and then again mid-afternoon - so sort of a morning tea, afternoon tea, lunch structure, if you like. (S22, Male, smoker/weight loss)

One subject reported that he smoked more at work due to the presence of other smokers:

There’s a couple of others in the office that smoke. So it’s oh I’m going to go out (and join them for a cigarette). (S7, Male quitter)

Another subject reported smoking less at home without encouragement to smoke from others:

...at home, you’re tired, there’s not many people around you, no one says ‘oh well I’ll have a break and just smoke’. (S17, Female, Smoker/weight loss)

The ‘outside area’ at work
Another situation strongly associated with smoking was the area at work where people smoked. If people were smoking in the ‘smoking area’, it often presented a trigger to smoke:

Today I did well, because I had a second interview for a promotion, and I didn’t smoke, which is kind of good. ...But I came out going, ‘if someone was on the balcony I’d go out there...’...But I didn’t have the opportunity, like that opportunity didn’t present itself to me. So I kind just went back to my desk, and went, ’okay, I’ll just do my work.’ (S2, Male, quitter)

...you might be in a long meeting or just in a situation which you’re not happy with or you’d rather be somewhere else, and just the fact you can have a cigarette and get out of the building – just a bit of free time. I don’t know, this probably sounds crazy, but you know how when you see people outside an office building, say in the city, and you see herds of people smoking around like that, and I guess being a smoker, like, when
you come outside for a cigarette break at work you get to know a few people. (S6, Male, smoker)

I'm just feeling like I have to have a cigarette and that could be a client, before I go and see a client or just having a really bad day - and again, as I say, we have to leave the office but it's not hard to go outside and do that. So the environment is a bit of familiar ground, you know what I mean? (S35, Male, Quitter/weight loss)

We've got a great little café at work that has a couple of tables outside, and actually probably makes more money from the smokers than the non-smokers, because they actually have...this little area, it's discrete, it's not like standing around a rubbish bin throwing cigarettes in, and it makes - the guy who owns the café has gone out of his way to make an acceptable place for people to smoke. (S34, Male smoker)

POS displays
When shown a variety of pictures of tobacco retailers, and asked if any made him think about cigarettes, or purchasing cigarettes, one subject pointed to a Quit sign on a closed tobacco cupboard in a service station:

Well, that’s what I mean there.
[Q – The ‘smoking kills’ picture?]
Well, I guess, there’s the cabinet, so the cigarettes are behind the cabinet.
[Q – Yes.]
But the fact that they’re writing and all that basically still... I mean what they could do there is have all that writing and all that inside the cabinet when you open it up.....just the fact that you’re still seeing the Quit Line and the smoking, it does trigger...
[Q – It triggers you to go, ‘oh, I’ll get some cigarettes?’]
Absolutely, absolutely. (S6, Male, Smoker)

The same subject reported that the sight of a range of tobacco retailers also prompted him to buy cigarettes:

Tobacconists, that triggers that obviously because they sell cigarettes...(and) 7-Eleven, it’s that convenience place, it’s open 24-7, you know it’s always going to be open, you know it sells that stuff, and you get in, you get out, it’s quick....I mean of all the places I associate with cigarettes that would have to be it. And the types of convenience stores, like City Convenience is another one, ours is called Village Convenience, you know, the small shops which sell a little bit of everything. (S6, Male, Smoker)

A stock of cigarettes
...I've noticed when I've been overseas and I've bought cartons, and because I know there's a lot of them there, I would tend to smoke a bit more...It's just that they're readily available and it's easy... I mean if I don't know if it's psychologically... if it works or not, but I tend to buy only 20s. Because if I bought 25s then I'd be urged to smoke more because there's five more in the packet than there is 20. (S14, Male smoker)

One subject who bought two-packs of cigarettes because of the cheaper price (which she named as about $2 per pack), said that she smoked more when she bought the double pack:

Probably more because if there's an abundance you're not rationing. (S16, Female, Quitter/weight loss)
Environmental prompts for not smoking

Non-smokers
Unsurprisingly, the presence of non-smokers was repeatedly mentioned as a factor decreasing smoking. More surprising, however, was that many subjects appeared to find it relatively easy not to smoke if non-smokers were around:

...whether I’m with two people or ten people, I wouldn’t have a cigarette unless they are smokers as well. (S4, Female smoker)

If I’m around non-smokers I probably don’t smoke, I tend to not smoke or I’ll go away from them if I want to have a cigarette. I won’t smoke around them, I’ll tend to go somewhere else and come back. (S13, Female, Quitter/Weight loss)

I hide it from (non-smokers). I won’t smoke in an environment where I know - if I'm in a group - we were at a party the other night and Peter said come and have a cigarette – no, I'm embarrassed because I'm smoking. (S27, Female, Smoker/Weight loss)

I probably don’t smoke so much by myself at home because my husband always says something. I can’t be bothered for it....he’ll come in and see the ashtray on the veranda - I clean it at the end of the day sometimes - he’ll go ‘how many smokes did you have today? I’ve been counting them.’ Sometimes I have my packet on the back patio with my lighter and he’ll see (the image on the packet) in disgust and say ‘look at that’. He says ‘how do you smoke?’ ‘...He goes ‘it’s disgusting’. He goes ‘look at that, it’s you, that’s...’ - my daughter’s like that now. She’s like ‘mummy look, your teeth are going to be like that’. (S29, Female, Quitter/Weight loss)

A lot of friends have given up smoking, so I'm quite aware of not smoking in front of them. (S34, Male smoker)

If there is a non-smoker in my car I won't smoke in my car because it’s quite disrespectful to them if I light up a cigarette in my own car and they are inhaling the nicotine and all that, it’s just disrespectful. So I refuse to smoke a cigarette or anybody to smoke a cigarette in my car if there is a non-smoker in my car or if I'm around non-smokers. I will walk away. (S12, Smoker/weight loss)

Children
Like non-smokers, the presence of children was repeatedly mentioned as a factor decreasing smoking.

(I smoke outside at home) around the corner, hidden from the children. Because I’ve got a six year old who gives me a lecture about my smoking. What does he say? ‘You’re going to die.’ (S5, Female smoker)

I don’t like smoking at home. I’ve got a young family, and they wouldn’t even know I’ve had a cigarette. And my wife doesn’t like it. (S7, Male quitter)

I don’t smoke around (my eight month old) or my fiancée, I smoke outside the building. (S6, Male, smoker)
...none of my family smoke and I hide from my nieces and nephews when I do it. If I was caught in a situation where - if was around them, I would smoke less because it's hard to escape from a three year old for five minutes. (S16, Female, Quitter/weight loss)

Several subjects reported that they were not tempted to smoke at home due to the presence of children:
...definitely with the kids, definitely in the home environment, as much because I don't want a clip over the ear for it, smoking in the house, whatever. There's that, but there's also the case that I feel that I don't want to be setting a bad example and I'm also against all the effects of the passive smoking... (S35, Male, Quitter/weight loss)

The presence of children was also reported to decrease the probability of buying. Two subjects reported that if they saw somewhere that sold cigarettes:
...with family and the kids I wouldn't buy any, (but with my mates) I'd just get it. (S7, Male quitter)

(If) I'm running out and I know it's going to be late at night and I couldn't be bothered, then I would probably buy (cigarettes), I would -...if I'm with my wife and kids I would probably not it. (S14, Male smoker)

Work
Although, as discussed separately, the presence of a smoking area at work triggered smoking for some subjects, many subjects reported smoking less at work, and/or discussed a daily pattern of smoking punctuated by tea breaks and lunch while at work:
You get busy during the day, you get busy on projects or with your work and you can’t smoke at work or in the office... (S6, Male smoker)

Inside
As discussed previously, there was a very strong pattern that almost all subjects only smoked outside, and that being inside was associated with not smoking:
Even though when I did smoke at home, I’d smoke on the balcony and didn’t, like I’d never smoke inside. I never smoke in my car, stuff like that. (S2, Male, Quitter)

In the car
Similarly, as discussed previously, the majority of subjects reported not smoking in the car:
...obviously not with the kids in the car, I don’t smoke with the kids in the car. (S4, Female, Smoker)

Smokers’ attitudes and behaviour about smoking

Smoking behaviour
As also discussed in the context of non-smokers, the strength of environmental prompts for some smokers is shown by the fact that many subjects apparently found it easy not to smoke in the absence of prompts for smoking. For example, one subject related how she tended to smoke only at night:
If it’s at night and I’m out and I’m drinking alcohol, yes, smoking as well – hand in hand they go together. Parties, social smoking, yes, obviously. If I’m at home and I
don’t have any cigarettes I’m not going to go down to shop and buy some, so I’ll just do without. [And you won’t crave it?] Yes, I’m actually fine. (S5, Female, Quitter)

If I’m with non smokers I don’t smoke because they don’t smoke. (S5, Female, Quitter)

...I’m not in that category where I have to have one. And sometimes I deal with my cravings, I crave for a cigarette and I don’t have one because of the place I’m in. So generally if I’ve got no cigarettes, I know I have to buy them, but I wouldn’t buy them at a service station. (S10, Male smoker)

If I’m out with a lot of people that don’t smoke, then I can...not smoke. (S19, Female smoker)

Opinion about smoking.

A large number of smokers described smoking in very negative terms:

...it is a gross smell. As much as you think, oh it’s not too bad. I’ve smelt other smokers, you know, that thick nicotine smell, it stinks. (S2, Male, Quitter)

I actually hate the smell of cigarettes. I can’t deal with it. My husband will wake up about ten-ish, he works until really late, like midnight-ish, and he’ll wake up at about ten and first go out for a cigarette, and I can’t be near him because I can’t deal with the smell....So I think that’s partly why I don’t smoke around the kids, it’s because I smell him and they’re breathing that, and I don’t want them to breath that on me as well. (S5, Female quitter)

You know, you’re eating and someone is smoking next to you in the table, it’s like, oh gross. (S5, Female quitter)

I don’t like smoking while I eat and I don’t like other people smoking. It’s strange, I say that’s a filthy habit, and they look at me and go ‘you’re a smoker’, and I go, ‘yes, but I don’t smoke while I eat, I try not to smoke...’ you know, they have smoke areas away from people outside eating. I’m conscious of that. Because if I’m not smoking I don’t necessarily like the smell of smoke and ash...(S11, Smoker/weight loss)

I guess at work I try and smoke discretely. So I go into an area where, like I just said I smoke solo, rather than like the counsellors, the general manager, the boss, walking by....Just, I guess, being professional. I guess for me (smoking) sends the message, you know, (you’re) maybe not as professional...having a cigarette, or whatever....I guess, it’s your time outside, but ... you just feel less professional when you’re smoking. (S6, Male smoker)

...the biggest problem I find with designated smoking areas, smokers are pigs, and maybe the campus is different, you know, it’s very well policed...The butts on the ground, yes, you know, where there’s designated smoking areas. Because if this (campus) was outside in the normal confinements of smokers there’d be crap everywhere, there’d be butts everywhere, because we’re not very considerate. (S11, Smoker/weight loss)

...when I buy a packet I think, why am I buying this, or look at these pictures. I’m actually throwing money away. I’m burning money. Because that’s what I think, I should
put that money in the moneybox and at the end of the year see how much I've got. I think I could go for a short holiday [laughs]. (S17, Female, Smoker/weight loss)

I don’t actually enjoy it….But that’s what I mean about the addiction side of it. That’s where I’m aware that it is when I’m bored that I smoke the most. If I’m busy I don’t even think about it. It’s not always conscious that every thirty minutes I have to go outside and have a fag. And I don’t really like it, and I don’t always really like the flavour, and it’s just this, like the ads go, you know, the little monsters coming out, it’s just like there’s this addiction part that has got me still. And I stopped for six months, and my husband has stopped for two and half years now, and we did the Champix. But then, I don’t know, one day, it was almost six months to the day, I just said to my girlfriend, ‘can I just try one of those?’, and that was it. (S19, Female smoker)

…it’s stupid. It is, it’s a stupid waste of my money. My aunt used to work here, she passed away three years ago from lung cancer. My father dies eight years ago of cancer. And still I do it. I don’t know what the block is, whether it’s immortality, a defiance, I don’t know, it’s weird. I’m aware of it, my son is on my back to stop. (S19, Female smoker)

Like I don’t like the smell…Like, say, in an airport, I couldn’t smoke in a smoking room, even though I knew I had a massive flight ahead of me, I wouldn’t go in there because I hate the smell of other people smoking. To me smoking is like thinking time, like relax, like it relaxes me, even though they say it doesn’t relax you, it does relax me. (S2, Male, Quitter)

And then in pub areas, being in those smoke rooms is not much, I don’t actually go sit in the smoking rooms, I think they’re disgusting – the smell. (S5, Female, quitter)

Smokers’ perceptions of the attitudes of others to smokers
Several smokers also described experiencing very negative attitudes from others about them smoking. One young female smoker described the attitude of others to her smoking:

I get a lot of crap at work (for smoking)... Everything is blamed on smoking, down to my PMS problems...they try to stop things like smoke breaks. Even though I use the time when I was getting the mail or dropping the mail off to have a cigarette they decided I should be doing that in my time rather than office time because it involved me having a cigarette.

If ever I'm sick, even if like four other people in the office have got a similar thing I'll have to come to work anyway because I'm a smoker and if I don't they'll bitch and complain because I'm a smoker and I'm just faking it...Jo our receptionist used to be a smoker and I mean she will go so far as to say 'if you didn't smoke your PMS wouldn't be so bad' and I say 'well I've had PMS since I was 12, 13 and I started smoking when I was 21 so I'm pretty sure you're standing on thin ice here Jo'.

...you've got so much around in society putting down smokers and smoking is bad and you're killing everyone around you therefore everyone in society now feels they're entitled to tell smokers what to do or not to do, how to talk to them. I mean I know people cross the road - my friend tells me she intentionally fakes coughs when she walks past a smoker to make them feel bad. I know parents with prams they'll glare at me even though I will always move my cigarette away because I've got two small brothers and I
don't want them inhaling my cigarette smoke. So if someone with a child is around me I will either not smoke or move it as far away as I can. A lot of parents will glare at me. They just glare at me like I'm an evil person, all because smokers are being treated quite unfairly. (S23, Female smoker)

I'll be at the pub and I'll be in my smoking area, the only area I'm allowed to be and people will walk up to me and tell me 'you shouldn't be smoking, why are you still smoking, are you stupid, haven't you seen the ads on TV?' (S23, Female smoker)

...a lot of my family are anti and not really too keen on me doing it, so I get the - they don't preach but they certainly give me the dirty looks. (S39, Male, Quitter/Weight loss)

I'm very aware of the stigma of smoking in public, so I don't tend to light up in public. I tend to keep it a more of a home thing. (S27, Female, Smoker/Weight loss)

...it's a good time to quit now because it's become so - everyone looks at you like you're an alien.... I went to the club last Saturday...with my girlfriend and we went out for a smoke outside. We didn't have a lighter and we asked this guy if he had a lighter. He goes 'ha, no'. I go 'Oh my God, it's almost like we asked him to have sex with us or something!' (S29, Female, Quitter/Weight loss)

Quit intentions

Even subjects who did not say that they were actively trying to quit spoke in positive terms about quitting smoking:

Obviously I don't want to be a smoker forever, I just don't know how I'd be a non smoker now. (S4, Female smoker)

I gave up for nine months...when I breastfed. Then I picked it up again, again a social thing, one smoke with my girlfriend on the veranda...I've got to burn down my veranda...(S29, Female, Quitter/Weight loss)

...it's an addiction too that I can't break for some reason, or I'm not ready to break, or I'm not giving myself that kick up the backside to do it. You know, I've just joined a gym, and I can get myself there. And I can drag out the first cigarette of the day, and I can do whatever. So I think my willpower is there. But then it's just something that I've done for so long. I feel like, yes, it's like it's just part of me. And there is an addiction side to it, I believe. So I'm an addict. (S19, Female smoker)

I think as I say it's a case of when I'm out socially and I know that I've been good that week and why am I going to fall over on Saturday night or whatever? It's just like I'm telling myself that oh, you've earned it, oh you haven't had one for x days or whatever the case is, and that's not conducive to giving up because that's in a sense just perpetuating when you can have a cigarette, that's not giving up, it's just stretching out the thing in between. That's what I really want to do, I do want to give up. So it means cutting down isn't the objective, it's giving up altogether. (S35, Male, Quitter/weight loss)

All it would take is that circle of friends that I run with that do still smoke just to sort of have the same objective and you're just going to say well, why am I doing it because
nobody else is. But I've always got a partner in crime and that's that. I'm sure that they would view me the same way, yeah. (S35, Male, Quitter/weight loss)

**Smokers’ opinions on increased regulation**

Several smokers expressed support for extensions of restrictions on the sale of cigarettes:

I wish they'd just ban them altogether...So out of sight, out of mind. That's the biggest thing, like if they weren't around people would actually get over it...Yes, even having it behind closed doors people know it's there, people know they can purchase it. (S2, Male, Quitter)

I don't know why they don't just ban them, like they ban drugs. They ban illegal drugs, so why wouldn't they ban...I think the reason why they don't ban them is because they're making a hell of a lot of money on cigarettes and alcohol. (S5, Female, quitter)

If it's the fact that it's bad for us and it's killing us then why are we still allowed to buy them?...So just make it illegal. (S23, Female smoker)

Other smokers supported less prominent display of tobacco cabinets. For example after viewing a picture of a service station tobacco cupboard, including a price list, one subject stated:

The right thing to do is to remove all labelling because people...like my daughter, who is still in New Zealand and she's 16, she's smoking and she's pissing me off, but I know how her mind works, if you removed all labelling then if she walked into a shop to get a Coke, she wouldn't think 'oh, I'll get some cigarettes', but if she sees them she would. (S36, Male quitter/weight loss)

