

**The Process and Influence of Tobacco Marketing Communications on
Young People: A Qualitative and Quantitative Study**

A thesis submitted to the University of Strathclyde for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

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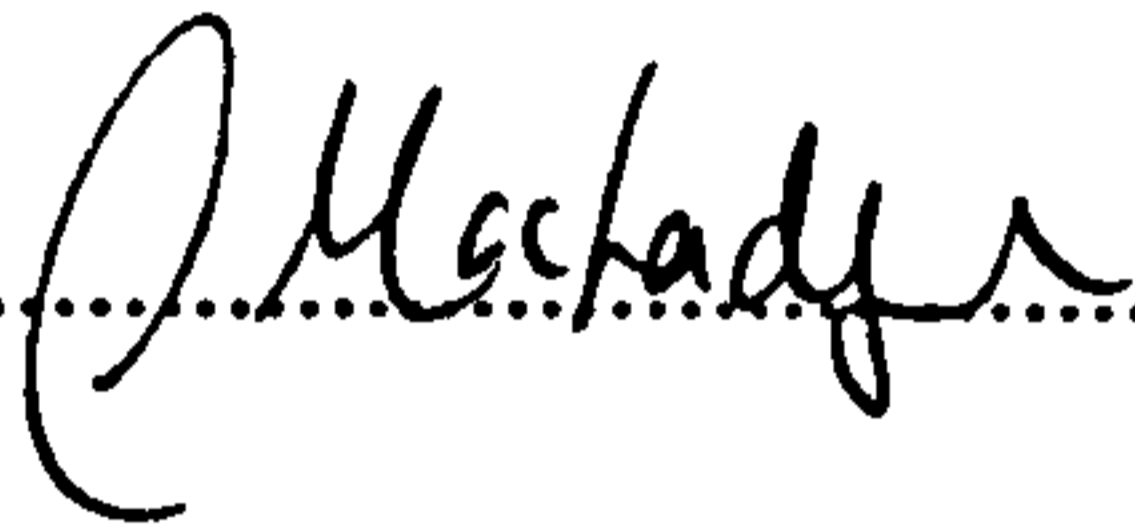
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ABSTRACT

Attempts to ban tobacco advertising and promotion have always been very controversial. The tobacco industry defends its right to promote a legal product, while others argue that such a dangerous product should not be promoted, particularly where this promotion may encourage smoking amongst young people. In the UK, a tobacco advertising ban has been on the public policy agenda since 1989, and during the period of this thesis, was being actively discussed and progressed by both UK and EU legislators. This study addressed this controversy and was conducted to examine the extent to which tobacco marketing communications was related to youth smoking behaviour and how this process occurred. The work addressed two important gaps in the literature: 1) It examined the entire range of marketing communications devices used by the tobacco industry, including advertising, sponsorship, loyalty schemes, direct mail, sales promotions, point of sale materials, product placement, the internet and brand-stretching. 2) It was based on contemporary models of media/marketing effects which theorise that effects are not necessarily direct or predictable, and may operate through social or wider cultural influences.

The research involved two discrete stages of research. First, focus groups were conducted with young people to examine how they engaged with tobacco marketing communications. As a result, a theoretical framework explaining the relationship between youth smoking and tobacco marketing communications was developed. This hypothesised that current smoking was correlated with tobacco marketing communications, perceptions of brands and smoking beliefs. Second, a quantitative survey was conducted to test this model. It was administered to 629 fifteen year olds, using a combination of interviewer administered and self-completion questionnaires. Bivariate and multi-variate analysis indicated that youth smoking was correlated with contact with tobacco marketing, as were certain aspects of brand perception and smoking beliefs. The implications of these findings for theory, research practice and public policy are discussed.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Research

A recent white paper on tobacco, entitled 'Smoking Kills', highlighted the government's commitment to tackling the smoking problem and established new targets to reinforce key goals for public health improvement. This report (Smoking Kills 1998) and a recent House of Commons cross party investigation (Health Select Committee 2000) have indicated the extent of death and disability caused by cigarette smoking. These reports cited evidence that:

- Smoking kills over 120,000 people in the UK a year – more than 13 people an hour (Callum 1998);
- Half of all who continue to smoke for most of their lives die of the habit; a quarter before the age of 69, and a quarter in old age (Peto et al 1994a);
- Those who smoke regularly and die of a smoking-related disease lose, on average, 16 years from their life expectancy compared to non-smokers (Peto et al 1994a);
- Most smokers begin to smoke before the age of 18 (Thomas et al 1998);
- There is some evidence that smoking rates amongst young people aged 11 to 15 may be on the rise (Higgins 1999).

As a result of this tremendous loss of life and health, medical, psychology, health promotion, law and business ethics researchers have been interested in the tobacco industry's conduct, and the effects of their advertising on smoking behaviour (Arnett and Terhanian 1998, Pollay et al 1996, Pollay 1995, Pierce and Gilpin 1995, Hastings et al 1994a, Covell et al 1994, EORD 1992, Di Franza et al 1991, Aitken et al 1991, 1990, 1987, 1985).

The controversy this has generated has led to a series of voluntary agreements between the tobacco industry and the UK government which restrict its media selection and creative decisions. More recently, European governments have committed to banning above the line tobacco advertising altogether (Directive 98/43/EC - (Tobacco Advertising and Sponsorship)). However, the tobacco industry and the Federal Republic of Germany have since successfully appealed against the European Directive on tobacco advertising in the European Court of Justice on a technical point. They proved that the directive was in fact a public health measure, but had been created under provisions relating to its effects on the internal market, and was therefore illegal. Despite this, the British government has created its own Tobacco Advertising and Promotion Bill which contains similar controls to the original European directive, and is anticipated to come into force in the summer of 2001.