When asked what would be the single most useful thing to decrease his smoking, One smoker suggested that tobacco cabinets should have less prominent quit smoking messages, and that smoking areas should be:

Tucked away, and like, I guess, almost hard to get to. (S6, Male smoker)

Another reported that the most useful thing to limit his smoking would be to:

Close Woolworths or Coles. (S33, Male smoker)

There were also indications that smokers themselves would not be opposed to extension of smoke free areas:

I can't smoke when there's people eating and I don't like them to smoke when I eat. (S18, Female smoker)

I think that the good thing is now that you can't smoke anywhere, like in bars and nightclubs it's very hard to have a cigarette. And then you feel socially excluded, only the smokers are out there. (S5, Female, quitter)

**Where they buy**

Price was repeatedly mentioned as a factor influencing place of purchase, with tobacconists and the supermarkets being repeatedly named as cheaper than other outlets:

Oh, price has got a lot to do with it. Tobacconists are a lot cheaper than most other places, yes, price does. (S8, Female quitter)
I buy them mostly on price. Price is important. If you go to the service station it can be much more expensive. And tobacco shops tend to be cheaper. (S10, Male smoker)

Woolworths because they're cheaper. I think $15 to $16 as opposed to petrol stations can maybe range from $17 to $18 - even $20. There is one petrol station - I think it's in Haberfield or Concord - they're the only one open late at night. So they charge $20 because they can. I paid it because it was the only other pack of cigarettes and I did that even though I didn't have a job. Definitely Woolworths if I can. But if they were shut - if it was too late or it was too far away, I'd just - the local convenience store...and Coles. Definitely grocery stores...Tobacconist if I'm in a small shopping complex, because they are generally the same as Woolworths or a little bit cheaper. (S16, Female, Quitter/weight loss)

...it's a bit cheaper to buy, so when I have been buying them, I have bought that two-pack thing they do... (S22, Male, smoker/weight loss)

I'll get a twin pack down at Coles or Woollies. [Because of the price?] Yeah. (S23, Female smoker)

Woolworths, like just our local supermarket, because they're the cheapest. Price rise - you sort of - it's almost sad really that you shop around. It used to be before just a service station or anywhere that's convenient and when you'd run out just go wherever. I'll actually make that extra trip up the road to go into Woolworths. See, it's much easier to go to the service station, get out of the car, get back in your car. You go park at Woolworths, walk into the shopping centre. Otherwise, like a tobacconist (because they are) cheaper as well...I try to avoid, like your service stations or quick convenience stores because they're always high priced. (S4, Female smoker)

Another reported that he mostly bought from tobacconists, and avoided buying from supermarkets:

I don't buy any from the shops or Woolies or Coles, very rarely.... because I've always got my family with me, and kids. (S7, Male quitter)

Similarly, other subjects associated supermarkets with food purchases, so didn’t buy cigarettes there:

I'd never buy them from Woolworths, I don’t know why. Maybe because I associated it with my husband’s food or something, I don’t know - you know what I mean. I don’t know, it just doesn’t look right to me, buying it and putting it in the trolley. (S29, Female, Quitter/Weight loss)

One subject reported being verbally encouraged to buy cigarettes by a tobacconist:

...I think my choice would be Woolies, Coles or the tobacconist because I get a pack on the way now when I go to Mummy's. He's a dollar cheaper than Coles upstairs. They're in this little funny shop as you come up the concourse, out into George Street. And he says 'Smokes are cheap today love!'. Sometimes he reminds me that I've got to have them so I know I've got to buy them, that's what I've got to do today on the way. (S18, Female smoker)
A number of subjects mentioned obtaining cigarettes duty-free:

_Recently I’ve come back from overseas, I just went to New Zealand, but I bought them duty free…like half the price._ (S6, Male smoker)

…I when I have friends going overseas they get cigarettes… (S18, Female smoker)

_I went to New Zealand for the rugby and came back and bought a carton, but I only buy cartons when I go overseas or come back from overseas._ (S22, Male, smoker/weight loss)

_Duty free because my brother travels a lot. He travels…once every two weeks…(S29, Female, Quitter/Weight loss)_

**Reaction to the sight of retailers**

In response to the scenario ‘going to meet family or friends and running out of cigarettes, and you see somewhere that sells them’ most subjects reported that they would buy cigarettes:

_If it was a family party I’d probably go and buy them just in case I was having a drink …family party, a lot of them smoke. I’ll smell the smoke, and I don’t like to bum off anyone._ (S8, Female quitter)

_If I was going to a party and there was food and alcohol, and I didn’t have any cigarettes and I knew I wanted one, well then I’d probably buy some at anywhere._ (S10, Male smoker)

_I need a packet of smokes, I’ll go in and get them. And as I say, that would be, you know, if it’s a Sunday afternoon and I don’t have them it won’t be the paper shop where I go, it’ll be the local shop. Or if I’m driving and I go, oh…Like now I’ve got two, so I’ll go back to the local shop, because I don’t have any at home, or if I steal some off my son, but I go to the local shop and buy them. Or if I’m in another suburb I’ll go, okay, oh there’s a local corner milk bar or convenience store, I go there._ (S11, Smoker/weight loss)

_I would, I guess, see how many I’ve got left and how long I intend to be at the place for. If I think I’ll need more, then I’ll just go in and buy them._ (S21, Female, Smoker/Weight loss)

_I would stop and purchase._ (Q: _Every time?) Yeah. If I was thinking that I was running out or I didn’t have some social smoking friends, thinking I’d need - to make sure I was okay, [unclear] them stealing them, I would - so I would even buy another pack just to have enough, so I’d buy two packs in that sense._ (S22, Male, smoker/weight loss)

_If I’m running out, depending on how much I’ve got - it depends on the night though. If I’m going out to the city on a big night I’ve got two packets, there’ll be reserves in my bag._

_[Q: So you’ll always - you’d stop and make sure you’ve had two packets.] Of course. There’ll always be a reserve there._ (S29, Female, Quitter/Weight loss)

_Yes, if I was running out, I’d stop and buy them._ (S34, Male smoker)
(I'm thinking about) If I'm running out, how many have I got left; am I likely to be giving some to other people, these are the sort of things because we basically just share and share alike and so the thing is if you rock up and your friend's got none it's going to be a pretty awkward situation - I don't know what the word is, but you know what I mean. Like I don't want to be bludging cigarettes off people and at the same time if I feel I have to have one then that puts me in the [unclear] where I've got to do that. (S35, Male, Quitter/weight loss)

Reaction to pictures of tobacco retailers
Sample subject responses to photos of a range of retailers are summarised in Appendix 4. In particular, however, subjects appeared to respond to photos of a tobacconist and a liquor store, as shown by the following sample quotes:

The tobacconist - I would think about how many cigarettes I've got, where I'm going, do I need more? Because I don't know when I'm going to pass another shop that would sell cigarettes. So that would probably make me think about cigarettes. If I'm buying alcohol because I'm going out or going to a party or whatever, that would, again - because I know how much I smoke, when I drink, it would make me think about where I'm going, how many I've got, should I buy some more? Maybe the service station because I know that from my house to my boyfriend's house, there's only two service stations and they're on my side of the road and they're more towards my place, which is around here and he's in Rockdale. I smoke in the car, so when I drive past servos, or I know that I'm about to come up to a service station, it's that thinking process again where I sort of think, do I need cigarettes? I better stop and get some or whatever. (S21, Female, Smoker/Weight loss)

Impulse buy - impulse buy would probably be (at the tobacconist)...If I was at Coles I would have that on my list, that I have to get some cigarettes, if I was to impulse it would be I was walking past the tobacconist, realise I was running out tomorrow so I'll just get some then. (S36, Male quitter/weight loss)

Go to a liquor shop, hmm maybe I need a bottle of wine...if I get the wine I'm having a packet of smokes. And then I think oh yeah, it's only 11, maybe I'll get a packet of chips [laughs]. (S15, Female, Smoker/Weight loss)

Liquor shop. I wouldn't really put any of the others down. ... I definitely relate to smoking with alcohol more than any other scenario on that page. (S27, Female, Smoker/Weight loss)

(about a liquor shop)...the purchase of alcohol and the consumption of alcohol is probably a time when I'm more tempted to have a cigarette, so the convenience of that, maybe. (S34, Male smoker)

Reaction to ‘Smoking kills’ sign and price signs in service station
In scenario 2, subjects were asked to imagine themselves walking into a petrol station, waiting in line to be served and seeing tobacco cupboards, including a large ‘Smoking kills – Call the Quit Line’ sign and a price list for different brands of cigarettes, and asked what they would be thinking.
Different subjects clearly focused on different elements of the sign, with some, not unexpectedly, focusing on the ‘Quit smoking’ message. For others, however, the effect of the Quit sign, and/or the price list appeared to serve as a trigger to consider buying cigarettes.

...it might make me think, how many cigarettes have I got? But if I didn't need them, whether the sign was there or not...I wouldn't buy them. It just might remind me to think about how many I've got left and do I need more and that sort of thing. (S21, Female, Smoker/Weight loss)

...you automatically see the word ‘smoking’ and you're automatically thinking 'cigarette'. [Facilitator: Even though that's not their intention...]
Yeah, yeah.
[Q: ...because smoking kills?]
Because you've been told for years and years and years smoking kills you, you know smoking kills but if you're buying a pack of cigarettes you've already made that decision. (S23, Female smoker)

You're so used to seeing (cigarettes on display) and it actually used to be helpful because then you can go 'oh wait they've got the cigarettes I like, I'm going to grab a pack while I'm here' rather than hope the next 7-Eleven has them. This (petrol station display) will just make me check my bag... (S23, Female smoker)

It's making me aware that I can purchase cigarettes. (S34, Male smoker)

[Q: Would a sign like this make you think of smoking or buying cigarettes?]
If I saw that, it would do for - I do look at them. Maybe this not so much because...But no, I would.
[Q: So if you looked at that and you saw it, it would make you think of smoking?]
Yep, absolutely, yeah. (S36, Male quitter/weight loss)

Effect of display bans
Though the effect of display bans was not explored, several subjects commented favourably on the recent restrictions on display of cigarettes, and suggested that it had decreased their smoking:

Seeing cigarettes would trigger that I would buy a packet of cigarettes. So it’s probably good that they’re not displayed. [Q: Have you found that you’ve decreased your smoking because of that?] Oh probably a little bit, a little bit. Yes, I agree with the fact it’s not there, so children and minors can’t see it. But for me, yes, it’s had a slight decrease in purchasing. (S6, Male smoker)

It’s not in your face as much...I find it a lot easier for me, yes, I must admit I do. I think you’ve done the best thing by wiping (displays) out, because out of sight out of mind, and that is a very true saying. (S8, Female quitter)

One subject reported that the imposition of display bans had resulted in smoking becoming less socially acceptable: when asked if bans had affected her smoking, she replied:

You know what, I think it has, because - not that I've paid attention to it before, but it's become - because it seems to have become socially unacceptable - you're not going to
light up a joint at a friend's party or in public. You're not going to do drugs somewhere because they're socially unacceptable and they're illegal. Now I definitely feel like you're not accepted as much in so far as you definitely notice that. I'd hide with it a little bit especially if I was smoking in the car, I'd always have a bottle - preferably a glass bottle with a with a little bit of water in it. But I'd always notice if I was driving and smoking, people driving near me would give me a bit of a look. You feel a little bit of judgement from people...I definitely think it has impacted...you feel like you going to have to hide your own packet of cigarettes while all these other people are buying their bread and their milk. (S16, Female, Quitter/weight loss)

Substitution between smoking and eating
For smokers and/or attempting quitters also trying to lose weight, there was some evidence that smoking was seen as a substitute for eating foods seen as undesirable, and that (less commonly) eating was sometimes used to avoid smoking:

So if you're not smoking you're eating. So that's the break. And I've got another mate that is only a little fellow and the doctor prescribed him as a morbidly obese smoking alcoholic. But he's not, I mean he's about five foot three, and he's got a gut on him, but that's all he's got. And he likes his drink, because he has probably three schooners a day, like when he comes home he has a couple, at dinner he has a couple, and he smokes. So he decided I'm going to give it away, right, he give it away and he put on ten kilos. (S11, Smoker/weight loss)

I won't carry anymore than two muesli bars in my handbag because sometimes they just go soft, I forget about them, but I normally have like you know those little fruit bowls that you used to get at Woolworths, I used to have like a bag of those, like a little bag in my handbag. Each time I felt like something sweet or if I was craving a cigarette I used to eat one of those or two or three of those or a packet and that would fulfil my craving for a cigarette sometimes. (S12, Smoker/weight loss)
Smokers and Quitter Audio Diaries and Photos (Stage 2)

Data from the Stage 2 audio diaries was fragmentary, but consistent with the findings from the Stage 1 interviews. As a result, sample data is primarily presented without additional commentary. However analysis of the data showed a number of key issues

1. Where they smoke at home
2. Environmental prompts for smoking
3. Cues for not smoking
4. Substitution between food and drink

**Where they smoke at home**
Consistent with subjects’ direct reports from Stage 1 that almost without exception, they smoked outside, even at home, there was repeated, consistent, direct and indirect evidence of smoking outside:

I’ve arrived home, it’s 3 o’clock. I’m just about to have some lunch. My craving has gone for meantime, but after lunch I’ll probably go outside and have a smoke. [later] I’ve just finished lunch, I might go outside and have a cigarette. [later] I’ll go outside and have a nice beverage with a cigar. (S8, Female quitter)

After tea up the backyard having a few cans and a couple of cigarettes. (S11, Male, Smoker/weight loss)

I sit out on the balcony and I have a glass of wine and I have a cigarette, and that’s time out to relax. (S13, Female quitter/weight loss)

Alright, let’s go outside and have a smoke…. (S14, Male smoker)

I have just finished my study for the night. I have been sitting outside with numerous cups of coffee and consequently smoked quite a few cigarettes in this time. (S21, Female smoker/weight loss)

I’m just making my coffee and about to go out for a cigarette, which I felt like because I’m having my coffee. (S21, Female smoker/weight loss)

Had a cigarette, outside one on one. (S22, Male smoker/weight loss)
There’s a big storm brewing. This made me want to go outside to have a cigarette to watch the storm. (S27, Female smoker/weight loss)

I’ve just got home from work, and I’ve just sat down at the back and I’ve got myself a beer and I’m sitting here having a cigarette thinking about what I’m going to have for tea. (S34, Male smoker)

I just came outside to put a garbage bag in the bin and decided to have a cigarette while I was outside – number two. [later] I’ve just taken a couple of photos of the area outside the back of my house, my entertainment area. I seem to be having quite a lot of cigarettes sitting out there. (S34, Male smoker)

The first photo is a photo of my favourite spot to sit while I’m having a cigarette and that’s outside in the back patio of my house. [later entry] I forgot to mention that at each occasion I’ve had a cigarette today I have been out the back in the patio area, which is one of the photos that I took today. (S38, Male smoker/weight loss)

Came home, got dinner ready, ate dinner, washed the dishes and now coming outside for a cigarette. (S45, Female smoker)

There was also some evidence that the trend to smoke outside was a relatively recent pattern, at least for some subjects, providing some indirect evidence of a change in social norms about where smoking is done, even at home.

It's 10 past 10 and I'm going out the front to have a cigarette because I've got to make some phone calls. I don't smoke in the house anymore, so I'm going to have a cigarette. (S27, Female quitter/weight loss)

Environmental prompts for smoking
As the extracts below show, many reports of smoking included more than one of the two apparent main triggers for smoking: alcohol and other smokers. Attendance at licensed premises will almost inevitably mean that subjects are drinking and exposed to the multiple other smokers, often in a designated smoking areas, which for some smokers, implied an ‘invitation’ to smoke. However in an attempt to avoid over-emphasising the role of licensed premises in promoting smoking, quotations have only been included under the heading of ‘licensed premises’ if the subject explicitly mentions some form of licensed premise. Other reports of alcohol and smoking are reported under ‘Alcohol’ and/or ‘Other smokers’ though some of these incidents are likely to have occurred at licensed premises.

Licensed premises:

I’m at the Merrylands Bowling Club. I’ll order some nice food. And now I’ve got a glass of wine, and I’m going to go and have a smoke before my meal. (S14, Male smoker)
Just went into the pub to see a few friends, they were smoking, so I had a cigarette also. (S21, Female smoker/weight loss)

I had two beers at the pub and two cigarettes, and I’m home, and I’m having another cigarette. So obviously I smoke a lot more when I’ve had a couple of drinks. (S34, Male smoker)

It’s Saturday night at 11pm. I just came back from a night out at a nightclub and I had a few drinks and ended up having a cigarette with some friends who were smoking. [followed by entry next morning] It’s Sunday morning and the trigger for me last night for having a cigarette felt like the alcohol made me lose control and seeing other smoke around me made me feel like one. (S39, Male, Quitter/Weight loss)

9.30 Just got to the pub with a friend. Having a beer. Having a cigarette in the beer garden. 9:40pm: still at the pub. Having another cigarette. 10:50pm: I'm still at the pub. Trigger was drinking. So just out of habit I guess. (S43, Male smoker)

It’s about 11 o’clock Friday night. At my friend's bar having a few wines and generally when I have some wine, I have a cigarette after work. So having a cigarette....11:45pm, just having another cigarette. No real trigger, just feel like one...Friday night/Saturday morning 12:30am. Having another cigarette. Still at the bar....Tough one. Just having a cigarette because everybody else was having one....Saturday morning, quarter past two. Just got to the pub. So having a cigarette with my friends 'cause we just got our first drink. (S43, Male smoker)

Saturday five o'clock pm. Just got to a sake bar with a friend. So we're just having a cigarette with the drink....Saturday evening 6:53pm. Still at the sake bar with my friend. So we've just finished eating so we're having a cigarette....Saturday night, 9:15pm. Just having a cigarette. Watching some bands. So no real trigger. So just came out to break it up I guess....10:50pm Saturday night. Watching the bands. Having a smoke. Trigger was just sort of - I don't know - watched a bit of the band then came outside for a segue way. It is a segue way....Saturday night, 12:21am. The band has just finished, so just had a cigarette....It's 1:15am, Saturday night/Sunday morning. I'm having a cigarette. I'm still out at the gig I was at before. Basically I'm having a cigarette for no visual triggers. I just finished my drink I guess. (S43, Male smoker)

There was also evidence of the pub being associated with relapse by an attempting quitter. One subject who estimated that he hadn’t smoked for three days on the first day only had about 5 cigarettes over the four days recorded smoking at the pub:

Day 1: Just finished dinner. Kind of feeling like a cigarette but I’m going to stay strong and not have one. I haven’t had one for about three days.
Day 2: Just finished lunch, and always used to have a cigarette after lunch. So kind of have a niggly feeling but I haven’t had one, which is good.
Day 2: Went out to meet the boys at the Oaks Hotel in Neutral Bay, which is the pub. I had a few drinks and did have two cigarettes. Also this afternoon, yes. (S2, Male quitter)
Alcohol

Unsurprisingly, there was substantial evidence of smoking associated with alcohol, both at home and in licensed premises:

And I have not taken any pictures when I’ve been drinking, but on the some time when I did drink I felt like a smoke, and coffee. I feel that my thoughts of the four days when I was tempted to smoke is when I eat all the food that is spicy and nice and enjoying a glass of wine and enjoying a cup of coffee and I feel the temptation of smoking. But I’m trying to cut down, so in this recording I’ve tried to avoid lots of yummy food and drinking. (S17, Female smoker/weight loss)

I’m going to have a cigarette because I’m playing poker and it’s break time and I’ve had a couple of alcohol beverages and I feel like one. (S21, Female smoker/weight loss)

Went out last night with a couple of people for dinner after work, one of the guys was taking a bit of a holiday. I ended up having two cigarettes with a couple of glasses of wine. (S7, Male quitter)

Barbeque, down at the park after boys baseball training. Many beers, many steaks, and too many cigarettes. Photo of beers taken. (S11, Male, Smoker/weight loss)

Lighting up the barbeque, having a beer and a smoke…. [later] Cooking a barbeque, having a couple of beers and a few cigarettes. [later] After tea up the backyard having a few cans and a couple of cigarettes. (S11, Male, Smoker/weight loss)

This evening went to Halloween party and as usual with food and alcohol being there I had a couple… Yesterday as it was Melbourne Cup day there was a luncheon that we attended and with food and alcohol being available at no cost I certainly had a few cigarettes during the course of the luncheon between meals. (S14, Male smoker)

It's Thursday night at nine o'clock and I had people over for dinner. I drank a few beers and I guess it was peer pressure with everybody else drinking, I just kept having another and then another. (S39, Male, Quitter/Weight loss)

A café which allows smoking

We just came to the café to have some breakfast, and I saw someone eating the big breakfast, so that’s what I’m going to get. I’ve taken a photo of the menu. And now while we wait I’m just going to have a cigarette. (S21, Female smoker/weight loss)

I’ve just come down for my morning coffee at the café, and I’m having a cigarette. (S34, Male smoker)
Other smokers at work:

It’s been a stressful day. About to grab a cup of coffee and have a cigarette with a few of the fellow team members. [later] Just going down to have a cigarette with a few work colleagues, and a cup of coffee. [later] I feel like a cigarette, it’s been a stressful afternoon, but I’m not going to have one. It’s just the others have gone down for a cigarette afternoon coffee, which has always tempted. (S7, Male quitter)

Someone’s just popped their head into the office that I have here and asked me to go out and join them for a cigarette. I’m going to do so. (S38, Male smoker/weight loss)

I’ve arrived back here to my main office at Rydalmere. Just as I’ve pulled up there is a smokers’ area out the front. There are a couple of guys there. I’m going to go over and have a cigarette with them now. (S38, Male smoker/weight loss)

Other smokers at home:

Day three. Just finished work. Boyfriend has been home for a little while, sat down and had a couple of drinks and I automatically lit a smoke [first cigarette reported], a cigarette that is. And I’ve had about four puffs of it and didn’t realise I was smoking and I handed it back over to him. (S8, Female quitter)

I’ve gone out to have a cigarette, we’ve had a visitor turn up, he’s a smoker so I’m going to go out and join him and have a cigarette. (S27, Female smoker/weight loss)

I’ve had a friend turn up who’s going to have a coffee, and she happens to be a smoker, so of course that’s going to influence me to join her and have a cigarette too. (S27, Female smoker/weight loss)

I just received a phone call from one of my girlfriends, three of them are coming around tonight. I was trying to get out of it actually, only due to smoking. It’s going to freak me out, you probably get to see a photo of my ashtray tonight, hopefully not from me, but definitely from the smokers. [followed by later entry]...My friends just left. I smoked, of course. Yes, very hard tonight, but I had a couple of cigarettes. They smoked, we emptied the ashtray twice. Bad influence, that’s where my bad influence is, I need to leave for a long time to give up, I think. (S29, Female quitter/weight loss)

I feel like absolute crap I’m smoking, I feel crap today, really bad, I shouldn’t have done it, guilt stricken. So yes, just yuck, just hope today is a better day. God, I feel yucky. (S29, Female quitter/weight loss)

A bloke just walked past and he was having a cigarette and I could smell it about 25 metres away from where I was and that’s given me a cue to go and have one, so I’ll
leave the front of the house where I currently am and walk around the back and have a cigarette then I’ll start on the second car. (S38, Male smoker/weight loss)

My friend came over who also smokes. So we had a cigarette over in the yard. (S43, Male smoker)

My partner is outside having a cigarette, so I thought I might go outside and join him for a smoke while dinner's cooking. (S45, Female smoker)

Sight of retailers:
There was evidence of the sight of retailers triggering cigarette purchase and/or smoking:

I went and bought a packet of cigarettes, but again, didn’t smoke any. But yes, I was just walking past a tobacconist and I saw it, and I thought, oh yes, I better buy a packet just in case. (S7, Male quitter)

It’s really hot and I’ve just driven past a corner shop and saw a Streets Ice Cream sign, so I’m going to stop in and get one. [followed by later entry] I also ended up buying cigarettes with the ice cream because I didn’t have any cash on me and had to use eftpos and there was a minimum spend. So I’m running a little bit low on cigarettes so I decided to buy them as well. (S21, Female smoker/weight loss)

...took a picture of the Ettamogah Pub and also Dan Murphy's. They're the types of triggers or - I suppose I'll call them triggers, they're the types of things I look at or I drive past - that's the type of stuff that makes me sometimes want to crave a cigarette because it's a place where you meet with friends and you just feel like sitting down and having a drink and just smoke. (S42, Female quitter/weight loss)

There was also evidence that subjects themselves may be unaware that they are triggered to buy and/or smoke by the sight of tobacco retailers. For example during the Stage 1 interviews, one subject said that the sight of retailers had no effect on her, but realised during Stage 2 recordings that she was influenced by the sight of retailers:

Also actually, look, going back to the first stage when you showed me those photographs about when do I feel like a cigarette, like going to Woolworths and Coles, or past the cigarette shop. If I haven’t got cigarettes I feel like a cigarette when I go
past a cigarette shop. I sort of said it doesn’t really bother me either way probably because I usually buy cigarettes and make sure I have a quantity at home. But when I’m out of cigarettes or down on cigarettes, when I go past a cigarette shop or tobacconist shop that’s when I feel like a cigarette or want to walk in and buy some. (S8, Female quitter)

Convenience of retailers:
I’m on my way home from work at about seven o’clock. And I know that I don’t have any cigarettes at home, so I’m stopping at the service station just up the road from home to get a packet of cigarettes. (S13, Female quitter/weight loss)

...it looks like I’m down to my last one, so I’m going to go and get some more, so I’ll duck down the shop and buy a couple of packets. I usually buy two packets at the one time. There’s a cheaper deal for buying them in that way and the convenience store’s just down the road, so I’m going to go and do that now. (S38, Male smoker/weight loss)

Duty-free suppliers:
You’ll note that at no time have I bought any cigarettes. That’s because I had a carton from a trip overseas and I have quite a few cigarettes here at home. (S40, Male smoker)

Work breaks:
The data presented strong evidence of a pattern of smoking punctuated and enabled by work-breaks.

During the course of today I had my usual cigarettes, around 10:30, 11:00, lunch time. I also had one at three o’clock because I was feeling quite tired and I was hoping that it would keep me awake and one just as I left to come home, as usual. (S14, male smoker)

Just came outside for a mid afternoon break, and I’ve just lit up a durry. I can’t think of a particular reason why I did it, but maybe it’s just habit. (S34, Male smoker)

I managed to get through the day with just one ciggie in the morning with a coffee, and one in the afternoon with another coffee. So they go hand in hand. (S35, Male quitter/weight loss)

Friday, about 10 past 11, I'm just on my morning tea break from work, so I'm going to - I've made myself a coffee, now I'm going downstairs to have a cigarette.... It's Friday, about 1:30. Just on my lunch break. I've come out to have a cigarette again, probably eat some
lunch and then come back out and have a couple more. Just that [same photo] that I took from my morning tea break....Friday, two o'clock. Got about 10 minutes left of my lunch break, 15 at most, so I'm going to have maybe a couple more cigarettes, just so I can enjoy my time here and then I'll head back to work. (S45, Female smoker)

Coffee:

I love having a smoke with your cup of coffee. I've taken a picture of it too, so you've got a picture of that there. I'm currently in the kitchen making my cup of coffee and then I'll head out to the patio to have my smoke. (S38, Male smoker/weight loss)

On top of that I had a second craving because we stop at McDonald's every morning for a coffee and there's nothing more I want with a coffee than a cigarette. (S42, Female quitter/weight loss)

Cues for not smoking

In the car:

Yes, just left the interview, feel like a cigarette, but I can’t have one because I'm in the car.....Yes, I forgot to mention I don’t smoke in the car, I don’t want to stink it out. So I won't have one. (S8, Female quitter)

Work:

Going to have myself a smoke on the way to work, then I won't have another one for a couple of hours until my next break. (S45, Female smoker)
Family:

I’m going to go to my mum’s today. I don't smoke at my mum's, so I just had a couple more cigarettes before I go because I know I won't be able to have any through the day. (S45, Female smoker)

Substitution between food and drink
There was substantial evidence of substitution between food and drink:

... on Sunday at the barbeque everyone was having dessert which looked really, really nice, and so I decided to have a cigarette instead of having dessert. (S13, Female quitter/weight loss)

...now I’m just trying to heat up some rice but it’s taking forever to cook. So instead of nibbling on something I will probably go and have a cigarette instead. (S13, Female quitter/weight loss)

Getting dinner ready, it’s very hard not to pick at something to eat because I’m starving, so I’m going to opt and go outside and have a cigarette instead. (S27, Female smoker/weight loss)

Getting close to dinner time, the girls have had a yoghurt and I’m having a yoghurt too because the temptation to pick is very strong. So I’ve just gone out and had a cigarette to stop my urge of eating too. (S27, Female smoker/weight loss)

Not long and we’re going to have dinner served on the table, a little later than normal, and I’m starving. So I’m going to go and have a cigarette and a glass of water instead of picking at something in the fridge like bread or something that I shouldn’t have. (S27, Female smoker/weight loss)

Had an early cigarette today. Got through yesterday without one, was busy and the day flew and before I knew it, it was over. So I’m pretty happy about that, and if I can make more of those sort of days happen it’d be really good. And on the way through passed Pattinsons again, the regular, also didn’t give into temptation. So cigarette trade off against something sweet and naughty, it’s pretty fair for me. (S35, Male quitter/weight loss)

I have decided to sit down and relax a little bit and that includes having a coffee and probably a smoke - sorry, a smoke and probably a coffee, not quite sure about the coffee thing. But did get very hungry during mowing and did want to have some of that chocolate but am trying to stick to my guns. (S38, Male smoker/weight loss)

...still watching the cricket, have just seen an ad for KFC on the television that thought that would be a really, really nice dinner but given that I’m trying to lose weight, whilst
it’s very tempting, I’m trying not to make a suggestion for that, but it does make me hungry for it and I will be going out to have a cigarette in the next minute or two out the back, having been in the lounge room. (S38, Male smoker/weight loss)

...the post has arrived for the day and I’ve received a late Christmas present from a contact of mine down in Melbourne, which is a little box of choccies. I’ve taken a photo of them for you to have a look at; very, very tempting because it’s a little while after lunch and I tend to get a little bit hungry around this time. I’m not going to have any of them though, I’m going to fight the urge to have them, but I am going to go down and have a cigarette outside with a colleague of mine…(S38, Male smoker/weight loss)
Smoker and Quitter Re-interviews (Stage 3)

In Stage 3, 18 subjects were re-interviewed, including four quitters and seven smokers. Subjects were presented with general findings from preliminary analysis of Stage 1 and Stage 2 results, and asked in particular about:

- Whether they smoked inside or outside
- Impulse purchases of tobacco after seeing retailers
- Their reaction to the report from some subjects that Quit signs in service stations could make people think about smoking

Smoking inside or outside at home

With only two exceptions, smokers reported that they ‘never’ smoked inside at home. One exception said that she had smoked inside ‘very rarely’:

Q: Do you smoke at home?
I do.
Q: Inside the home?
No.
Q: No? You never smoke inside?
Ohhh...[pause] I can’t say never - there's probably been the odd one here and there where it's been really, really bad weather or something like that and I haven't gone outside, but very rarely. I'll always try to go - because we've got like a little front porch and we'll sit out the back... (S45, Female smoker)

Another subject had lived in a home where everyone smoked, but they decided to smoke outside:

I've only really lived in one place where we smoked inside and we trialled it for a while. It just got too smoky so we stopped even though everyone there smoked.
[Q: So when you say too smoky, do you just mean the smell?]
Yeah just the smell and ash and cigarette butts everywhere and people that didn't live there would come over and you'd end up with cigarette butts in the carpet and all that kind of stuff. (S43, Male smoker)

One subject, who lived alone, said that he smoked inside, but only in front of his computer:

I only tend to really smoke here in front of the computer on my dining room table... I've got a balcony as well and I will sometimes go and smoke out there, not just because it's a nice day but because I feel bad about the cigarettes back in the house. I have a huge thing - it's usually conditioned in me that smoking is bad, it's not cool, it's not anything and you shouldn't be doing it, yet I'm still doing it. (S40, Male smoker)

From one subject (who didn’t smoke indoors at home), there was an indication that banning smoking indoors in commercial premises had accustomed him to smoking outside:

I've never been a big inside smoker. I used to love smoking inside of a pub and got really peeved when they stopped - the no smoking signs at the pub. But at home, I'm very conscious of the smell of it and also my wife is not a smoker and particularly having got two kids I certainly would never, ever contemplate it. I think it's probably now down to if you want to have a durrie you duck outside. (S38, Male smoker/weight loss)
There was also additional evidence of smokers changing their patterns about where they smoke:

Never smoke in the car, haven't smoked in a car since Bec was pregnant with our first and he's now six. I used to love smoking in the car. Even when we were together and she wasn't pregnant I would smoke in the car but while she was pregnant that's it, so I stopped that completely. (S38, Male smoker/weight loss)

**Impulse purchase of tobacco after seeing retailers:**
Several subjects reported being tempted, and/or purchasing after seeing tobacco retailers:

-I work next door to a tobacconist and if sometimes we go out for a walk or we have to walk past and you think maybe I should buy another packet of cigarettes in case I'm short. (S7, Male quitter)

Well yes, [I'm more likely to buy] if I'm low on cigarettes, if I'm passing a tobacco shop, or when I do my weekly shopping, I buy them in a tobacco shop. (S10, Male quitter)

Yeah, I have. Sometimes I was in the supermarket, I said, oh, I should get smokes, I've only got three or four left. Sometimes I think, no don't get any but then I go, yeah, come on. I'm sort of thinking - there's some little thoughts in my mind. I said to the girl on the end, can I have a packet of these? It's just like, I'm not even saying but I'm saying it. Just to have a reserve there, do you know what I mean? (S17, Female smoker/weight loss)

**Quit signs as a trigger for smoking and/or purchase**
Most subjects appeared surprised that a Quit sign could trigger an urge to smoke. One subject, however, suggested that any anti-smoking promotion, (as well as tobacco packaging) could trigger an urge to smoke:

Oh of course, I mean you only have to look at your packet of cigarettes to know that and yeah that always is something that comes into mind even just advertising on television. Not necessarily at the - I wouldn't necessarily say that advertising at a supermarket or a service station would influence me, it's not something that I feel really that much in my face, but I think more it would be television and on the packet that would influence me more. (S27, Female smoker/weight loss)
Weight Loss Group Interviews (Stage 1)

As was done with the smoker/quitter group, the data from Stage 1 interviews of food subjects was run through the Leximancer software to determine the overarching themes in the data. The results are shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Word frequency association, Weight Loss

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Relevance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buy</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avoid</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eating</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>home</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
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<td>weight</td>
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<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coffee</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tempted</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
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<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinner</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lunch</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>81</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>78</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chocolate</td>
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<td>bad</td>
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<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morning</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table on the left of the figure shows that unsurprisingly, ‘food’ is the most commonly used word in transcripts. Closely linked to this is ‘buy’ (with 57% of occurrences near the reference to ‘food’) followed by ‘avoid’ (47% co-occurrences), and ‘day’ (30% co-occurrences).