Considerable research has been conducted which has demonstrated that tobacco advertising does have an important impact on young smokers. Econometric studies of within and between country fluctuations in advertising expenditure (EORD 1992, Laugesen and Meads 1991, Cox and Smith 1984), economic assessments of advertising bans (EORD 1992, Perkurinen 1989), analysis of particular advertising campaigns (Pierce and Gilpin 1995) and consumer studies of awareness, appreciation and involvement with tobacco advertising (Arnett and Terhanian 1998, Pollay et al 1996, Di Franza et al 1991, Fischer et al 1991, Pierce et al 1991, Charlton 1986, Potts et al 1986, Aitken et al 1990, 1987, 1985a, 1985b) have consistently demonstrated that an important relationship exists between advertising and young people's smoking behaviour.

However, the research that has been conducted to date is limited in two respects. First, while most research has examined the impact of tobacco advertising, there is evidence that many tobacco marketers are investing more resources in other forms of marketing communications than advertising. The effectiveness of advertising has been diluted in recent years by the combination of factors such as advertising clutter,

the fragmentation of markets (Shrimp 1989) and consumer avoidance strategies, eg. the use of remote controls for TV advertising (Sellers 1993). As a consequence, many companies have spent increasingly larger amounts of their marketing budgets on more direct or innovative forms of communications (Massey 1992, Boddewyn and Leardi 1989, Marks and Komins 1988).

For the tobacco industry, the need to find other forms of marketing communications is all the more urgent. As well as these pressures, the threat of a total advertising ban has loomed for many years and is in force in some countries already, eg. Canada, New Zealand and Norway. In recent years there has been a marked change in the way the tobacco marketers spend their promotional budget. Cigarette advertising in the UK now accounts for approximately 20% of companies total spending, this compares to approximately 50% in the early 1990s as industries spend more on other forms of tobacco marketing communications, and is now reported to spend around £60-100 million on promotions (ASH 1999).

This change in the mix of promotional spending is mirrored in other countries. For example, in the US, expenditure on non-media advertising and promotion has risen from 21% of companies' total promotional budget in 1975 to 78% in 1991. In Canada, where cigarette advertising is heavily controlled, the industry has been forced to find other forms of marketing communications. In 1987, cigarette advertising accounted for \$28m, while advertising of tobacco sponsored events accounted for \$1.7m. By 1994, there was virtually no advertising in Canada, but some \$105m was being spent to advertise tobacco sponsored events (Nielson Government Services 1995).

It is very apparent, therefore, that concern about tobacco advertising should be matched by concerns about other elements of the tobacco industry's communications strategy. This is supported by a 1979 British and American Tobacco internal memo which emphasised the importance of developing other marketing communications in the event of an advertising ban:

“Opportunities should be explored by all companies so as to find non-tobacco products and other services which can be used to communicate the brand name, together with their essential visual identifiers. This is likely to be a long term and costly operation, but the principle is nevertheless to ensure that cigarette lines can be effectively publicised when all the direct forms of communication are denied...”

(BAT, Post Jesterbury Conference. Future Communication Restrictions in Advertising 1979, 10 July [c.7.1])

The tobacco industry in developed countries have used a range of marketing communications techniques, including advertising, sponsorship, loyalty schemes, sales promotions, publicity and the internet (Lavack 1997). However, researchers interested in the effect of tobacco marketing on smoking consumption (who have tended to be from non marketing backgrounds, such medical, sociology and psychology traditions) have tended to focus only on the most familiar and observable forms of marketing communications, eg. advertising and sponsorship, leaving a need to explore the impact of the broader range of tobacco related marketing communications.

The second limitation is that the research has tended to make relatively naive and now largely discredited assumptions about advertising effects. This is one of the most powerful arguments used by tobacco industry defenders to discredit research that threatens its marketing. Most research has either assumed that the only effects of tobacco marketing communications are on sales or consumption (eg. see discussion of econometric studies in Section 4.2, or evaluation of various advertising bans discussed in Section 4.3) or only on individuals' smoking related knowledge, attitudes and beliefs (eg. consumer studies, see Section 4.5).

However, contemporary models of marketing communications and media effects suggest that the effect of tobacco marketing communications may be more complex and subtle. A review of this literature (see Chapter 3) demonstrates that the influence

of tobacco marketing communications may extend beyond effects on individual smokers. Rather than examine the effects of tobacco marketing communications in isolation from their social and cultural context, the effects of tobacco marketing communications on individuals *and* their immediate social and wider cultural environments should be considered together.

A review of the literature exploring the reasons why young people smoke (see Chapter 2) supports this thinking and found that there are individual factors (eg. knowledge, expectancies, demographic characteristics) which may predispose young people to smoking. However, there were also other immediate level influences (eg. peers' and family's smoking attitudes, approval and behaviour) as well as wider level influences (eg. media portrayal of smoking, tobacco control policies, ease of access to cigarettes and cultural norms). The literature review also concludes that there is potential for tobacco marketing communications to affect each of these levels of influence. For example, an advertising campaign may affect the individual level by creating awareness and interest in a new brand of cigarettes. However loyalty schemes, where families may collect cigarette coupons together, may foster support for smoking at an immediate level by establishing an important source of social support for smoking. Furthermore, tobacco sponsored Formula One racing which is televised and promoted on main media may affect the wider level sphere of influence by contributing to a cultural norm that smoking is permitted, glamorous and exciting.

In addition, the literature surrounding marketing communications and media theory (see Chapter 3), and to a lesser degree, research into the effects of tobacco marketing communications (see Chapter 4), suggests that 'branding' is central to understanding smokers' perceptions of tobacco marketing communications. A 'brand' encapsulates all the meanings and associations of a particular product, for example Marlboro, Camel and Benson & Hedges are all famous brands with powerful connotations of prestige and success. A 'brand image' also distinguishes and differentiates different brands in the same market. For example, Benson & Hedges and Marlboro are both premium cigarettes, but Marlboro's image is American and authentic, while Benson & Hedges is distinctly English and modern.