The map on the right of the figure reveals the four main themes that resulted from the transcript analysis: ‘Food’, ‘Work’, ‘Chips’ and ‘Weight’. The sub-themes associated with the first three themes are shown below: ‘Weight’, in contrast, was not specifically linked to any sub-theme.

Food: tempted, avoid, buy, eating, McDonald’s
Work: lunch, home, dinner, coffee, drink, day, and hungry
Chips: chocolate, bad (the latter overlapping the with ‘Food’)

The intersecting theme has been labelled ‘Chips’, however this should not be taken too literally. Although ‘chips’ was mentioned most frequently, it represents a group of unhealthy foods (particularly including chocolate) that are often seen as ‘bad’. As noted by one subject:

So a lot more junk, in inverted commas, food gets purchased when (my husband) shops or when he’s with me shopping. So sometimes he just goes to the supermarket himself
and picks up junk. Chocolate, potato chips, soft drink, these little Shape biscuits that he
and my son both enjoy snacking on. (S20 Female, Weight Loss)

(Service stations and supermarkets have) got those little chocolate bars or chips and
stuff like that at the counters and that sort of thing. (S21 Female, Smoker/Weight Loss)

As with the smoking/quitter dataset, the theme of ‘Weight’ was positioned as an outlier.
However the context in which weight was discussed reveals that the majority of weight loss
subjects have at some stage attempted a weight loss program (e.g. Weight Watchers or Lite &
Easy), resulting in the ‘Weight’ theme being positioned closer to meal occasions that to the
‘Food’ theme. For example sample comments on weight loss programs included:

“I’m a Weight Watcher so I do Weight Watchers and I try to avoid - my downfall, my
biggest downfall, I’m [a really healthy eater], but my biggest downfall is cakes and
biscuits... (S32 Female, Weight Loss)

And I remember when I first started Weight Watchers they said, ‘oh you get one of those
lockable toolboxes and put everything that you’re not allowed to have in there and put a
padlock on it’. I thought, ‘oh god, that’s a bit desperate’. (S1 Female, Weight Loss)

I have done most of the major diets, like Jenny Craig, Lite & Easy, and I’ve done
Weight Watchers as well. And I find that most of those things work well for a while but
then after you stop doing them you tend to slowly drift back in, (S20 Female, Weight
Loss)

This top level summary, suggests three over arching themes in the data;
• Time of day impacts the likelihood of being tempted to eat high kilojoule food
• The influence of others
• The temptation to buy and consume HKF due to the sight of retailers, and/or the
  sight and smell of food.

Each is discussed separately below. A summary of a typical weight loss subject is contained
in Appendix 7.

Time of Day

Time of day was repeatedly was mentioned in weight loss interviews as impacting on the
likelihood of being tempted by high kilojoule food. For example:

“I come home from work, and then after dinner, I don’t know why, I have a good
wholesome meal and suddenly it’s like half an hour or so, it’s like I want something
sweet, I want some chocolate or is there a bit of chocolate?...Yes, so that part through
the evening. And then if you’re watching a show, something on TV, and it gets to
around, say, either around seven o’clock, probably around getting towards nine
o’clock, you’re looking for something from there onwards. And again, those periods,
especially on a weekend, where you may not be eating correctly – you may not have a
good breakfast and you may not have a good lunch because of X, Y or Z (S25 Male,
Weight Loss)

Time of day factor was often discussed in the context of periods between meals, particularly
later in the day, as key periods of temptation for high kilojoule foods. For example:
I can be so good during the day and then come night time I’ll sit on the lounge and I might have some Shapes or maybe some crisps. Then it’ll go downhill. You’ll go ‘I’ve had that and now I’ll have some chocolate too’. (S29, Female, Quitter/Weight Loss)

I probably have a low point in the late afternoon, about four o’clock, where I think you’re sort of running out of energy and you feel like you need an injection of calories to keep going until dinner time. And also sometimes after dinner if I happen to be sort of sitting and watching telly or something, I do sort of feel like I should be nibbling on something. (S20, Female, Weight Loss)

Four o’clock...At the moment it's a little bit different because I'm not working, but when I was, always around that four o’clock mark. (S16, Female, Quitter/Weight Loss)

(I’m tempted) Mainly between coming home from work and dinner. Between say, 4:00 and 7:00. (S 30 Male, Weight Loss)

Many subjects commented on knowing that they should be eating healthy food on these occasions, but they often succumbed to less healthy foods:

Probably when I'm really hungry, then you might go for a quick fix and then often you'll go for something that's not as healthy as it could be. (S22, Male, Smoker Weight Loss)

I'm [a really healthy eater], but my biggest downfall is cakes and biscuits because I bake so I have cake at home in there at the moment that, you know, it's really hard not to grab a piece of it (S29, Female Quitter Weight Loss)

My problem is butter on bread and pasta and eating at the wrong time of the night and snacking. It's not necessarily that our cupboards are full of snacks, it's the fact that I will have bread and butter at night because I'm tired or I think I'll just have two small packets of chips. (S27, Female Smoker Weight Loss)

Many subjects appeared to have a degree of justification for their choice of snack

I found I had like about four biscuits and I'm thinking - they're not [greedy] biscuits, they're just little malt biscuits but you can't even taste them. (S32 Female Weight Loss)

...probably in the last five years I’ve been, you know...[chocolate] the kids eat it, and they bring stuff home. So that makes it a bit harder. If it wasn’t for them I wouldn’t buy all that... (S1 Female, Weight Loss)

Those who frequently ‘snacked’ openly discussed that this was the ‘hardest time’ to manage a diet program particularly as many had taken the time to prepare a ‘healthy breakfast/lunch/dinner’ but very few ‘planned’ what to have for these snack events. The later in the day, the higher seemed the likelihood that a less healthy option would prevail. For example one subject reported:

It’s been late nights and things like that, and when I’m tired that’s when I go, ‘I don’t care, I don’t care about having a salad sandwich, I’ll have the hot chips, thanks’. (S13 Female, Smoker/Weight Loss)

Those who did attempt to plan for snacking included nuts, cheese, fruit as their main options, in an attempt to avoid eating foods such as chips, chocolate and other high kilojoule food.
The Influence of Others

An emergent theme throughout the food data was the influence of others, particularly in a social situation and particularly if the participant was consciously dieting. Several subjects suggested that if they were seen to be eating unhealthy food this would reflect on them in a negative manner:

...when I'm by myself, because there's no one judging me..saying ‘God you're eating that’, but it's more that I don't want them to see me eating that food - because I've talked about wanting to lose weight and stuff, if you talk about it, you've got to walk the walk, so if you're in front of friends or family, you go and eat a meat pie - well not a meat pie, but a muffin or something, you're looking - you look silly. (S22 Male Smoker/Weight Loss)

Another discussed drive-through fast food as an easy option because of the associated anonymity:

[It's] open 24 hours and it's drive-through, so you if you’re feeling a little bit guilty you don’t have to get out and walk in and be alone in there by yourself at 11 o’clock at night. You can go in your car and sneak through under the radar, get your little junk food fix and off you go. (S16 Female Quitter/Weight Loss)

Whilst not overtly stipulated, many subjects who were trying to lose weight seemed to experience occasions of ‘weakness’ and did not want to be publicly seen as not being able to maintain the weight management strategies they had entered into. As a result, they appeared to be focus less on what eating the food would do for their diet, and more on how they would be seen in the eyes of their friends and family. For example one said:

I don’t eat dessert when I go out. You know, my wife said, ‘oh, you’re a closet desserter, ’ sort of thing. I only eat it at home and no one can see me. And I said, ‘if you allow me to go out in the backyard and eat you won’t be looking at me.’ (S11 Male, Smoker/Weight Loss)

In contrast, there were also occasions where friends and family were perceived to be encouraging consumption of high kilojoule food despite subjects’ intentions not to do so:

...if I go out on, say, on a Friday night with my mates, and I do that probably once a month we go out, and if we get on the grog a lot we’ll go and have pizzas or kebabs or we’ll go and buy a big thing of chips. That’s when you don’t want to eat it, but then you think, oh well, I’ve got on the piss... (S11 Male, Smoker Weight loss)

...like last night I took my partner to the airport, he’s gone overseas, and this it at nine o’clock at night, and I’d had dinner prior to leaving, and then he got Oportos, and then I was like, oh, if you’re getting Oportos I’m going to get Oportos. And I never eat Oportos, not that I’d eat it all the time. And so I got it, and then I thought, why did I just get that, I wasn’t even hungry, but it was just because he was getting it I just got it. (S24 Female, Weight Loss)

Many ‘temptation’ episodes seemed to be at least partly influenced by a desire to comply with group behaviour:

Just because someone else is doing it. So I guess I say oh I should have some of that. (S24 Female, Weight Loss)
...because when you’re going out you think, oh, I’m going to be good tonight, I’ll make sure...But you start having a few beers and then everything, all your straight thinking goes out the door. And I suppose, for want of a better word, peer pressure...it’s just everyone is doing it, you go ‘I’ll do it.’ (S11 Male, Smoker Weight loss)

I have a couple of friends that are extremely good desert cooks who always bring deserts, and I just think it’s bad manners not to have a bit...I’ve got to have a taste or else they’ll think I’m rude that they’ve brought it and I’ve not eaten any of it. (S20 Female, Weight Loss)

Temptations to buy and eat high kilojoule foods

Reaction to the sight of retailers
Sample subjects’ responses to the sight of different food retailers are detailed in Appendix 5. In particular, subjects reported that they would be tempted by the sight of fast food chains:

...the McDonald’s and the KFC pictures, they would - if you're driving past them and you're hungry, you're - yeah, it would trigger, like you go, oh actually that's not a bad idea, let's get in for a - especially Drive Thru, it makes it so convenient, you just - and just - yeah, you have a cheeseburger- and you think it's a snack, it's not a meal, how bad can it be? Same with KFC, if I get a burger or something there, so from that respect, driving past them or seeing them coming up in the distance, you may... (S22, Male, smoker/weight loss)

[Sigh] Well McDonald’s had that bloody dollar cheeseburger. I found that I was buying like two or three of those a day. I enjoy the cheeseburgers. That's probably my weakness with McDonald’s. Cheeseburgers and fries. So yeah. When they do big advertisements like that, where something is normally triple the price, I'm there. (S9, Male weight loss)

McDonald’s and KFC. I think there’s way too many of them and every time I see - I think I heard recently that another McDonald’s is opening up near Five Dock or something and I just thought ‘oh great, like we need any more’. They’re just - I don’t know why we need so many everywhere...They’re too easy to get to, and especially with 24 hours and things like that - and yeah [I would be tempted] just these two. (Female, Quitter/Weight Loss)

We have KFC once in a blue moon, but I might drive past and think yeah, that Colonel chicken would be nice, but...

(Q: You're not stopping now?)

No, I'm not. No, because I won't. I just won't do it. I will consciously say to the girls no, if we're going to get takeaway tonight, we might as well go to Subway and you can have that for dinner, or we'll go to something like the Chinese and get our healthy stir fried beef and veggies. I really try not to do it. (S27, Female, Smoker/Weight Loss)

KFC wouldn't even bother. Now McDonald's, if it's a McCafé I would definitely. I did it the other day. I actually had a look in their little cabinet and I thought this needs something. I didn't buy a big muffin, didn't buy a cake, bought a mini apple and cinnamon muffin. (S32, Female, Weight Loss)
In contrast, service stations and supermarkets were mentioned as a strong source of point-of-sale temptation for some subjects: that is, subjects were tempted once they were inside the store, as opposed to being tempted by the mere sight of fast food chains:

*Service stations, probably are a bad one, I never thought about that one. If you’re sort of like going away and you pull into a service station, and you end up filling up on lollies, drinks… Stuff like that.* (S3, Male weight loss)

*The service station, yes, that is interesting, because I have been tempted to buy things in service stations, because, again, I’m sort of out and about getting petrol and probably haven’t been home or whatever. And yes, you can’t help but walk past the rows and rows of lolly bags while you’re getting to the thingo.* (S20, Female weight loss)

*It's easy enough at the service station, you can actually pull up for petrol and grab a snack, but see again these scenarios I'm trying to avoid. It might have been somewhere in the past I might have been tempted, yeah, I'll just grab that chocolate, two for $3 on special at the front counter when you go and pay.* (S27, Female smoker/weight loss)

Similarly, supermarkets were repeatedly mentioned as a source of temptation once subjects were inside the store, rather than the sight of the store creating the strong temptation posed by some of the fast food chains:

*The supermarket is a challenge. I guess because you walk around and there’ll be something and you think – gee-wizz that looks good. Because you’ve got everything there. And I’m a real sucker for two for one, or two for whatever.* (S13, Female smoker/weight loss)

*7-Eleven and probably even the tobacconist, and the Coles and Woolworths, they've got those little chocolate bars or chips and stuff like that at the counters and that sort of thing. I mean, they're hard to avoid but if I'm sort of on my diet stint, then that doesn't faze me. Sometimes, maybe 30 per cent of the time, I might cave and buy something. But then I'll generally try to buy the little Freddo, or something like that, as opposed to the really big...Blocks of chocolate and stuff like that.* (S21, Female smoker/weight loss)

*Definitely, because if you go - as I said before, if you go up and down the aisle, they've got things they put on special plumped in prime top spots, just there, and you go well I might as well get that...* (S22, Female smoker/weight loss)

**Smell of food**

Subjects reported being frequently tempted by the smell of food:

*It's the smell of KFC or McDonald’s. It's like, geez I'm hungry [laughs]. I'll get a cheeseburger...*

(later in the interview)

*The smells. It's the smells....Like nothing to do with advertising, you know you'll drive past a McDonald’s store and the wind will just be wafting in and it’s like – aahhh!... or like the KFC, it smells so nice when they're cooking [laughs].* (S9 Male, Weight Loss)

*The smells will get to me more than - like if I smell something really yummy, as opposed to seeing other people eat food.*

[Later in the interview]

*I really do think that it has a lot to do with smell, like with how things smell. Like that fresh bread smell. Like when I tell myself that I can't have carbs and then I walk past*
the bakery and I'm like ohhhh. That's really good. They don't really look appetising. They're just balls of bread. They might not look like anything but the smell really gets to me. (S21 Female, Smoker Weight/Loss)

I'm not hungry, but then I smell something. Like say there’s a piece of cake, say I’m at work and someone brings in a cake because it’s someone’s birthday or something, and like I’ve just had lunch so I know I’m not hungry at all, but the cake is there and I’m just like, oh, I’ll just have a piece. (S24 Female Weight Loss)

I’ll have a craving for a meat pie, which you can smell it when you’re in that shopping area type place and you smell some of the food, and you go, ‘I’m hungry, I’m going to have, I don’t know, like a Chelsea bun of something with a cup of coffee’. (S25 Male, Weight Loss)

**Sight of food**

Subjects repeatedly discussed how the sight of food triggered the impulse to buy HKFs:

On a good day, I will choose the fruit over the junk food, but there have been many times where I've left the house to go and buy something and it doesn't help that near me is McDonald’s, KFC - there's always - there's Subway with those little choc-chip cookies, which are only $2. So for someone that's not working, you can get three for $2 - it's terrible. Definitely they're visual. If I'm out - and I may not necessarily be thinking about that I want some junk food - but if I'm walking down and I look over and I see something, yeah I'm going to have that. (S16, Female, Quitter/weight loss)

...it's so hard to sort of look at that food and say no, I don't want any when you're [unclear] and you think, oh yum. (S17, Female, Smoker/weight loss)

Many subjects discussed how they tried to make ‘healthy’ choices, sometimes based on the appearance of food:

I sort of try to choose something a little bit healthy. Sometimes I walk around and I think okay, this looks good. It's reasonable and maybe it's a little bit healthier. I don't go and buy a bowl of hot chips. (S17 Female, Smoker Weight Loss)

I often just end up with sushi, because I look at it and go - I look at the Chinese and go, no, I don't really like Chinese as much as I used to, anyway... I look at it and go, no, it is fattening, so I go, I'm trying to be good, and I think sushi's good (S22 Male, Smoker/Weight Loss)

..sometimes I hate going shopping when I'm starving because all food is excellent. It all looks good. But I've been in that situation - oh God I'm starving and walk in. I happened to sort of be in the shopping centre Westfield downstairs and I said whatever I see I think it's good and I feel like it, I'll just get it...So I mean, the first counter - I sort of try to choose something a little bit healthy. Sometimes I walk around and I think okay, this looks good. It's reasonable and maybe it's a little bit healthier. I don't go and buy a bowl of hot chips. Do you know what I mean, just to satisfy my hunger I might go and get a piece of real chicken. (S17, Female, Smoker/weight loss)

**Unplanned purchasing of high kilojoule food**

As part of the scenario testing, all subjects were presented with a scenario:
'It's mid-afternoon, and you're a little bit hungry. You walk into a food court and there are lots of places selling food Tell me what you would be thinking? How would you decide what you’d buy, if anything?'

The majority considered this to be an ‘unplanned’ food occasion and discussed the time of day (e.g. being close to dinner time) as influencing their decision, firstly by influencing the size of any food choice:

I would probably think about what I'm going to have for dinner and how long dinner is going to be, and whether I should get something small or something big... I probably wouldn't get any hot food...I might get a sandwich or a muffin or something like that, if I'm looking for something to tide me over until dinner time. (S21 Female, Weight Loss)

At that time of the day I probably wouldn’t go for anything mealy. I’d definitely sit down and have a coffee, probably a coffee and a cake, or a coffee and something like that, something sweet, or something like that. (S20 Female Weight Loss)

Typically after the size of a food choice had been considered, the choice of food was discussed, with the final decision often reflecting avoiding fast food chains. Instead, many subjects focused on what were perceived to be ‘healthier’ alternatives:

I sort of try to choose something a little bit healthy. Sometimes I walk around and I think okay, this looks good. It's reasonable and maybe it's a little bit healthier. I don't go and buy a bowl of hot chips. Do you know what I mean, just to satisfy my hunger I might go and get a piece of real chicken. (S17 Female Smoker/Weight Loss)

I've actually done this I don’t know how many times but I do laps of the food court, I’m trying to work out. And I have that dual conversation in your head, I want something really yummy because I’m really hungry, and then I walk past and I go, oh it’s really bad for you, you can’t have that, keep walking, keep walking. And then I'll normally find either the sushi bar, because I always think that’s a fairly healthy alternative to everything else... (S13 Female, Smoke/Weight Loss)

When presented with the scenario of mid-afternoon, feeling hungry, and walking into a food court, no subjects indicated they would not buy at all, and seemed to at least partly justify this decision by suggesting that they would not choose food from fast food chains such as McDonald’s, while nominating other high-kilojoule foods

I might sit down and have a coffee and a banana bread or raisin bread or something like that. Or maybe grab a cake from one of the cake stalls. I wouldn’t go, ‘oh I’ll go and buy a Big Mac meal,’ (S11 Male, Smoker/Weight Loss)

I'll be honest, Macca’s and that would not be my first choice at all, unless I was really in the mood for it. (S24 Female Weight Loss)

A small number of subjects indicated they would probably buy a drink, such as a ‘Gloria Jeans Coffee’ or a ‘Pepsi Max/Diet Coke’ rather than be tempted with food.

Fast food discounting – another unplanned purchase

It is common for many takeaway places to discount their food near closing time so as to reduce wastage. A similar scenario was presented to the subjects to determine if price influences their food choices. A small number agreed that this was important for them:
I'd be tempted to have a look at what was in there, what they had for sale. I'd get more for my money. I'd be a lot fuller. (S9. Male, Weight Loss)

The majority indicated they would be tempted to buy if the food was discounted but would consider what was on offer rather than being purely price driven:

...you walk past and they go, ‘yes, it’s 50 per cent off,’ you know, coffee and a big slice of cake is six bucks or ten bucks and they’ve got it for five, you think, ‘oh well, yes, that’s cheap.’ Yes, I probably would [but not the fast food chain type] (S11 Male, Smoker/Weight Loss)

I'd probably only buy if it was barbecue chicken, if it was McDonald’s or KFC, no, or if it was a Chinese, no - it would depend on the food but to be honest, I think no, it wouldn't drive me - price isn't a driver for me, in that respect. (S22 Male, Smoker/Weight Loss)

Subjects also considered this scenario an ‘unplanned’ food purchase and felt that because of this, it was important to include factors such as how healthy the food was and the benefits of buying food that could potentially be past its ‘use by date’ (i.e. at the end the day).

Display of kilojoules in fast food chains

Data collection spanned progressive implementation of new legislation to require that all NSW fast food chains with more than 20 outlets in one state or more than 50 nationwide display the amount of kilojoules for each of their menu items on menu boards.

Awareness of this change was fairly even between those who were aware of these new changes versus those who were not. Overall the perception of this change was it would have a positive impact:

Definitely [a good thing]. I think people need to see, especially if they're dieting because sometimes you don't know and then you - like if you're on a special diet and you need so many kilojoules or calories and that, it's good to see it, then you know, you know? You don't know (S17, female, smoker/weight loss)

It'd obviously still take my attention because if I was going to go and buy the Big Mac or something like that, I would say, ‘maybe I won’t do that now.’ (S3 Male, Weight Loss)

Several subjects expressed concern that most people are not aware of how to measure kilojoules compared to calories, and so believed that it would be hard to judge what would warrant a ‘good’ choice based on kilojoule counts.

I would [be influenced by kj counts], but at the same time I'm a little bit uneducated about kilojoules and what they mean. I think the lack there might be in knowledge of knowing this many kilojoules in this...I think it used to be about 2000 calories a day -it varies on age and exercise - and I think it's about 8000 kilojoules. That's the relationship, but not many people are as aware of that sort of thing. So just say if you had the list and then one thing was a lot of kilojoules and another one was a lot less, would you - even though you don’t know how much running or different things... (S16, Female Quitter/Weight Loss)
Yeah, I know about that, yeah. I think I have noticed it, but I couldn't - whether I'm imagining it or not - I think I have noticed it, but to be honest, I think that's just the biggest waste of time. I don't think people really understand what kilojoules are. okay, if it's a bigger number it's probably worse for you, is about the only thing they can attain to it, but what's a kilojoule really doing and who is it and what does it mean? And so that's why I think it's a waste of time. (S22 Male, Smoker/Weight Loss)

There was further confusion about what the change involved, with repeated mention that McDonald’s has previously made kilojoule information available (though none of the subjects mentioned that the new legislation required information on menu boards).

The only one that I would confidently say that I've seen would be McDonald’s. They have it on every single packaging thing that they have and then they've got those meals that they - healthy meal choice, that has X amount of calories, or kilojoules whatever, for the whole meal. (S21, Female, Smoker/Weight Loss)

I think it was on a, what do you call it, a McDonald’s tray. (S32, Female, Weight Loss)

Most subjects indicated that kilojoule information would sway their decision to choose a particular menu item:

Now, yeah I probably would [pay attention to the kilojoule count.. Yeah because I'm trying to do something about the weight. (S9 Male, Weight Loss)

Overall, subjects’ perception was that the inclusion of energy ratings on fast food items was a positive move for the industry, but would be more beneficial when the information was more widely available and noticed.
Weight Loss Audio Diaries and Photos (Stage 2)

As with the Smoker/ Quitter data, the Stage 2 audio diaries for the weight loss group were fragmentary, but consistent with the findings from the Stage 1 interviews. Comparing these results revealed three key issues

5. The sight of smell of food
6. Social environments are another source of inducement
7. High kilojoule food is often seen as a ‘reward’

**The sight and smell of food**

Subjects recorded their thoughts about how tempting certain retail outlets were particularly if they were tired or rushed.

Just arriving at the airport, feeling hungry and tired. Just found a coconut honey log in my bag, can’t resist it. Feel guilty later but enjoying it now.

Later the same subject went on to say

> Just walking into Woolworths, still feeling very tired, couldn’t resist stopping at a sausage sizzle setup outside Woolies. I suppose that’s better than eating lollies and chocolates and buying that when I get in there. (S1 Female, Weight Loss)

**The sight of fast food signage**

Temptation outside the home frequently resulted from the sight of a fast food chain:

> I'm just on Woodville Road at Granville. I think it's Woodville Road, yep, and they've got McDonald's, Pizza Hut and Red Rooster all within about a kilometre of each other. If that's not highly tempting, I don't know what is. Things like that just makes me just want to have something that I'm not supposed to have. Again, because it's there, it makes me want it. (S4 Female, Quitter/Weight Loss)

> I’ve just driven past McDonald’s, and it’s McHappy Day, and for the first time in a very long time I actually feel like a Big Mac. I’m very tempted actually, it’s tempting me bad, but I’m not going to go in because I’m going to a big dinner tonight, that dinner party, so I’m going to try and avoid it. But it actually makes me want to have a Big Mac and I’m not very much of a
McDonald’s person actually. (S29 Female, Weight Loss)

I’ve taken a photo of the McCafé at McDonald's because I find that their McCafé has got a beautiful selection of cakes. Many years ago I used to work at Penrith and I used to stop at the McCafé nearly every morning on my way to work. I used to break up the trip and I would have a cappuccino or a coffee and one of their cake selections. I don't do it as much these days but I’ve taken the photo because when I do see the McCafé sign, it is quite tempting to go in. (S42 Female Quitter/Weight Loss)

The smell of high kilojoule food
The smell of fast food was mentioned repeatedly as creating a temptation. Many subjects discussed how the aroma of this food was the hardest to resist, regardless of time of day, or hunger state.

...trying to buy some healthy food, and right next door is KFC and McDonald’s, and because they’re both cooking I can smell it and it’s definitely making me want to go and buy some because of the smell. (S17 Female, Smoker/Weight Loss)

Driving along the Hume Highway – you’ve got Oportos, you’ve got Macca’s, you’ve got KFC. Traffic lights right out the front, and gee, the aromas smell absolutely great. It doesn’t help when you see open 24 hours Thursday, Friday and Saturday either on a lot of the shops. But no, not going to eat that. (S9 Male Weight Loss)

I’ve driven past many a Macca’s and many a KFC today with the aromas pumping, and yes, didn’t go in, I just kept driving. (S11 Male, Smoker/Weight Loss)

One subject made eight separate recordings discussing the temptation of driving past fast food chains:

I drove past a McDonald’s and a KFC today and actually stopped and did a bit of paperwork in the front while I smelt it. I tried not to go in and buy anything, I’m doing pretty well so far. But the aroma is coming out of KFC, you can smell the fresh chicken cooking. (S9 Male Weight Loss)

The next day, the same subject recorded:

I gave in, I bought myself a McDonald’s large fries. It tastes pretty damn good actually. But will try and stick to my plan of not eating too much crap. Mate, just happened to pull up and do some phone calls while I was parked in a Bunnings car park where a McDonald’s is adjacent, and just sitting there with the smells wafting across, I gave in and bought the fries. (S9 Male Weight Loss)

Many respondents resisted making a purchase from fast food chains because of a perception of how ‘unhealthy’ the food is.
And in front of me I see a McDonald’s and KFC on my way to my house and very tempted to stop to buy one of them, and having to tell myself to go home and make myself something healthy to eat. (S17 Female, Smoker/Weight Loss)

I feel like buying some McDonald’s, I’m feeling kind of peckish. I’ve eaten everything I’ve brought from home...will try to avoid eating anything else, but yes, see how my day goes with it all. So I’ve had some healthy stuff and try not to eat anything crap and see how I go… (S11 Male, Smoker/Weight Loss)

Whilst the fast food chains were the most commonly mentioned temptations, several subjects were more attracted to the other style of fast food outlets such as those found in a food court (e.g. cake and donut shops, cafés etc).

...now I’m at a cake shop picking birthday cakes for him [brother], and it’s very tempting but I’m being very good. So yes, but I’ve taken a photo of beautiful cakes here, which is very, very tempting for me. (S29 Female, Quitter/Weight Loss)

...just pulled into Patterson’s [Bakery], it’s hard to resist there, great pies, great cakes, great coffee. So yes, I’ve not resisted the temptation this morning. (S35 Male Quitter/Weight Loss)

I’m just at Miranda Shopping Centre, I’ve just walked past Lindt [chocolates] with a coffee in my hand, and I’m very tempted to have a chocolate or something but I’m not, I’m going to try and not have it, but it’s very tempting for me, I’m a bad sweet tooth. (S29 Female Quitter/Weight Loss)

The sight of food
The sight of food (as opposed to the sight of a retail store) whilst out and about was also another temptation for the subjects. This was not limited to just fast food chains or food court shops, but also the supermarket, discount stores and even billboards.

I’ve just gotten home from doing grocery shopping. And I found that really hard actually when I was at the shops, tempted to buy snacks but didn’t. (S24, Female weight loss)

Was just in Target, looking at all the Christmas stuff, and I’ve course lots of yummy things to look at which made me so hungry, especially looking at all the chocolates and all the advertising of Christmas goodies. (S24, Female weight loss)
Here's a photo that I've just driven past. I'm always driving. Here's a photo of frozen Coke - slurpees I suppose you'd call them. They're one thing that no matter what, I can never resist, especially when I see them right in front of me. I've just driven past the sign and I was stopping anyway to get petrol, so I will actually be calling in and grabbing a Slurpee...Had I probably not have seen the sign I would've just keep on- gotten the petrol and gone home but because I love them so much and it was there, I will be having one. (S42 Female, Quitter/Weight Loss)

The same subject noted that a billboard highlighting healthy food would not tempt her to buy, but a billboard frozen Coke did:

It's almost eight o'clock on Monday night and I just wanted to record something quite interesting. I've just driven past a bus stop and it's got a billboard of My Kitchen Rules and it's got the chef and - I think there was about two chefs on there and pictures of them chopping up tomatoes, et cetera. It was quite interesting, it didn't make me - the pictures of healthy food and salads and stuff and it doesn't make me feel like a salad when I see that or tomatoes, yet I'll see a picture of a frozen Coke and I'll pull in and get one. (S42 Female, Quitter/Weight Loss)

It seems that the sight and smell of fast food outlets is one of the biggest temptations for the consumption of high-kilojoule food. There is greater resistance if the participant just sees the food outlet, but a combination of sight and smell increases the temptation, thus making it harder not to purchase.

**Food promotion**

Advertising for food also created a trigger to buy, apparently less due to the direct object of promotion, but more as a reminder of the experience of consuming the food. As noted by two subjects:

*I feel like a Big Mac, I've been listening to Kyle and Jackie O and they’re talking about McHappy Day and buying Big Macs tomorrow. (S29 Female, Weight Loss)*

...I've just driven past a car - an Oak milk car. Half of the car is covered in milk - is the picture of milk and the other half of the car is pictured in - like chocolate, so like chocolate Oak milk. Believe it or not, that car, the first thing I thought of was a chocolate, not the milk, not the - the first thing I thought about was god, I could do with a chocolate right now. (S42, Female, Quitter/Weight Loss)

**Temptation inside the home**

Subjects also reported multiple episodes of temptation for high kilojoule food inside the home, with many subjects including photos of food from their pantry that could potentially hinder their weight loss program. Many justified the presence of this food type as being for ‘others in the household’.
There was an acknowledgement that the temptation to eat such high kilojoule foods was high:

*I saw a caramel slice in the fridge while I was getting the milk for my coffee and I’ve been tempted to grab it to eat it.* (S37 Male Weight Loss)

*And I just ate for breakfast the rest of the pizza that I had last night for dinner...I know I should avoid obviously eating carbs, I guess especially in the morning because that sort of starts my day bad which might eventually lead to me having the rest of a bad day.* (S24 Female, Weight Loss)

*Opened the cupboard to have breakfast, was tempted to have Fruit Loops but had my usual, the porridge.* (S26 Female, Weight Loss)

One participant even bought high kilojoule food she didn’t like so as not to be tempted to ‘sneak a taste of it’.

*...my husband really likes lollies and I don’t mind them but I’m trying not to eat them, so I bought some Natural Confectionery Company sour worms. Now I don’t really like sour worms...but I decided to get some that I don’t really like.* (S32 Female Weight Loss)

Some of the reasons for giving in to temptation and eating high kilojoule food included ‘boredom’, ‘in front of the TV’, and ‘other family members are eating it’. Many subjects discussed particular times of the day when they were most tempted to eat high kilojoule food whilst at home. The hardest time for subjects to resist high kilojoule foods tended to be later in the day and often before or after dinner.

*I suppose what's tempting me is it's Friday night, everybody's asleep, I'm watching a DVD, nice cup of coffee, I've got some alone time. Nothing more than to enjoy a cup of coffee and a bickie.* (S42 Female Quitter/Weight Loss)

*There was one Tim Tam left, and it was the Turkish Delight Tim Tam. I was really feeling just like something sweet, and it’s very sweet. It’s got some flavour but mainly it’s sweet, and I just wanted something sweet because I guess it’s that time of night.* (S25 Male Weight Loss)

*Still a bit peckish [after dinner], followed by found a piece of desert left over from the weekend, couldn’t resist, with some ice cream, just a little brandy snap. Yes, that’s it, no more bad food.* (S1, Female, Weight Loss)

Many subjects appeared to view ‘self control’ as the key determinant of whether they would consume high kilojoule foods. They often justified the presence of this kind of food due to ‘others in the household’ instead of having the food for personal consumption.
The subjects did not differentiate the ‘strength’ of the temptation between incidents outside the home and those that within the home. Both seemed to have similar levels of attraction but appeared to be influenced by different triggers. Episodes outside the home tended to be discussed in terms of the smell of food, while episodes inside the home tended to be described as triggered by internal feelings (e.g. ‘feeling peckish’ or ‘wanted something sweet’.

**The social environment**

Another apparently frequent influence for the consumption of high kilojoule food was the social environment. Subjects felt that when they were with others (e.g. at a café, catching up for ‘coffee’, or friends visiting, birthdays) there was an increase in the frequency of consuming high kilojoule food.

*I’m at a barbeque, a dinner party, and I haven’t had any cigarettes but I’ve had three wines, and I had some beautiful cheeses. I have been really naughty, I’m very tempted tonight, because he [brother] does a beautiful dinner party. It’s supposed to be my day off today but this week I’ve had a bit of a shocker, so the temptation is always around me.* (S29 Female Quitter/Weight Loss)

![](image1.png)

*I’ve gone to Palm Beach for a nice morning tea, met up with some friends. I just made a really bad choice and I have chosen toasted banana bread which is about two inches thick, as opposed to just getting a really nice fruit salad. So I was very, very tempted by the smell. I went to the counter and saw the banana bread that looked beautiful. That’s where I went wrong.* (S32 Female Weight Loss)

Even though participants repeatedly reported that they were consciously watching what they ate when consuming food in social surroundings, there appeared to less care taken, followed by apparent regret and/or guilt:

*...dinnertime, we went to a rib place at nine o'clock at night. I shared a full rack of ribs with my girlfriend and probably ate three-quarters of it and should’ve stopped there but my mate couldn't finish his ribs, so I had another three ribs on top of the ones that I ate. I overfilled myself more than I should've.* (S39 Male, Quitter/Weight Loss)

*Just got home from the in-laws' and we ate a lot of food...the temptation was there and again, because it was there, we ate it and ate it. Even when we were full, still kept eating because everything was so nice and smelt beautiful. Then we had a bit of a break and then had dessert. Again, there wasn't one variety, there was about three or four different varieties and I just had a little bit of everything because I just couldn't decide which one I wanted, they all just looked so good.* (S42 Female, Quitter Weight Loss)

*So if I would have stopped there I would have had a pretty normal healthy sort of day...someone at the dinner table suggested desert and I remembered in my mum’s fridge there was ice cream from the other night, and so I’ve had ice cream again. So I sort of ruined today.* (S24 Female Weight Loss)
High kilojoule food as a reward
A final theme emerging from a few of the transcripts was the notion of a ‘reward’ for successful resistance to temptation. Several subjects felt they deserved a ‘treat’ for their past success in not having high kilojoule food. One subject was quite open about this in her diary.