Different brand images are used to appeal to different target markets. For reasons of efficiency, effectiveness and economy, marketers do not target brands at the entire potential market place, but seek to appeal to smaller, homogenous groups within this, eg. female smokers, young smokers, or older smokers concerned with cost of smoking. For example, young smokers, who are motivated to smoke for reasons of image and identity, might be more interested in premium brands such as Benson & Hedges, which has an image of prestige, trendiness and youthfulness. On the other hand, adult smokers concerned with the cost of smoking, may be more interested in mid-price brands such as Mayfair, which has an image of quality and value for money. A brand's own particular image and positioning is created and communicated to consumers via marketing communications.

This thesis develops a method of examining the effects of tobacco marketing communications on young smokers in Britain, which aims to take account of some of these theoretical and conceptual short-comings. It examines the full range of tobacco marketing communications activities, and assesses their effects in terms of more contemporary models of communications effects. A model of the hypothesised role of tobacco marketing communications is developed through literature review, exploratory qualitative research and the peer review process of publishing (see Chapter 7) and tested via a quantitative survey with young people.

1.2 Research Problem and Key Research Questions

The twin aims of this thesis were to examine *if* and *how* tobacco related marketing communications influence young smokers in Britain. The research has bridged the gap between marketing based research of communications effects, and largely medical based research of the influence of tobacco advertising, to make two key contributions. First, it has explored the impact of the entire marketing communications mix, rather than focusing on small elements of the industry's communications activities such as advertising. Second, it has built on contemporary

models of marketing communications theory to develop and test a model of tobacco marketing communications effects on young smokers. This has implications for the more informed control of tobacco marketing and potentially other controversial industries.

Therefore, the research aims were as follows:

1. To establish if there is a relationship between tobacco related marketing communications and young people.
2. To determine the nature of the relationship between tobacco related marketing communications and young people.

1. To establish if there is a relationship between tobacco related marketing communications and young people

There are currently two opinions on this. First, the tobacco industry and some business academics and practitioners argue that marketing communications cannot encourage smoking. They argue that it is likely that tobacco marketing communications stimulates interest in particular brands and may facilitate brand switching between established smokers. However others, notably researchers from the public health and medical fields, believe that tobacco marketing does create demand for cigarettes among non-smokers. Therefore, the first aim will address this controversy and examine if tobacco marketing communications affects young people's smoking behaviour.

2. To determine the nature of the relationship between tobacco related marketing communications and young people

The thesis develops a model of the relationships between tobacco marketing communications and smoking status, whether that is current smokers or non-

smokers. The model has its origins in the theories of marketing communications and media effects, and was informed by exploratory qualitative research, and further refined by peer review and publishing. It helps explain how tobacco marketing communications work, and in particular, how they might influence young people's smoking behaviour.

1.3 Justification for the Research

This thesis is important because of the current controversy surrounding the control of marketing communications, and tobacco related marketing communications in particular. The UK and EU governments have made commitments to ban tobacco advertising and promotion, but legal action by the tobacco industry at national and international levels has delayed and confused their efforts. Research that takes account of industry criticisms and which assesses the impact of the broad range of communications devices, could contribute to this debate by providing theoretically sound evidence as to the effects on young smokers of its entire marketing communications activity.

While smoking prevalence has declined across the adult population, there has been some recent suggestion that smoking prevalence rates amongst young people (under 16 years) is on the increase (Higgins 1999). Research has suggested that young people's motivations for smoking are entirely different from adults, as they smoke to satisfy social and symbolic needs, and as a result they are more likely to respond to tobacco advertising (Pavis et al 1996). It follows then, that young smokers are likely to be the key beneficiaries of controls on tobacco marketing communications, and if this is shown to have an important effect, increased controls on marketing could be of considerable benefit to young people.

The thesis also made a theoretical contribution to the understanding of tobacco marketing communications effects. It has built upon theories of media effects which found that effects occur at three levels (McQuail 1987, Asp 1986), the process of

marketing communication (Schramm 1971, Shannon and Weaver 1949), the debate on the active or passive nature of audiences (Lannon 1985, Hedges 1982), and the importance of brands and symbolic consumption (, Elliot and Wattanasuwan 1998, Belk 1988, Sirgy 1982), to develop and test a hypothesised model of tobacco marketing communications effects. This is important for researching the effects of tobacco marketing communications on vulnerable groups, and may be of use to other researchers examining the marketing activities of controversial products such as alcohol or pharmaceuticals.

1.4 Methodology

To answer the research aims and objectives outlined in section 1.2, the research involved three stages: a literature review, qualitative research and quantitative survey. This mix of qualitative and quantitative stages permitted both the flexibility to explore and assess new ideas, and the statistical rigour to measure and test the emergent hypotheses.