...by the time we go that close to home it was 7.20pm so stopped at Kentucky and got some food to keep us going for the night. I couldn’t help myself. But yes, I’ve been good for the last two days, I haven’t had anything that I shouldn’t have in the last two days. So I guess I’m breaking the diet tonight. I’ll try and be good tomorrow. (S32 Female Weight Loss)

She later recorded:

I have weakened but I’ve only had half a muesli bar instead of a piece of lovely lemon cake that I’ve had sitting there. So I feel like I’ve done okay, I’ve had the half a muesli bar, and I could have had twice as much cake. So I don’t feel too bad for it, I feel like I’ve had a bit of a treat, because I needed something sweet. But I probably shouldn’t have had anything. (S32 Female Weight Loss)
Weight Loss Group Re-interviews (Stage 3)

As reported for smoking subjects, 18 subjects were re-interviewed, and presented with general findings from preliminary analysis of Stage 1 and Stage 2 results. Stage 3 re-interviews included 13 weight loss subjects (six of whom were also smokers or quitters). Given the recency of changes to kilojoule display legislation, weight loss subjects were probed in particular about:

- their exposure to, and experience of kilojoule counts in store, and
- impulse purchases as a response to the sight of retailers.

Response to kilojoule counts
In contrast with the limited reporting of exposure to kilojoule display boards in Stage 1 and 2 data, several subjects gave explicit reports of seeing such data, and reported making choices based on kilojoule count displays:

I have actually. I was away...I think it was around November, early December and I actually went to a restaurant where they had it, and it really did change the way you ordered. It was a café. It was like a Coffee Club or something like that...

[Q: Obviously, you noticed it, you said. But did it change the way that you approached ordering?]

Yeah. I actually spent more money but I ordered something different...They had it at the bakery the other day...It was like an Asian bakery. Like, I think it was called Top Bread or something like that...I actually walked out of there. Didn't buy anything. Oh my God, there was so much in there. (S 13, Female Smoker/weight loss)

I have actually noticed that, and I noticed it particularly the last time - it would have been about three weeks ago. I'd been working since ridiculously early in the morning, was coming back from down the south west on the M4, saw the golden arches, and thought bugger it, I'm going to stop in and have a feed. So I gave in and when I got in there it was showing - I saw all the calorie counters there and that was really noticeable because I hadn't seen it before and I thought what a bloody good idea that is.

[Q: Did it change the way that you...]

It made me tossup between a number of different options and I didn't get the one I ordinarily would, because I thought well, I can have this one and feel a little less guilty. So as a marketing type of tool in addition to trying to be helpful in the information, it worked for me. (S38, Male smoker/weight loss)

They've got their calorie thing on everything. Now, that helped. I'd have to say it definitely helped. Before I used to just go through and order what I felt like. Now, I'd actually have a look. For example, I know that the Quarter Pounder is one of the worst things on the menu. I would opt for something else. I'd have a look at what's a little bit better. Especially if I've had a bad week, I'll definitely go for the healthy alternative, yeah...It's really good because there were some things - I would have just assumed that the Popcorn Chicken wasn't that fattening. However, it is, so a lot of the things I assumed, it was so good to actually see it up there. Yeah, that solved a lot. (S42, Female quitter/Weight loss)
[Q: Have you noticed any of the changes that have occurred in the last few months when it comes to the menu boards, either in like drive-in restaurants or takeaway places or in food courts or anything like that?]
Yeah. The kilojoules are all labelled in those restaurants...

[Q: Do you pay any attention to it?]
Oh certainly. Yeah, no, I do. It makes it - yeah, it does make - I mean if it's going to be quick, I'd rather get into the healthier option out of those.

[Q: So you would change the choices that you would make on the basis of those labels.]
Yeah, absolutely.

[Q: Can you just maybe give me one or two examples or the type of thing that you might do?]
Okay. So look, if I felt like a burger, I'd probably pick the least - if I felt like a burger, I'd pick the least - or the healthiest option. Instead of having a double cheeseburger or a double quarter pounder, whatever they are, then I'd consider with the fat content of everything, I'd probably just go for having a grilled chicken, something like that, or their lighter options which they advertise pretty well these days. (S15, Male Weight loss)

In some places they do but not everybody. I wish they'd do it everywhere. Because that probably makes you think a bit more. (S17, Female Smoker/weight loss)

...actually when you just mentioned about the kilojoules, I have noticed in Gloria Jeans on their bench where they have the cookies, they do have a little tiny tag underneath saying 280 kilojoules on that. But oh...maybe it might with the cake. I haven't actually noticed that with the muffin, I will take note of it next time. Maybe because - I don't know if it's just because I'm a consistent customer and I know what I like, I just automatically walk up and say latte, then muffin. So maybe that's why I haven't paid much attention. (S26, Female smoker/Weight loss)

[Q: Have you noticed (kilojoule counts) at all?]
Yes I noticed that. I even noticed that this morning actually. Just down the shops, the doughnut shop there - not that I eat a lot of doughnuts, but I walked past it and they had the calories, or the kilojoules on a doughnut and I've never seen that before.

[Q: Did that make you reflect upon food choices at all when you saw that?]
Oh yeah. You just don’t realise the sort of numbers that are involved.

Two subjects had noticed kilojoule counts, but were less certain about whether it had influenced their decision or not:

I noticed that at Bakers Delight yesterday morning when I bought - there was hot cross buns… I did notice - I have noticed that actually. I think that's really good and in Subway they've - the Subways have always got, not... posters on the front - they have always got those little - they've always had little pamphlets on the side where you can pick it up. Yes, I have noticed.

[Q: When you were at Bakers Delight and you noticed it, did it influence your decision?]

Not that badly. Not really. It probably - yeah, it probably would... Yeah, it definitely made me think about it. Well, put it this way. I only bought two of the bigger hot cross buns where normally I would have bought a six-pack. So maybe it did subconsciously. Usually I would just have bought a six-pack. Not that I would have eaten six in one sitting, but it's an old saying where if you've got it at home you'll eat it? If you don't have it you won't eat it.

[Q: Can you tell me... where you bought two hot cross buns instead of six and there was the calorie count on them, can you...]

Well, I think that's subconscious.

[Q: Yeah?]

I don't think that was conscious, only because I thought, I'm not going to eat six and then they're going to go - they're not going to be fresh and then we'll end up throwing them out. I think that's more of a money thing. (S24, Female weight loss)

I was in a Domino's Pizza... On the other side of the menu they had all the calories per slice and per pizza, and it was just interesting to see the difference in the different type of pizzas.

[Q: Did that impact upon your decision on what to eat or whether to - or how much to eat or anything like that?]

Not really.

[Q: No?]

It made me think about it. (S37, Male weight loss)

Response to sight of retailers

There was some additional evidence of weight loss subjects being tempted to buy by the sight of retail stores:

...I'm going to the city, usually once or twice a week and I might walk through [QBD] and then another place and they roast their nuts and in caramel... When it's actually quiet, you can't fit through the doors – then - oh I'm so glad that place is shut because it drives me mad and it's got a sign - be back in four weeks or something to do with renovating. But for now it's [closed]. I think I've done it twice in 12 months. I've been really good. I just walk on the other side because it really does drive me mad. (S1, Female weight loss)

(I've been tempted to buy) While I was out and about, driving, seeing fast food places. [Q: Can you remember any specific site, which fast food places?]

McDonald's was one.

[Q: McDonald's. Any others?]
I think there was a KFC that I drove past, got tempted but I don't know if I actually stopped. It did make me think about eating. (S37, Male Weight loss)

I'd been working since ridiculously early in the morning, was coming back from the south west on the M4, saw the golden arches, and thought bugger it, I'm going to stop in and have a feed. So I gave in. (S38, Male smoker/weight loss)
Section 4: Implications for Health Policy and Further Research

As with most qualitative research, many of the results are not surprising: subjects smoked more when they were stressed, bored, drinking alcohol and with other smokers; people trying to lose weight tried to make healthy choices, but when tired, hungry or drinking alcohol were likely to make less healthy choices. However the results do reveal some results which have implications for health policy:

Implications for health policy on tobacco:

- **Smoking as an ‘outside’ activity:** The smoker/quitter data suggests a very strong and increasing pattern that people smoke outside, even in their own home. The data suggest that legislation banning smoking in public places may have accustomed smokers to going outside to smoke, and that this is resulting in changes to where people smoke at home. In addition, a car increasingly seems to be viewed as an ‘inside’ space where people do not smoke. This trend for outside smoking means that smokers are smoking less, since on some occasions they can’t be bothered getting up and going outside to smoke.

- **Alcohol and smoking:** While an association between smoking and alcohol has been repeatedly observed in previous research, the strength of the association was surprising to the researchers. Licensed premises appear to provide a venue where smoking is normalised, and where the provision of designated smoking areas, and the presence of other smokers, coupled with consumption of alcohol, reinforces and encourages smoking. In addition, current legislation on approved smoking areas (less than 75% enclosed) allows smoking in a more enclosed area than the balconies and backyards where most people apparently choose to smoke at home.

- **Ability to control smoking:** Many smokers and attempting quitters appear to be able to regulate their smoking without difficulty if they are not in the presence of smokers. In contrast, provision of smoking areas was noted to provide ‘an invitation’, temptation and encouragement to smoke, so regulations which allow smoking in licensed premises and restaurants create smoking which in many cases would apparently not have occurred.

- **Negative stereotypes concerning smokers:** Smokers repeatedly talked about perceiving negative attitudes about smokers, and nearly all said that they try not to smoke around non-smokers. The apparent negative stereotypes associated with smoking suggests that as smoking rates continue to fall, smokers will receive progressively less social support when they choose to smoke, and so even if they do not quit, smokers are likely to smoke less. Extension of smoking restrictions (for example a decrease in the number of workplaces which provide smoking areas) is likely to further decrease smoking.

- **Sight of retailers:** There was evidence in both interviews and diary data that the sight of tobacco retailers, particularly tobacconists and liquor stores, provided a trigger to buy cigarettes. There was also evidence that tobacco cupboards, price lists, and even quit signs in service stations can serve as a reminder for smokers to buy cigarettes. There was also evidence from the diary data that the sight of retailers can provide a trigger to
smoke. The results suggest that any action which decreases the number of tobacco retailers will result in a decrease in the amount of smoking.

- **Attitude to increased regulation**: While some smokers spoke negatively about increased regulation of tobacco displays and restrictions on smoking, several smokers said that removal of tobacco from display has limited their smoking. Several also spoke in favour of increased regulation (e.g. restrictions on smoking in restaurants, restrictions on sale and/or price display of tobacco).

**Implications for health policy on high kilojoule food:**

The implications of the results for promotion and sale of high kilojoule foods are less clear cut. However the results show:

- **Strong support for kilojoule labelling**: While some subjects thought that kilojoule labels would make no difference to their own choices, many spoke at length about their efforts to make healthy choices, and believed that kilojoule information would help them to make better food choices. In the re-interviews, a significant percentage of subjects (3/13) gave specific examples of how kilojoule displays had changed their behaviour, and a further 4 had seen the displays, and believed that they displays would change their decisions.

- **Impact of the sight of retailers**: There was also evidence that the sight of retailers, particularly popular fast food chains, was associated with impulse purchases of high-kilojoule foods. This finding thus provides direct evidence of the potential for widespread distribution of fast food chains to contribute to obesity levels, and indirect evidence that the sight of tobacco retailers may contribute to impulse purchases of tobacco, and thus to higher levels of smoking.

**Learnings from the pilot and implications for further data collection**

The pilot study raised a number of issues to be considered in further data collection. Firstly, the synergies between data collection from smoking and food subjects, relative to the extra costs and complexity of such dual data collection, should be considered. Data collection from separate cohorts, and from the joint cohort (i.e. overweight or obese smokers and quitters trying to lose weight) provided extensive data on the importance of retail cues for food subjects, and also provided data on substitution between smoking and high kilojoule foods. Focusing on smokers and attempting quitters alone, however, would allow a smaller, lower cost study focusing only on the environmental influences on smoking and/or purchase of cigarettes. Such a study may be more attractive to reviewers and ARC funding.

Collecting photographs from subjects of environments which triggered them to smoke and/or to buy cigarettes and/or buy or consume high kilojoule food provided additional visual data. However it is uncertain if photographs provided significant value over and above audio recordings, relative to the cost of the photographs ($19.18 per subject, including camera and processing). Nearly all Stage 2 subjects (32/35) took photographs, but the type of photo tended to be relatively repetitive (e.g. photos of the outside of subjects’ homes, pubs, smoking areas at work, photos of high-kilojoule foods). For future data collection, if the photo component is retained, additional effort should be made to provide instructions on the use of cameras so that effective data sorting from these images can be completed. Some subjects
said in voice recordings that they were not sure when to take photos and there were several instances where comments were not linked to the images captured.

The images presented to subjects appeared to be valuable in recording subjects’ responses to specific environmental cues. However presentation of multiple images on one page appeared to decrease subjects’ discussion of specific environments. If face to face interviews are maintained for future data collection, presentation of images on separate pages may be more useful.

As noted previously, additional subjects were recruited directly for Stage 2, allowing comparison of the quality of data obtained from subjects recruited directly for Stage 2, compared to those carried forward from Stage 1. While there was extensive variation in the amount of and quality of data obtained from each group, data obtained from Stage 2 recruits was on average longer and better quality. As a result, it appears cost-effective to recruit future subjects directly for Stage 2, allowing more cost-effective data collection from an increased number of subjects for Stage 2.

As noted previously, the quality of data obtained for Stage 2 was variable. Future data collection should consider clearer instruction to subjects on the number of recordings and amount of data necessary to justify payment of the incentive.

The increasing use of smartphones may mean that a smartphone application can be used by some subjects to make recordings and attach photos.\(^1\) A smartphone application may provide more data, since subjects are likely to have their phones with them at all times. However many subjects won’t have smartphones, and/or won’t be comfortable with apps. The cost of using (and if necessary developing) a smartphone app should, however, be explored.

**Limitations**

Since the analysis is based on a limited number of subjects, care must be taken in generalising these results. Since subjects recorded data which was particularly notable to them, and these results report data which provided most insight into the issues being investigated, the results presented here are unlikely to provide a representative picture of subjects’ total buying and consumption patterns, instead providing a subset of situations indicative of environmental influences. It is also likely that subjects forgot to record on some occasions, and may also have been unaware of some environmental stimuli influencing their behaviour. As a result, the results are likely to under-report environmental stimuli. However the results do provide what to our knowledge is the first real-time in-depth data investigating environmental influences on subjects’ smoking and consumption of high kilojoule foods.

\(^1\) Smartphone penetration was estimated to be 52% among adults in Australia in May 2012, though is probably lower among the smoking population. (BandT.com.au).
Appendices

Appendix 1: Stage 1 Interview Questions

Note these questions are as presented to the ethics committee. Due to the semi-structured nature of the interview, not all subjects will have been asked all questions in exactly the same way or order.
Questions - Quitters / Attempting Quitters

Note: it is possible that there will be some minor variation to these questions to allow probing of respondent's answers. The probes will only be done if the participant hasn’t provided the information already.

PREAMBLE will include...
When the marketing company contacted you, you said that you were trying to quit smoking? Is this still correct? We will be doing the interview anyway... even if this has changed.

Today we’d like to discuss your smoking habits, and the circumstances in which you buy and smoke cigarettes.
Could you tell me what you are doing to try to quit smoking?
PROBE: Effectiveness & Do differently

So, let’s talk about a ‘typical’ day for you.
I realise that since you are trying to quit you may not smoke everyday; but when would you normally have your first cigarette?
PROBE: Triggers (environmental and context)
Thinking about your smoking habits, when do you find you smoke the most?
PROBE: Places where you smoke more often & Times of the day/week & Why
Have you ever found yourself smoking when you didn’t intend to?
PROBE: When & Why (external influences)
What is the hardest temptation for you with smoking?
PROBE: External influences (examples) & Explore when not tempted

Let’s talk about when you buy cigarettes
Where do/did you buy most of your cigarettes?
PROBE: What was it about these places & Any other places
Have you noticed that cigarettes are now no longer on display?
PROBE: ‘No’: give examples & ‘Yes’: examples of what they’ve seen
Has this affected when or where you buy your cigarettes?
PROBE: Explore

Scenarios
Imagine you are going to meet family or friends and are running out of cigarettes, and you see somewhere that sells them. What are you thinking about?
PROBE: What would tempt you to stop and buy?
Imagine you are walking into a petrol station. You are waiting in line to be served and you see [show picture 1 then 2]. What are you thinking?
PROBE: Are you ever tempted to buy?
I’m now going to show you some pictures
Would any of these pictures influence whether or not you would buy cigarettes - even if you weren’t planning to?
PROBE: Other situations & Impulse smoking
How do you feel when you see a place that sells cigarettes?
PROBE: Aspects of the store that triggers & Influences feelings/thoughts/actions
What do you think would be the single most useful thing that could be done to help you cut down your smoking?
PROBE: How would this help & Why they think this

End of Interview
Is there anything else about this topic you’d like to tell me about?
Do you have any questions for me?
**Questions - Smokers**

Note: it is possible that there will be some minor variation to these questions to allow probing of respondent's answers. The probes will only be done if the participant hasn’t provided the information already.