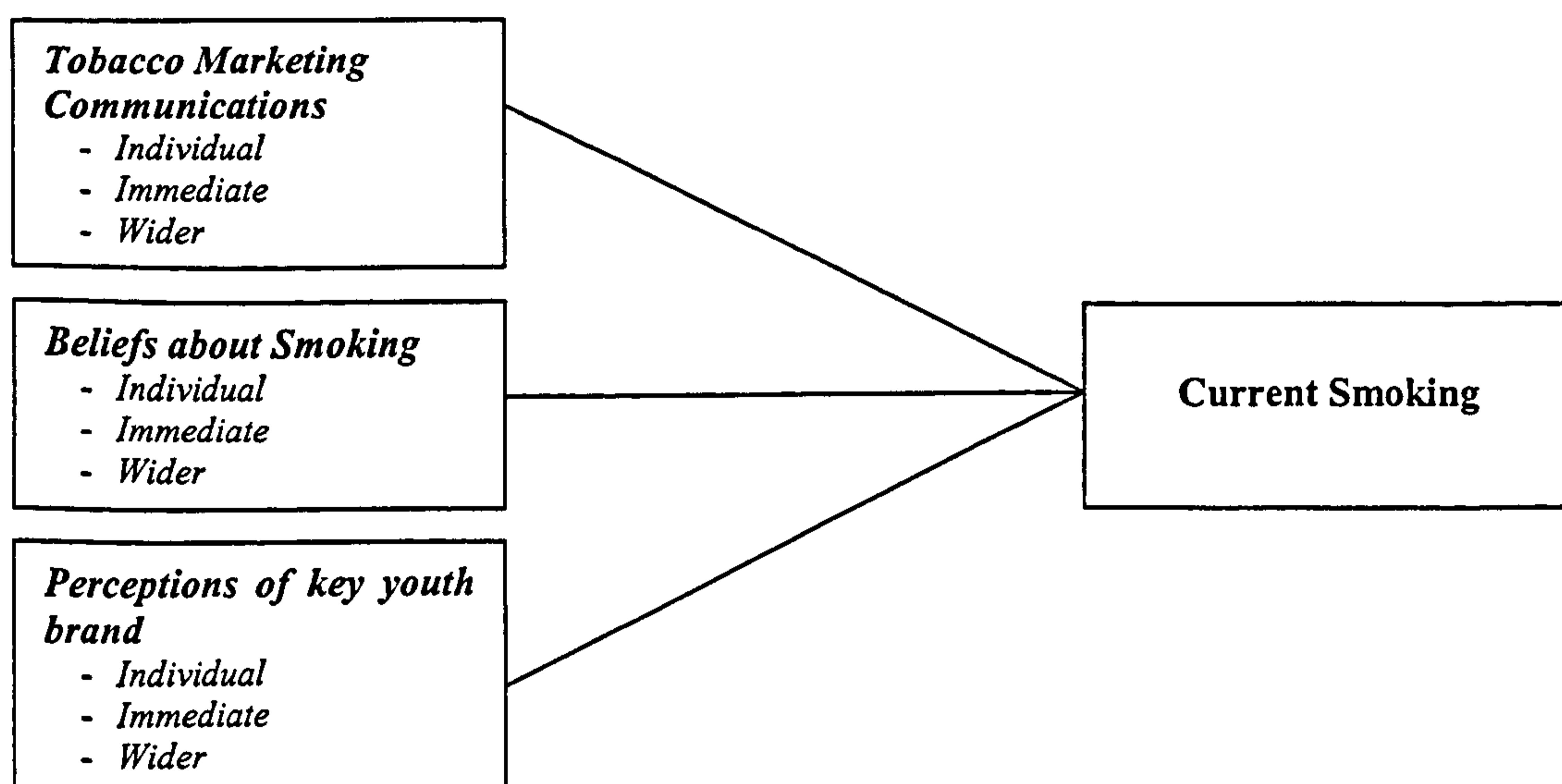
The three stages of research are now discussed in brief:

- 1) *A literature review*: A literature review was conducted to examine the current status of knowledge regarding the process of smoking uptake, media and marketing communications effects and the influence of tobacco related marketing communications on smoking behaviour. The review was critical in highlighting gaps in existing knowledge, and was an essential first stage in establishing the scope and direction of the thesis. Having established the purpose of the thesis, it was also guided by the development of an appropriate methodological and conceptual approach.
- 2) *Qualitative consumer research*: Qualitative consumer research was conducted to explore young people's relationship with tobacco marketing communications. A series of fourteen focus groups were conducted with young people aged 12 to 15

years (including smokers and non-smokers) to explore their involvement and interaction with marketing communications, and in particular, tobacco related marketing communications. It also explored the symbolic nature of cigarette smoking and their perceptions of cigarettes brands.

The qualitative consumer research was used to develop a hypothesised model of tobacco marketing communications effects, see Figure 1.1. This model shows that there are three groups of influence on youth smoking, all of which are independently associated with current smoking status: awareness of tobacco marketing communications, perceptions of smoking beliefs and perceptions of the key youth brand. For each of these, the influences on current smoking occur in three ways – individually, via the immediate environment and via the wider cultural environment.

Figure 1.1: The Research Framework - Correlates with Current Smoking



This model was summarised by **three hypotheses** (and their *corresponding null hypothesis*):

Hyp 1: All things being equal, young people who are more aware of tobacco marketing communications will be more likely to be current smokers.

Hyp 1₀: All things being equal, young people who are more aware of tobacco marketing communications will be less or equally likely to be current smokers.

Hyp 2: All things being equal, young people who have more positive beliefs about smoking will be more likely to be current smokers.

Hyp 2₀: All things being equal, young people who have more positive beliefs about smoking will be less or equally likely to be current smokers.

Hyp 3: All things being equal, young people who have more positive brand perceptions for the 'key youth brand' will be more likely to be current smokers.

Hyp 3₀: All things being equal, young people who have more positive brand perceptions for the 'key youth brand' will be less or equally likely to be current smokers.

- 3) *Quantitative consumer research:* Quantitative consumer research was conducted to test the model. An interviewer administered survey was conducted with a stratified, random sample of 629 young people, aged 15 or 16 years. Measures of awareness, appreciation and involvement with tobacco marketing communications, their perceptions of cigarette brands, their opinions of smoking and their smoking behaviours were taken.

The analysis was conducted in two stages.

First, bivariate analysis was conducted to describe the differences in the responses of young people by their smoking status.

Secondly, the simultaneous relationship of awareness of tobacco marketing communications, smoking beliefs and perceptions of the 'key youth brand' were assessed using multivariate analysis techniques. This was achieved in two steps.

Principal Component Analysis was first used to reduce the number of variables to optimum number, while still explaining the maximum amount of variance. Five 'smoking beliefs' and two 'brand perceptions' components were extracted in this way. This analysis was used to inform the development of new variables for both smoking beliefs and perceptions of the key brand.

Then, new variables were computed and used in two logistic regression models that tested the hypotheses. Both models examined the independent effects of awareness of tobacco marketing, smoking beliefs and brand perceptions on the likelihood of being a current smoker. In each case, the analysis accounted for a number of control variables known to be associated with youth smoking. Two logistic regression models were analysed which offered the opportunity to examine the amount of tobacco marketing communications that young people were aware of and the types of tobacco marketing communications according to their level of influence (ie. individual, immediate or wider).

1.5 Outline of Thesis

The thesis contains nine chapters presented in four parts, of which the first is this introductory chapter. The literature review is presented in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. Chapter 5 describes the research methodology. The research findings are presented in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. Chapter 6 includes the presentation of qualitative research findings. Chapter 7 describes the development of the model and hypotheses and Chapter 8 presents the findings from the quantitative testing of these. The final part is the conclusions and their implications, which are discussed in Chapter 9.

Part One: Literature Review

Chapter 2 Identifying the Influences on Young People's Smoking Behaviour

This examines the extent of youth smoking and the process of smoking initiation. It identifies the individual, immediate social and wider environmental influences on this process. It concludes by discussing the potential for tobacco marketing communications to influence the smoking initiation process at each of these three levels.

Chapter 3 Understanding Media and Marketing Communications Effects

This chapter examines the media and marketing communications literature to assess the ability of tobacco marketing communications to influence young smokers. It concludes that there is some theoretical evidence that tobacco related marketing communications may influence smoking behaviour. However, these effects are not simple one-way effects, where seeing an advert simply predicts purchase of that product, but involves subtle changes in perceptions of brands and may involve other social and wider environmental levels of influence.

Chapter 4 Tobacco Marketing Communications and Smoking Behaviour

The final literature review chapter discusses the literature that has assessed the impact of tobacco related marketing communications on young smokers. This concludes that most research has found important effects. However, the research to date has tended to examine the effects of tobacco advertising only (and not other forms of tobacco related marketing communications). Furthermore, the research has not tended to be informed by marketing communications theory. The chapter proposes that there is a need for theory driven research that examines the effects of tobacco related marketing communications on young smokers.

Part Two: Methods

Chapter 5 Research Methodology

This chapter has two main purposes. First, it justifies the selection of the chosen method, by examining three important questions which are addressed when designing research methodology: 1) what type of research is involved?; 2) what type of data is useful to help answer research questions?; and, 3) what type of data collection methods are available and appropriate? For each decision, the alternatives are described and assessed, before the final choice of qualitative focus groups and quantitative survey is justified. The second aim of this chapter is to describe how the chosen methods were implemented. The qualitative and quantitative stages of research are described in detail.

Part Three: Findings

Chapter 6 Qualitative Consumer Research Findings

This chapter presents the findings from the qualitative consumer research. This chapter explores young people's responses to marketing communications in general, their smoking attitudes and behaviour, develops typologies of young smokers and non-smokers and examines their responses to tobacco marketing communications and tobacco brands. Quotes from the focus groups are used to illustrate the key findings.

Chapter 7 Development of Hypothesised Model of Effects of Tobacco Marketing Communications

This brief chapter describes the development of the hypotheses and the hypothesised model of tobacco marketing communications effects. It identifies a full model that explains the simultaneous relationships between tobacco marketing communications, positive beliefs about smoking and positive perceptions of the key youth brand.

Chapter 8 Quantitative Consumer Research Findings

This chapter presents the findings from the quantitative consumer research. It is divided into two sections, the first of which discusses the results of the bivariate analysis and the second, the multivariate analysis and model testing.

Part Four: Discussion

Chapter 9 Conclusions and Discussion

The research conclusions in relation to the key hypotheses and hypothesised model are discussed. Six main conclusions are reached: i) Smoking initiation is a process; ii) Young people's smoking behaviour is influenced by individual, immediate and wider level influences; iii) Tobacco marketing communications can reach and appeal to young smokers more than young non-smokers; iv) Cigarette brand image plays an important role in the relationship between tobacco industry and young consumers; v) Awareness of tobacco marketing communications, positive beliefs about smoking and brand perceptions are all independently associated with current smoking behaviour; and, vi) Tobacco marketing communications influences the immediate level. The implications of the research for theory, future research directions and public policy are also discussed.

1.6 Definitions

In this thesis '*tobacco marketing communications*' was used to refer to all forms of communications undertaken by marketers to reach consumers including advertising, personal selling, publicity, sponsorship, database marketing, packaging, sales promotions, point of sale and merchandising (Crosier 1999, Smith 1993). Marketing communications (also referred to in the literature as 'promotion') have been defined as:

"the process whereby it is sought to establish commonness of thought and meaning between organisations and individuals"

(Kitchen 1993, p 370)

“every communications tool which is available to the organisation”

(Smith 1993, p 18)

“the specific mix of advertising, personal selling, sales promotions and public relations that a company uses to pursue its advertising and marketing objectives”

(Kotler et al 1999, p756)

“the direct way in which an organisation attempts to communicate with various target audiences”

(Brassington and Pettitt 1997, p569)

‘Above-the-line’ promotion referred to all forms of main media advertising which involved the purchase of media space, ie. broadcast advertising (TV, radio or cinema), print advertising (magazines and newspapers), or outdoor advertising (billboards, transport) (Crosier 1999, Smith 1993). ‘Below-the-line’ promotion referred to all other forms of marketing communications, except the sales force which is neither above, nor below-the-line (Crosier 1999, Smith 1993).