PREAMBLE will include...
When the marketing company contacted you, you said that you were a smoker? Is this still correct? We will be doing the interview anyway... even if this has changed.

Today we’d like to discuss your smoking habits, and the circumstances in which you buy and smoke cigarettes.

So, let’s talk about a ‘typical’ day for you.

When do you normally have your first cigarette?

PROBE: Triggers (environmental and context)

Thinking about your smoking habits, when do you find you smoke the most?

PROBE: Places where you smoke more often & Times of the day/week & Why

Have you ever found yourself smoking when you didn’t intend to?

PROBE: When & Why (external influences)

What is the hardest temptation for you with smoking?

PROBE: External influences (examples) & Explore when not tempted

Let’s talk about when you buy cigarettes

Where do/did you buy most of your cigarettes?

PROBE: What was it about these places & Any other places

Have you noticed that cigarettes are now no longer on display?

PROBE: ‘No’: give examples & ‘Yes’: examples of what they’ve seen

Has this affected when or where you buy your cigarettes?

PROBE: Explore

Scenarios

Imagine you are going to meet family or friends and are running out of cigarettes, and you see somewhere that sells them. What are you thinking about?

PROBE: What would tempt you to stop and buy?

Imagine you are walking into a petrol station. You are waiting in line to be served and you see [show picture 1 then 2]. What are you thinking?

PROBE: Are you ever tempted to buy?
I’m now going to show you some pictures
Would any of these pictures influence whether or not you would smoke or buy cigarettes - even if you weren’t planning to?
PROBE: Other situations & Impulse smoking
How do you feel when you see a place that sells cigarettes?
PROBE: Aspects of the store that triggers & Influences feelings/thoughts/actions
What do you think would be the single most useful thing that could be done to help you cut down your smoking?
PROBE: How would this help & Why they think this

End of Interview
Is there anything else about this topic you’d like to tell me about?
Any questions for me?
Questions – Trying to Lose Weight

Note: it is possible that there will be some minor variation to these questions to allow probing of respondent's answers. The probes will only be done if the participant hasn’t provided the information already.

PREAMBLE will include...
When the marketing company contacted you, you said that you were trying to lose weight? Is this still correct? We will be doing the interview anyway... even if this has changed.

Today we’d like to discuss foods you think you should avoid, and the circumstances in which you buy and eat this kind of food.
Is there any type of food which you are especially trying to cut back on?
PROBE: Examples
Can you tell me what you are doing to try to lose weight?
PROBE: Effective & Do differently

So, let’s talk about a ‘typical’ day for you.
When do you find yourself eating (or tempted) with foods you think you should avoid?
PROBE: PROBE: Triggers (environmental and context)
Thinking about your eating habits (of foods you think you should avoid), when do you find you eat the most?
PROBE: Places where you are tempted & Times of the day/week & Why
Have you ever found yourself in a situation buying and/or eating foods you think you should avoid when you didn’t intent to?
PROBE: When & Why (external influences)
What is the hardest temptation for you with foods you think you should avoid?
PROBE: External influences (examples) & Explore when not tempted

Let’s talk about when you buy foods you think you should avoid
Where do/did you buy most of the foods you think you should avoid?
PROBE: What was it about these places & Any other places
I don’t know if you know, but the NSW government has bought in a new law that requires many food chains to show the kilo-joule count for everything on the board where they list prices?
PROBE: ‘No’: give examples & ‘Yes’: examples of what they’ve seen
If you saw this information when you went to buy any food would it influence your decision to buy or not?
PROBE: Explore
Scenarios
Imagine its mid afternoon and you’re a bit hungry. You walk into a food court and there are lots of places selling food. Tell me what you would be thinking? How would you decide what you’d buy, if anything?

**PROBE: What would tempt you to stop and buy?**
You walk past a fast food outlet and they are offering 50% off for the next two hours. Would you be tempted to buy? Why? Tell me what you would be thinking?

**PROBE: When would you be tempted to buy?**

I’m now going to show you some pictures
Would any of these pictures influence whether or not you would buy foods you think you should avoid – even if you weren’t planning to buy any?

**PROBE: Other situations & Impulse buying**
How do you feel when you see a place that sells food you think you should avoid?

**PROBE: Aspects of the store that triggers & Influences feelings/thoughts/actions**
What do you think would be the single most useful thing that could be done to help you cut down your consumption of foods you think you should avoid?

**PROBE: How & Why they think this**

End of Interview
Is there anything else about this topic you’d like to tell me about?
Any questions for me?
Questions - Quitters / Attempting Quitters and Trying to Lose Weight
Note: it is possible that there will be some minor variation to these questions to allow probing of respondent's answers. The probes will only be done if the participant hasn’t provided the information already.

PREAMBLE will include...
When the marketing company contacted you, you said that you were trying to quit smoking and also trying to lose weight? Is this still correct? We will be doing the interview anyway... even if this has changed.

Today we’d like to discuss your smoking habits, and the circumstances in which you buy and smoke cigarettes.
Could you tell me what you are doing to try to quit smoking?
PROBE: Effectiveness & Do differently

B. So, let’s talk about a ‘typical’ day for you.
I realise that since you are trying to quit you may not smoke every day; but when would you normally have your first cigarette?
PROBE: Triggers (environmental and context)
Thinking about your smoking habits, when do you find you smoke the most?
PROBE: Places where you smoke more often & Times of the day/week & Why
Have you ever found yourself smoking when you didn’t intent to?
PROBE: When & Why (external influences)
What is the hardest temptation for you with smoking?
PROBE: External influences (examples) & Explore when not tempted

Let’s talk about when you buy cigarettes
Where do/did you buy most of your cigarettes?
PROBE: What was it about these places & Any other places
Have you noticed that cigarettes are now no longer on display?
PROBE: ‘No’: give examples & ‘Yes’: examples of what they’ve seen
Has this affected when or where you buy your cigarettes?
PROBE: Explore

Scenarios
Imagine you are going to meet family or friends and are running out of cigarettes, and you see somewhere that sells them. What are you thinking about?
PROBE: What would tempt you to stop and buy?
Imagine you are walking into a petrol station. You are waiting in line to be served and you see [show picture 1 then 2]. What are you thinking?
PROBE: Are you ever tempted to buy?

I’d also like to discuss the foods you think you should avoid, and the circumstances in which you buy and eat this kind of food.
Is there any type of food which you are especially trying to cut back on?
PROBE: Examples

2. Can you tell me what you are doing to try to lose weight?
PROBE: Effective & Do differently

F. So, let’s talk about a ‘typical’ day for you with food.
   When do you find yourself eating (or tempted) with foods you think you should avoid?
   PROBE: PROBE: Triggers (environmental and context)
   Thinking about your eating habits (of foods you think you should avoid), when do you find you eat the most?
   PROBE: Places where you are tempted & Times of the day/week & Why
   Have you ever found yourself in a situation buying and/or eating foods you think you should avoid when you didn’t intend to?
   PROBE: When & Why (external influences)
   What is the hardest temptation for you with foods you think you should avoid?
   PROBE: External influences (examples) & Explore when not tempted

Let’s talk about when you buy foods you think you should avoid
   Where do/did you buy most of the foods you think you should avoid?
   PROBE: What was it about these places & Any other places
   I don’t know if you know, but the NSW government has bought in a new law that requires many food chains to show the kilo-joule count for everything on the board where they list prices?
   PROBE: ‘No’: give examples & ‘Yes’: examples of what they’ve seen
   If you saw this information when you went to buy any food would it influence your decision to buy or not?
   PROBE: Explore

Scenarios
   Imagine its mid afternoon and you’re a bit hungry. You walk into a food court and there are lots of places selling food. Tell me what you would be thinking? How would you decide what you’d buy, if anything?
   PROBE: What would tempt you to stop and buy?
   You walk past a fast food outlet and they are offering 50% off for the next two hours. Would you be tempted to buy? Why? Tell me what you would be thinking?
   PROBE: When would you be tempted to buy?

I’m now going to show you some pictures
   Would any of these pictures influence whether or not you would you would buy cigarettes or foods you think you should avoid – even if you weren’t planning to?
   PROBE: Other situations & Impulse buying
   How do you feel when you see a place that sells cigarettes or food you think you should avoid?
   PROBE: Aspects of the store that triggers & Influences feelings/thoughts/actions
   What do you think would be the single most useful thing that could be done to help you cut down your smoking or consumption of foods you think you should avoid?
   PROBE: How & Why they think this
End of Interview
Is there anything else about this topic you’d like to tell me about?
Any questions for me?
Smoking stimuli images
Tobacco retailer images
Food retailer images
Food retailer images (continued)
Food stimuli images
Food stimuli images (continued)
Appendix 3: Instructions for Stage 2 data collection
Appendix 3: Instructions for Stage 2 data collection

Smokers / Attempting Quitters Group

We’d like you to start your diary immediately after your interview and then continue the diary over the next four full days. If you forget to start immediately after your interview, please start as soon as possible and keep the diary for four full days.

We’d like you to make a recording whenever you smoke, are tempted to smoke, or purchase cigarettes AND when you eat or are tempted to eat or buy foods you think you should avoid.

Each time you make a recording please tell us the time and day of the week
And most importantly,
2. Tell us where you are and what you’ve seen or heard that has made you think about smoking or buying cigarettes

When you have completed four full days of recordings please return the recorder in the reply paid envelope provided at the interview. We will then mail you the shopping voucher to thank you for helping us with the study.
Thank you very much for your help
If you have any questions or concerns please contact your interviewer:
Kate Hughes on 0416 800 385 or by email on choice@uws.edu.au

Trying to Lose Weight Group

We’d like you to start your diary immediately after your interview and then continue the diary over the next four full days. If you forget to start immediately after your interview, please start as soon as possible and keep the diary for four full days.

We’d like you to make a recording whenever you eat or are tempted to eat or buy foods you think you should avoid.

Each time you make a recording please tell us the time and day of the week
And most importantly,
2. Tell us where you are and what you’ve seen or heard that has made you think about buying or eating food that you are trying to avoid.

When you have completed four full days of recordings please return the recorder in the reply paid envelope provided at the interview. We will then mail you the shopping voucher to thank you for helping us with the study.
Thank you very much for your help
If you have any questions or concerns please contact your interviewer:
Kate Hughes on 0416 800 385 or by email on choice@uws.edu.au
Smokers / Attempting Quitters and Trying to Lose Weight

We’d like you to start your diary immediately after your interview and then continue the diary over the next four full days. If you forget to start immediately after your interview, please start as soon as possible and keep the diary for four full days.

We’d like to you to make a recording whenever you smoke, are tempted to smoke, or purchase cigarettes AND when you eat or are tempted to eat or buy foods you think you should avoid.

Each time you make a recording please tell us the time and day of the week
And most importantly,
2. Tell us where you are and what you’ve seen or heard that has made you think about smoking or buying cigarettes and/or:
3. Tell us where you are and what you’ve seen or heard that has made you think about buying or eating food that you are trying to avoid.

When you have completed four full days of recordings please return the recorder in the reply paid envelope provided at the interview. We will then mail you the shopping voucher to thank you for helping us with the study.

Thank you very much for your help
If you have any questions or concerns please contact your interviewer:
Kate Hughes on 0416 800 385 or by email on choice@uws.edu.au
Appendix 4: Sample smoker/quitter responses to tobacco retailer images

Subjects were shown photos of a range of different outlets that provide opportunity to buy cigarettes. No specific outlet names were identified, but instead pictures of an example of each were shown and the subjects discussed the likelihood of them buying cigarettes. The retailer images shown to subjects are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Retailer images shown to subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outlet Type</th>
<th>Main influencer to purchase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pub/Clubs</td>
<td>Social environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Stations/Convenience Store</td>
<td>Need, limited by high price perceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supermarket</td>
<td>Price and convenience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsagent</td>
<td>Convenience (rarely used)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacconist</td>
<td>Price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Smoking Kills’ sign and price list</td>
<td>Reminder trigger to purchase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not surprisingly the supermarket, tobacconist and (less commonly) the pub/club were seen as places where subjects would buy cigarettes, although the majority indicated they would only purchase at a pub if they had ‘run out’ of cigarettes or were down to their ‘last packet’. The service station/convenience store was less likely to be considered as a place to buy due to higher prices. Purchases from service stations were said to be due to the convenience at the time of purchase (e.g. also buying petrol) and/or if they had no cigarettes left and were ‘desperate’ for one. Notably, however, nearly all subjects reported that they would purchase at a service station if they were going to meet people and running out of cigarettes. Newsagents were reported to be the least likely place where subjects would buy cigarettes.

As has been discussed earlier, for some subjects the ‘Smoking Kills’ sign apparently acted as a trigger to remind subjects that cigarettes are sold, and thus provides a reminder to determine if subjects need to purchase a new packet. For others, the sign prompted discussion of the problems of smoking, and apparently created some consideration of issues involved in quitting. See Table 4 for summary of example comments.

Table 4: Sample responses to images of retailers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outlet Type</th>
<th>Example Feedback</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supermarket</td>
<td>Yes, it will obviously be Woolworths, definitely.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I’ve got two left in my packet now. I will smoke those two on the way home, but stop at Woolies before I get home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coles I would, or Woolies because they're much on the same wavelength. Like if Coles - Woolies is $15, they might be $14.10. I know where they are because I see them get them out all the time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>…I think my choice would be Woolies, Coles or the tobacconist because I get a pack on the way now when I go to Mummy’s. He's a dollar cheaper than Coles upstairs. They're in this little funny shop as you come up the concourse, out into George Street. And he says ‘Smokes are cheap today love!’ Sometimes he reminds me that I've got to have them so I know I've got to buy them, that's what I've got to do today on the way.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
They’re cheaper, the supermarket is cheaper, yes.

[I might buy] if I’m at the supermarket, and oh that’s right, I may not have any at home. But mostly…and traditionally, like, a lot of the other stores are more expensive.

Coles and Woolies, I’d only go into when I’m going, and if I’m buying cigarettes, the counter's on the outside anyway, so I don't go in, I don't get taken by all the bits and pieces inside.

Liquor store

If I get the wine I'm having a packet of smokes. And then I think oh yeah, it's only 11, maybe I'll get a packet of chips

*Go to a liquor shop, hmm maybe I need a bottle of wine...if I get the wine I'm having a packet of smokes. And then I think oh yeah, it's only 11, maybe I'll get a packet of chips [laughs].*

*Liquor shop. I wouldn't really put any of the others down...I definitely relate to smoking with alcohol more than any other scenario on that page.*

*...the purchase of alcohol and the consumption of alcohol is probably a time when I'm more tempted to have a cigarette, so the convenience of that, maybe.*

*If I'm buying alcohol because I'm going out or going to a party or whatever, that would, again - because I know how much I smoke, when I drink, it would make me think about where I'm going, how many I've got, should I buy some more?*

Pub/Club

I’ll have a cigarette with a glass of beer. Not at the footy, I don’t smoke at the footy. Band, pub entertainment…when I’m at the club.

Well yes, at a pub. But you can’t smoke anymore in a pub unless you’re outside, so that’s changed things, even though they’re always available in the machines now in the hotels.

…itif I’m sitting down having a beer with some friends, and I’m forced to go outside to have a cigarette, I’ll do it.

I’ll go outside if I want a cigarette and I’m at a band.

‘Smoking Kills’ and price list signs

Well, I guess, there’s the cabinet, so the cigarettes are behind the cabinet.

Just the fact that you’re still seeing the Quit Line and the smoking, it does trigger.

It’d definitely make you think about quitting. You’d look and go, ‘oh geez…’, it’s pretty disgusting…and ‘smoking kills.’

I suppose we all know smoking kills, but if something is just there in front of you…

Newsagent

I’ve never bought from the newsagency. I may have bought a packet from the
bottle shop, just if I'm going to someone’s place for dinner and I might grab a packet.

The newsagency - I’ve never hardly ever bought cigarettes at a newsagency.

I would buy my cigarettes from the newsagents. I would probably buy a can of coke...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Station /Convenience Store</th>
<th>7-Eleven, it’s that convenience place, it’s open 24-7, you know it’s always going to be open, you know it sells that stuff, and you get in, you get out, it’s quick.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I wouldn’t necessarily stop at a service station to get some. Like if I buy cigarettes from a service station it's because I have stopped to get petrol and I’m running out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maybe the service station because I know that from my house to my boyfriend's house, there's only two service stations and they're on my side of the road and they're more towards my place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It's that thinking process again where I sort of think, do I need cigarettes? I better stop and get some or whatever.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>If I'm pouring fuel and I'm running out I will think about buying some.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tobacconist</th>
<th>Tobacconists, that triggers that obviously because they sell cigarettes.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rarely, rarely, they’re not around much. They’re in the city…there’s a couple around.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The tobacconist you only really buy cigarettes, you don’t really go in there for anything else, for me. Oh, you know, some people buy the odd chocolates and drinks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tobacconist, I still go there, so you have to put that one in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The tobacconist. I would think about how many cigarettes I've got, where I'm going, do I need more? Because I don't know when I'm going to pass another shop that would sell cigarettes. So that would probably make me think about cigarettes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 5: Weight loss group responses to retailer images

Weight loss subjects were shown photos of a range of different outlets that provide opportunity to buy fast food. No specific outlet names were identified, but instead pictures of an example of each were shown and the subjects discussed the likelihood of them buying high kilojoule food. These outlets included the following examples:

- Donut Shop
- Pub/Clubs
- Service Stations/Convenience Store
- Supermarket
- Takeaway Chain
- Vending Machine
- Food Court

With the exception of the donut shop, most outlets were classified as potential tempters to purchase, not surprisingly the takeaway outlet, the food court and the supermarket being consistently mentioned as a ‘dangerous’ place to buy the wrong type of food. Responses were split fairly evenly for the service station with some respondents saying that they would only buy from there if it was a necessity (e.g. bread, milk) whilst others were regularly tempted to buy food specials. Conversely, Pubs/Clubs were only considered so long as this was in combination of alcohol. The donut shop was not seen to be a significant ‘tempter.’