1.7 Limitations

The thesis developed and tested a hypothesised model of tobacco marketing communications effects that built on previous theories of media and marketing communications effects. It demonstrated the individual, social and environmental effects of tobacco related marketing communications on young smokers in the UK. The research findings and resultant model are applicable to the tobacco industry and young smokers in the UK. However, it may be applicable to other similar mature products that are marketed controversially in the UK, eg. alcohol or pharmaceuticals.

The thesis was based on cross-sectional data only. Therefore, it can only conclude that there is a reinforcing effect of tobacco related marketing communications on young smokers, and not that tobacco related marketing communications has, over time, encouraged non-smokers to begin to smoke. However, it can demonstrate the extent to which tobacco related marketing communications, along with smoking beliefs and brand perceptions is associated with current smoking. This is in itself important, as young people's decision to take up smoking is not an easy or immediate event, but a long and fluid process. Young people move in and out of smoking status for some time, before becoming confirmed smokers. This research can help to identify some of the factors correlated with current smoking status.

1.8 Summary

This chapter has justified the need for research examining the effects of tobacco related marketing communications on young smokers in the UK. It has presented a brief overview of purpose and scope of research undertaken in this thesis, which aimed to demonstrate if and how tobacco related marketing communications affects young people in their smoking habits.

PART ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW

The next three chapters (Chapters 2, 3 and 4) present the findings of the literature review. This was conducted to ascertain the direction and scope for the thesis, to identify pertinent research questions from gaps in the literature, and to suggest appropriate research methods and techniques. Three broad areas of literature were reviewed:

First, the literature that examined why young people smoke was reviewed to understand the process of youth smoking initiation, the influences on this, and the extent to which marketing communications could play a role in this process. Research in this area has been conducted by academics in the fields of medicine, sociology, psychology and health promotion/education. This found that there were three broad types of influence on young people's smoking: individual influences, immediate influences and wider influences.

Secondly, theories of marketing communications and media were scrutinised to gain some insight into if and how tobacco marketing communications can influence actual smoking behaviour, and if it can influence behaviour at each of the three important levels (individual, immediate and wider) identified in the previous chapter. Both of these fields of literature have developed separately, but each make a useful contribution to understanding the interaction between companies' promotional material and use of the media, and consumers' behaviour. This is presented in Chapter 3.

Finally, Chapter 4 reviews the literature that specifically examines if tobacco marketing communications influences smoking behaviour. Most of this research was conducted by non-marketing researchers and has tended to focus on the affects of a limited range of communications techniques on the individual level, using basic assumptions of marketing effects. The review concludes, then, that there is a need to conduct research that is based on contemporary understanding of media and marketing effects. This research should consider the full range of marketing communications devices used by the industry and examine their impact not just on the individual, but also immediate and wider level determinants of health behaviour.

2.0 IDENTIFYING THE INFLUENCES ON YOUNG PEOPLE'S SMOKING BEHAVIOUR

2.1 Introduction

Despite considerable efforts in smoking prevention and cessation, smoking remains the single biggest cause of preventable death in the UK, causing around 120,000 deaths per year (Callum 1998). In the government's consultation paper, "Our Healthier Nation", tough targets for health were set, which, the report acknowledged, could not be achieved without tackling the smoking problem. Smoking at any age is dangerous and of concern, but smoking amongst young people is particularly worrying, as young people who smoke are more likely to become regular adult smokers (Thomas et al 1998) and more likely to succumb to smoking related illnesses in later life (Doll et al 1994).

Studies conducted in the fields of medicine, psychology, sociology, health promotion and education have identified a range of influences or predictors of young people's smoking behaviour. These wide-ranging studies have examined the impact of three broad groups of influences on young people's smoking related behaviour: a) 'Individual' influences, such as demographics, knowledge levels, personality factors, behaviours, self-esteem, locus of control; b) Immediate 'social' influences such as peer and familial relationships; and, c) Wider 'environmental' influences such as tobacco control policies, access to cigarettes, culture and the media.

The first chapter of the literature review examines the process of youth smoking initiation to determine the potential for tobacco marketing communications to influence this. It presents some basic background on youth smoking, examines the process of smoking initiation and then reviews the research that has explored the reasons why young people smoke.

“If the last 10 years have taught us anything, it is that the industry is determined by the companies who respond most to the needs of younger smokers.”

(1987/8 Imperial Tobacco (Canada) Marketing Plan, cited in ASH (1998). *Tobacco Explained. The Truth About the Tobacco Industry ... in its Own Words.* London: Action on Smoking and Health (ASH), p32)

2.2 Smoking and Young People

Cigarette smoking has been shown to be a significant cause of death, resulting in 3 out of every 10 cancer deaths, rising to 8 out of every 10 lung cancer deaths (Callum 1998). A study monitoring the mortality of 34,439 male doctors in the UK over a 40 year period, found that half of all regular smokers would eventually be killed by a smoking related disease such as cancers of the mouth, oesophagus, pharynx, larynx, lung, pancreas and bladder, and other diseases including bronchitis, emphysema, vascular and respiratory disease (Doll et al 1994).

The majority (82%) of smokers take up the habit before their 18th birthday (Thomas et al 1998), and furthermore, the younger the age of initiation, the more likely someone is to die of cancer in later years (Doll and Peto 1981). Therefore, the smoking related habits of today's young people indicate future mortality and morbidity trends. Due to increasing smoking prevalence amongst women and young people in developed countries, increasing population trends and the expansion of tobacco markets in developing countries, annual global tobacco deaths has been predicted to increase from 3 million in 1995 to 10 million in 2025 (Peto 1994).

Smoking prevalence and attitudes amongst young people in Britain is measured most regularly and accurately by the Office for National Statistics survey, which is conducted every two years via self-administered questionnaires in schools (see for example, Higgins 1999 or Barton and Janis 1997). The most recent of these surveys was conducted in England in 1998. This found that 10% of 11 to 15 year olds were 'regular smokers', smoking at least one cigarette a week (Higgins 1999). Smoking behaviour

increased with age, with 21% of 15 year olds smoking regularly, compared to only 1% of 11 year olds, see Table 2.1. This survey also identified higher rates of regular smoking amongst girls than boys, where regular smoking prevalence was 11% and 8% respectively.

Table 2.1: Smoking Behaviour in England, by Sex in 1998

| <i>Base = All Pupils (England)</i> | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| | <u>Boys</u> | <u>Girls</u> | <u>Total</u> |
| | 1757 | 1782 | 3539 |
| | % | % | % |
| Regular smoker | 8 | 11 | 10 |
| Occasional smoker | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| Used to smoke | 12 | 10 | 11 |
| Smoked once | 23 | 19 | 21 |
| Never smoked | 51 | 54 | 52 |

Source: Adapted from Higgins V (1999) Young teenagers and smoking in 1998: A report of the key findings from the Teenage Smoking Attitudes survey carried out in England in 1998. London: Office for National Statistics.

Smoking prevalence in the UK peaked during the 1950s and 1960s, but there has been some evidence that in the last decade this downward trend is beginning to level out, and smoking may even be increasing amongst young women. For example, in 1988 the proportion of 11-15 year olds who smoked was 8%, by 1998 this was 10% (Higgins 1999). Furthermore, in 1988 one in five 15 year olds girls smoked, by 1998 this had increased to one in three (Higgins 1999). Similarly, a survey of the health related behaviours of Scottish school children has found a significant increase in the proportion of girls who smoked (Currie et al 2000).

Research has estimated that 50% of adolescent males who smoke regularly will continue for at least 16 years and 50% of adolescent females will smoke for at least 20 years (Pierce and Gilpin 1995).

Key ages for smoking uptake have typically been identified as early to mid adolescence, ie. 11 to 15 years (see for example, Jarvis 1997). However, other researchers have also emphasised the importance of mid to late adolescence (eg. 15 to 18 years), when young people are experiencing transitions from school to work or further education, for smoking uptake (see for example, West et al 1999 and Schofield et al 1998). Retrospective studies (eg. Chen and Kandel 1995) of the age of smoking uptake are subject to inaccuracies. On the other hand, prospective or 'longitudinal' studies that

track the natural history of smoking over time have provided the most accurate data. For example, a longitudinal survey of 1009 15 year olds in the west of Scotland, found that the rates of smoking more than doubled between age 15 (14%) and 18 (31%), and continued to increase to 36% by age 23 (West et al 1999). While this survey was conducted in-home and may have been subject to under-reporting of smoking prevalence, the key age related trends are important. This research finding was also borne out by other Scottish researchers who found that just over half of 15 to 17 year olds changed their smoking status after leaving school (Bell et al 1999).

Young people's use of tobacco and other drugs, such as alcohol or illegal substances, increases dramatically during adolescence and young adulthood. However, unlike other drugs, young people's use of tobacco does not decline during their late 20s (Chassin et al 1996). Light smoking is common in youth, but rare in adulthood (Janson 1999). Therefore, it seems likely that light or experimental smoking in youth is not maintained. Young smokers either quit or proceed to become regular or heavy smokers in adulthood.

Taking up regular adult smoking is not an easy or immediate event, but a complex and erratic process (Amos et al 1992). Research has demonstrated that smoking in the teenage years is quite different from adult patterns of smoking. Young people tend not to smoke daily or heavily and are less likely to smoke when alone (Pavis et al 1996). Young people seem to 'experiment with tobacco' for some years, before settling into adult smoking patterns. Qualitative data gathered to explain this initiation process found that smoking was an integral part of occupational and social transitions experienced by young people as they move into new social and educational environments (Bell et al 1999). Pavis et al (1996) proposed that understanding these transitions and the social meaning of smoking is essential, due to the on-off nature of young people's smoking behaviour.

Other researchers have proposed theories of smoking initiation which model the stages through which young people pass on the way to adult smoking. For example, Leventhal and Cleary (1980) identified four stages of uptake: preparation, initiation, becoming a smoker and maintenance of smoking. Flay et al (1992) proposed five stages: the preparatory stage, initial trying, experimental stage, regular smoking and dependency.

Prochaska and DiClemente have popularised stage based models of behaviour change (see for example, Prochaska and DiClemente's transtheoretical model, 1983), and developed a stage based model of therapy now commonly used in smoking cessation, the treatment of addictions and eating disorders (Perz et al 1996, Rollnick et al 1993, Prochaska et al 1992). Researchers have also applied this model of behaviour change to smoking uptake. The uptake model included various incremental stages of smoking uptake that described the psychological processes involved in becoming a regular smoker. For example, a five stage model has been described which includes: 1) 'pre-contemplation' when children are not contemplating smoking; 2) 'contemplation/preparation' when children are thinking about smoking and beginning to find it attractive; 3) 'action/experimentation' when initial experimentation takes place; 4) 'habituation' when smoking habits become established through positive social and psychological reinforcement; 5) 'maintenance' when adult smoking patterns and addiction is established (Prochaska and DiClemente 1983). Pallonen et al (1998) developed a similar model which included three stages of uptake. These stages were: "acquisition precontemplation" (not tried smoking and not intending to do so in the next 6 months), "acquisition contemplation" (not tried smoking and intending to do so in the next 6 months), "acquisition preparation" (contemplating smoking in the next 30 days).

While these models used different terminology and identified varying numbers of stages, they shared the common assumption that smoking uptake is a process which occurs over a considerable period of time, and that young people go through initial stages of preparation and experimentation before they become regular smokers.