Table 5: Sample responses to food retailer images

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outlet Type</th>
<th>Example Feedback</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Donut Shop</strong></td>
<td>No, I don’t. I never go and get coffee at those places and it says do you want the free donuts, because I’m not strong enough to say no. Donut King, I wouldn't go for that. Donut King, Dunkin' Donuts, Krispy Kremes, never interest me. Yes, no, that wouldn’t entice me in. Donut King, no, or whatever that is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pub/Clubs</strong></td>
<td>Well my parents have always taught me that, when you drink alcohol, you should also be eating at the same time, like nibbly food, so as not to get drunk… I just go for the drink…No, it doesn’t interest me If I'm at a club I generally don't eat. It's just the alcohol that sporting games, when I've gone, it's just an excuse to eat hotdogs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Service Station</strong></td>
<td>Service station, no, I buy petrol, I might run in there for milk, but no, very seldom do anything like that. Services stations, probably are a bad one, I never thought about that one. If you’re sort of like going away and you pull into a service station, and you end up filling up on lollies, drinks…Stuff like that. The service station, yes, that is interesting, because I have been tempted to buy things in service stations, because, again, I’m sort of out and about getting petrol and probably haven’t been home or whatever. And yes, you can’t help but walk past the rows and rows of lolly bags while you’re getting to the thingo. It's easy enough at the service station, you can actually pull up for petrol and grab a snack, but see again these scenarios I'm trying to avoid. It might have been somewhere in the past I might have been tempted, yeah, I'll just grab that chocolate, two for $3 on special at the front counter when you go and pay.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Supermarket

And you can go in, oh I’ll buy this and I’ll buy that, and you end up with about a hundred dollars worth of stuff that you really didn’t want.

The supermarket is a challenge. I guess because you walk around and there’ll be something and you think – gee-wizz that looks good. Because you’ve got everything there. And I’m a real sucker for two for one, or two for whatever.

I shop at Woolworths so I guess I might be inclined to duck in and grab some things I needed for home, so I guess that could be a temptation.

Coles and Woolworths, they've got those little chocolate bars or chips and stuff like that at the counters and that sort of thing. I mean, they're hard to avoid but if I'm sort of on my diet stint, then that doesn't faze me. Sometimes, maybe 30 per cent of the time, I might cave and buy something. But then I'll generally try to buy the little Freddo, or something like that, as opposed to the really big...blocks of chocolate and stuff like that.

Definitely, because if you go - as I said before, if you go up and down the aisle, they've got things they put on special plumped in prime top spots, just there, and you go well I might as well get that...

Because I’d be like, I really feel like a chocolate, I’m going to get a chocolate, and I’d go to Woolies and get heaps of chocolate…Because I know for the same price you can get a lot more chocolate from Woolworths than you’d be able to get from Shell.

Woolworths. My downfall in buying any sort of cake is the lamingtons, Woolworth's lamingtons.

Coles and Woolies Because they always give you really good deals there. they give you really good deals. Sometimes you get two packets of chips for $2 sometimes...But they’re probably the worst places that would tempt me.

Takeaway

KFC, avoid that.

Try and drive straight past…And McDonald’s, oh god, I couldn’t even tell you the last time I had McDonald’s.

The fast foods, say McDonald’s - I try and stay away from that but the family sometimes have a tendency to go for that sort of thing.

McDonald’s had that bloody dollar cheeseburger. I found that I was buying like two or three of those a day. I enjoy the cheeseburgers. That's probably my weakness with McDonald’s. Cheeseburgers and fries. So yeah. When they do big advertisements like that, where something is normally triple the price, I'm there.

I think there’s way too many of them and every time I see - I think I heard recently that another McDonald’s is opening up near Five Dock or something and I just thought oh great, like we need any more…they’re too easy to get to, and especially with 24 hours and things like that.

Pizza has definitely taken over McDonald’s. KFC is close behind pizza I would say.
If you're driving past them and you're hungry, you're - yeah, it would trigger, like you go, oh actually that's not a bad idea, let's get in for a - especially drive through, it makes it so convenient, you just - and just - yeah, you have a cheeseburger and you think it's a snack, it's not a meal, how bad can it be? Same with KFC, if I get a burger or something there.

KFC wouldn’t even bother. Now McDonald’s, if it’s a McCafé I would definitely. I did it the other day. I actually had a look in their little cabinet and I thought this needs something…I bought a mini apple and cinnamon muffin

| Vending Machine | Oh, vending machines…no…oh yes, actually I have gone to them a few times when I’ve been stuck at work and haven’t been able to get out for lunch. Because they have them in the staffrooms at Myer.

When you’re working back, I mean they’re deadly. |

| Food Court | ...food courts - if I go near them, it would be a schnitzel or a burger of some kind.

Coffee and a cake [at a food court], I’d probably say I’ll have a coffee and a banana bread. Banana bread has probably got just as much crook stuff in it…

Yes, that to me looks like a coffee, snacky, type food court thing. So yes, I guess, yes, I’d be tempted to go to something there.

Or if it was a reasonable time after, like morning tea roughly time after you’d had breakfast and everything, you’d want to sit down and want to have, again, you’d want to have a coffee. And probably share something with my wife when we’re together, like, I don’t know, share a muffin or something rather than a whole one myself. |
Appendix 6: Example smoker

A typical example of subjects’ smoking behaviour is shown by subject 35, a male who is attempting to quit smoking, described here as Tony. Tony has been trying to quit smoking for about seven months (and is also trying to lose weight). Tony no longer smokes in the car:

*I stopped doing that (smoking in the car).*

Tony also doesn’t smoke in his home or in front of his children:

*I spend a lot of time with my kids on the weekend and so I'm not inclined to do that in that scenario - socially I will but with them around, no. Look, my family is the biggest driver of this actually...*

Tony reports that at home, he isn’t tempted to smoke: in response to the question ‘When are you not tempted to smoke?’ he replies:

...*definitely with the kids, definitely in the home environment, as much because I don't want a clip over the ear for it, smoking in the house, whatever. There's that, but there's also the case that I feel that I don't want to be setting a bad example and I'm also against all the effects of the passive smoking...*

However Tony reports that he is still smoking, especially when he is under stress. In response to the question ‘What sort of environments do you find you smoke when you don’t intend to?’ he replies:

*As I say, it can be wherever that instance arises. I'm just feeling like I have to have a cigarette and that could be a client, before I go and see a client or just having a really bad day - and again, as I say, we have to leave the office but it's not hard to go outside and do that. So the environment is a bit of familiar ground, you know what I mean? Like a lot of the time I think it's a reactive thing because you're on familiar territory and x plus y equals z and so whatever. So I'm here, I'm under pressure; I have to have a cigarette. That's the sort of thing that clicks in my mind. But it's not an intention, it's just sort of something that I find myself reaching for them and I'm saying to myself I'm cutting back but that overrides that sort of hesitation I suppose.*

In particular, Tony says that the hardest temptation is:

...*when I'm out socially and I know that I've been good that week and why am I going to fall over on Saturday night or whatever. It's just like I'm telling myself that oh, you've earned it, oh you haven't had one for x days or whatever the case is, and that's not conducive to giving up because that's in a sense just perpetuating when you can have a cigarette, that's not giving up, it's just stretching out the thing in between. That's what I really want to do, I do want to give up. So it meant cutting down isn't the objective, it's giving up altogether.*

He discusses an environment at pubs where the ‘designated smoking’ area and a ‘smoking gang’ encourage smoking.

...*when you go to the pub...you can basically go to any venue now and they've got their designated smoking....the imperative is how far away is it, and how much time are you spending out of your circle of friends, we catch up sort of intermittently so you don't want to be the odd one out. But generally, fortunately I've got...a smoking gang so we find our own little group in the smoking area, and that's when it really does become something that kicks up again, like getting quite a few in there on the weekend.*
Specifically, Tony notes that:

_I think if I have one too many tubes it always gets out of hand..._

...it's down to like who's surrounding you, what's going on, because if I'm getting a lot of - what do you call it...passive smoking. If I'm getting that well that's sort of - that does drive it to me and I've got to have one.

In response to the scenario where he is running out, and drives past a tobacco retailer, Tony would think about:

_If I'm running out, how many have I got left; am I likely to be giving some to other people, these are the sort of things because we basically just share and share alike and so the thing is if you rock up and your friend's got none it's going to be a pretty awkward situation - I don't know what the word is, but you know what I mean. Like I don't want to be bludging cigarettes off people..._

In response to photos of a liquor store, tobacconist, supermarket and newsagent, Tony implies that all will make him think about smoking, but particularly notes how he smoked more when he drinks:

_Drink, smoke; drink, smoke. It's sort of like that, given that a lot of times it's - from the supermarkets, yes. I'd be thinking have I got any, do I need some..._

[Q: Okay, so Coles, Woolies, that type of thing?] Yeah, these sort of places here. I do go to a tobacconist, so that's also going to - and the newsagent, yeah. The dispensing machines I don't really see around that much anymore. The clubs have got them but...

He notes that it’s unusual to be able to smoke inside, but that almost all venues provide outside smoking areas, where he will smoke unless there are objections:

_Really, from my experience wherever we go now there isn't a venue that you can smoke inside, so these outdoor sort of terraces and so on, that's where I probably - unless people are objecting I will, I'll smoke._

In response to the question ‘What would be the single most useful thing to help you quit smoking?’ Tony initially replies:

_Just keep raising the prices...._

Then he continues:

_No, aside from that I think it's just basically down to the people that matter to me just driving it. So it's really not a product or something you can buy, it's just that if there's so many people on your case and the more the merrier sort of thing as far as they're concerned. All it would take is that circle of friends that I run with that do still smoke just to sort of have the same objective and you're just going to say well, why am I doing it because nobody else is? But I've always got a partner in crime and that's that. I'm sure that they would view me the same way, yeah._
A typical example of subjects’ weight loss behaviour is shown by subject 20, a female who is attempting to lose weight, described here as Julia. As with many of the participants, Julia has tried most of the weight loss programs, to varying degrees of success:

\[ I \text{ have done most of the major diets, like Jenny Craig, Lite & Easy, and I’ve done Weight Watchers as well. And I find that most of those things work well for a while but then after you stop doing them you tend to slowly drift back in, I guess, to some of your bad habits, which is probably eating too much food, eating food at the wrong time. But I mean invariably you tend to find, and I think I’m probably typical of a lot of people that do those diets, because you lose a lot of weight and then you put it all back on again over a period of time.}\]

She believes that the whilst the programs are good for when the person is on them, the cost often makes it difficult to maintain, especially if none of the other family members are on the program:

\[ But \text{ I think cost comes into a lot of these things, and when you’re shopping for a family as well and you’ve still got to cook for them, you know, you then think, well, that’s a cost on top of the normal food budget, because invariably you don’t spend less on the family food bill, you still spend the same even though you’re having… Well you do, you just tend to keep buying the same amount of food and cooking the same amount. There might be leftovers. But financially it’s an added cost to my way of thinking, all those sorts of things.}\]

Exercise is the biggest challenge for Julia. She knows she needs to do more of it, but she needs to ensure she sticks to a good routine:

\[ But \text{ I know that exercise is what I need to do. Because just recently I went overseas and I was away for five weeks, and during that five weeks, I mean we just walked, walked, walked, walked, and we ate, ate, ate, and I came back and I’d lost a couple of kilos in spite of eating four course meals at night and everything else. So I thought it’s obvious what my thing is. So I’ve invested in a treadmill which I have at home. But I don’t use it as much as I should. I mean you buy these things saying I’m going to do this every day, but you end up doing it about two or three times a week instead.}\]

As with many other subjects, Julia finds the late afternoon as the hardest time of day to resist the temptation for HKF

\[ I \text{ probably have a low point in the late afternoon, about four o’clock, where I think you’re sort of running out of energy and you feel like you need an injection of calories to keep going until dinner time. So I’d say that’s probably about the time of the day that I’m most tempted. And also sometimes after dinner if I happen to be sort of sitting and watching telly or something, I do sort of feel like I should be nibbling on something. But I try to avoid that, I’m trying to avoid that altogether at the moment.}\]
And there are times when her family make it difficult to stick to her diet:

Yes, I’m pretty good on the weekends. Although having said that, I suppose Friday nights is the end of the week, I don’t feel like cooking, and if one of my boys says, “oh let’s get pizza, Mum,” I’m very easily talked into that so I don’t have to cook.

If she does get tempted, she, like a few other subjects, buys HKF food that she doesn’t necessarily like so as to minimize the temptation:

Chocolate, potato chips, soft drink, these little Shape biscuits that he and my son both enjoy snacking on. Okay, I supermarket shopped this morning. I bought him a block of chocolate, but it’s a mint chocolate and I don’t like mint chocolate, so I know there’s no way I’ll eat any of it. A couple of weeks ago I bought him a packet of mint Tim Tams and they’re still sitting in the cupboard because no one else in the house will eat them.

She was aware of the Governments’ introduction of kilojoule rating:

I’ve heard about it, I haven’t actually seen it.

And thought it would generally impact her behaviour in terms of making a HKF choice:

I guess it’s a silly thing to say. I’d probably look at it, but to what extent it would influence...I mean let me put it this way, if I looked at two pizzas and there was one that was huge in kilojoules and one that was a similar pizza that didn’t have anything like as many I’d go for that one. So I suppose, yes, it would influence me to some extent.

If she was feeling hungry, and was out shopping or the like, she would be more likely to choose a cafe style snack rather than one from a fast food chain:

I probably wouldn’t go for anything mealy. I’d definitely sit down and have a coffee, probably a coffee and a cake, or a coffee and something like that, something sweet, or something like that.

No, no, not at that time of the day [McDonalds]. Because I’d be thinking it’s not that far away from dinner time. And if I ate something like a McDonalds or a pizza then I wouldn’t eat dinner. But I would still have to go home and cook it anyway.

The pictures of the fast food did not tempt her to buy:

I cannot eat KFC, it’s too greasy, it just really plays up with my stomach. And as I said, I think the last time I ate McDonalds was in Italy, believe it or not, and we went in there mainly because we needed to use the toilets.

However the one for the food court did:

In a food court situation like that, as I say, I usually head to Gloria Jeans and buy a coffee or something.
She puts a lot of her decisions down to willpower and making sure she watches what she eats:

I don’t think you can sort of put yourself in a cardboard box and close the lid and say I’m not going out to any of these places because if I do I might get tempted. Again, it's a question of willpower. You’ve just got to say...Okay, you might go to a bar and have a drink, but at my age I’m not the sort of person that’s going to go to a bar and drink all night, those days are gone. I have done it, but not in a long time. So I mean it’s nice to go out with friends and have a drink and be social, but I wouldn’t be tempted to sort of drink all night. I really don’t like pubs much at all, although having said that there’s one up in the country we go to but mainly for dinner. The food court situation, yes. I mean often I’ll be out shopping with my husband on a Saturday or something, we’ll be up at Castle Towers, and he’ll say, “oh let’s go somewhere for lunch,” and I’ll say, “oh no, let’s go home and have a toasted sandwich.”

I mean sometimes he’ll say, “oh I’m starving...,” and we’ll get something, or he’ll get something and I’ll just have a coffee, yes. I really have maintained for a long time that my weight is really more exercise related than food related, because I mean I eat good healthy food, I probably eat too much of it though, that’s probably the problem. Particularly at night I have a big dinner which I don’t need. At my age I should be having a tiny dinner.

But sometimes it is hard for her:

To me it’s something I’ve got to decide I’m going to do this, this is what I’m going to do. And when I’m in that mode I can resist all temptation, I can go out and not eat a lot, I’m really good. Unfortunately it doesn’t happen often enough. But I don’t really think weight loss is something to me that can really be influenced by outside all that much. Food and some people, and I’d probably classify myself in this category, it’s an addiction. I have an addictive personality I’ve decided, and I eat when I’m bored, I eat when I’m not happy, I eat when I’ve got the dirt about things. So food to me is something that it’s a comfort, it’s a reward, it’s all of those things. And life is never going to be totally stress free. So this is why I said, you’ve got to really mentally want to do it yourself otherwise I just don’t think it works.

For Julia, she sees the temptation of HKF almost as an addiction that needs to ongoing monitoring:

So this is why I say I think weight loss is purely your mental approach to it. It’s like an alcoholic with alcohol, if they don’t want to give it up they never will. And coming out and saying I have a problem with food and I’ve got to stop eating what I’m eating, or stop eating as much, is your first step to, the same as with an alcoholic, it’s your first step to getting on the right track. But it’s mental, it’s all up here in your head, and if you haven’t got the right mental approach I don’t think you’re ever going to do it. And that’s why my weight goes up, down, up, down, over the years because it depends on where you are ‘up there’ at the time.