Young people's reasons for smoking are quite different from that of adults. While adults have been shown to smoke primarily to alleviate nicotine cravings (Royal College of Physicians 2000) and for sociable and coping reasons (Amos et al 1992), young people's smoking motivations seem primarily socially and image-related (Barnard and Forsyth 1996). As non-smokers have no physiological need for the nicotine in tobacco, young non-smokers are obtaining other benefits from smoking. One stream of the considerable smoking research conducted in the last two decades, has focused on understanding the social and image-related associations of young people and smoking (See for example, Thrush et al 1997, Banwell and Young 1993, Barton et al 1982, Moscovici 1981).

One notable strand of this research has been based on the “social representations”, or the meanings, which adolescents construct about smoking (Thrush et al 1997, Moscovici 1981). Social representations are the features or objects of social groups that help to structure social life and which can be used to communicate with other social actors (Moscovici 1981). These studies have been used to examine the different images of smoking held by young smokers and young non-smokers, in an attempt to understand the social meaning attributed to smoking by young smokers. For example, Barton et al (1982) found that the social image of smoking was less wise, less healthy, less obedient, tougher, more interested in the opposite sex and was related to being ‘part of the group’. These and other similar studies have also found gender differences in social representations of smoking, which might explain important differences in smoking uptake between boys and girls. For example, research has found that young female smokers believe that smoking makes you look good and stops you feeling tired (Thrush et al 1997), and that smokers were fun-loving and rebellious (Lloyd et al 1997). On the other hand, young male smokers believed the key individuals in their family and social lives supported and approved of smoking (Thrush et al 1997).

Other researchers have observed the importance of identity and self-image for young people (Enright et al 1980, Elkind 1967, Erikson 1946) and have based their research around the assumption that the development of a sense of self-identity is a key developmental issue for adolescents. Smoking researchers have examined young people’s self-concepts in comparison to smoking related images, and have concluded that smokers are more likely to have self-concepts closer to their image of smoking, than young non-smokers (Chassin et al 1985, Bewley and Bland 1978). These studies revealed complex views of smokers and smoking. Smokers in one study were rated negatively as weak, proud, unfriendly, untidy, stupid, but also rated positively as leaders (Kannas 1985).

Smoking amongst young people is problematic. Smoking is dangerous and young people are those most vulnerable to smoking initiation. Smoking uptake is a complex process that probably occurs over several months and involves the young people passing through various stages of preparation and experimentation. This period of initiation occurs during mid adolescence, somewhere between 13 and 17 years, and is driven by complex social and image related motivations. Considerable research has been conducted to

explore and explain some of these trends in teenage smoking behaviour. Research, driven by the need for evidence based public policy and health promotion, has attempted to explain the predictors and correlates of smoking initiation. These influences on young people's smoking behaviour fall into three broad categories¹: 'individual' personal influences, 'immediate' social and community influences, and 'wider' environmental or cultural influences. This research is now discussed.

2.3 Influences on Smoking and Young People

Studies conducted to examine the influences on young people's smoking behaviour have largely been conducted in the UK, Australia, Canada and the USA. Most of these studies are cross-sectional surveys of random samples of young people, where smoking behaviour and other individual, immediate and wider influences have been measured and analysed. Higher smoking prevalence (and therefore more accurate estimates of prevalence) have been observed in studies conducted via self-completion questionnaires administered in schools. Longitudinal studies which analyse the effects of individual, immediate or wider level influences on smoking of cohorts of young people have provided the most accurate and convincing support for these. However, many of the cross-sectional studies' findings are consistent with the longitudinal studies and because of the volume and credibility of these studies, the cross-sectional studies will also be reported here.

The research examining why young people smoke is diverse. Flay et al (1983) identified the importance of 4 types of influence - family, peer, self-image/personality and physiological reinforcement - during the process of uptake. However, this perspective did not take into account any wider environmental influences, such as taxation, marketing controls or key elements of an individual's social and demographic situation. Amos et al (1992) present a more comprehensive review of the types of influences on young people's smoking, including: 1) '*environmental and community factors*': social attitudes and norms, social disadvantage, access, price, cigarette marketing, media and religion; 2) '*Social factors*': family influences, peer influences and school influences;

¹ Throughout the remainder of the thesis, these are referred to as, 'Individual', 'Immediate' and 'Wider' level influences.

and, 3) *Individual and personal factors*: intentions to smoke, prior tobacco or alcohol use, knowledge, attitudes and beliefs, personality, personal skills and self-esteem, gender and nicotine. This framework took account of the key micro and macro influences on smoking behaviour. It formed the basis of the framework for three types of key influences on young people's smoking behaviour, as shown in Figure 2.1. The three groups of influences include *Individual influences* to do with the young person's own personality and background, such as demographic characteristics, education levels and aspirations, knowledge of health risks, expectancies of the consequences of smoking, psychological factors and the relationship with other behaviours. *Immediate influences*, including peers, family structure, the nature of family relationships, parental and sibling smoking behaviours and attitudes, have been shown to impact on smoking behaviour. Finally, *Wider influences* including tobacco control, the media and marketing also impact upon young people's smoking.

Figure 2.1: Influences on Young People's Smoking Behaviour

| (1) Individual Influences | (2) Immediate Influences | (3) Wider Influences |
|---|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Demographic (eg. age, gender, socio-economic status, geographic location) | Peer influence | Tobacco Control |
| Education | Family structure | Media |
| Knowledge | Family relationships | Access |
| Expectancies | Parental & sibling smoking | Culture |
| Psychological (eg. risk-taking, personality, self-esteem, depression, locus of control) | Parental attitudes | |
| Other Behaviours | | |

Based on Amos et al (1992).

2.3.1 Individual Influences

The majority of studies have explored the influence of individual or personal characteristics of young people, including their demographic characteristics, educational attainment and aspirations, knowledge of health risks, expectancies of smoking and psychological characteristics.

(i) Demographic

The key demographic influences on young people's smoking behaviour were age, gender, socio-economic status and location.

Age

As discussed at the outset, smoking behaviour has been shown to increase with age (Higgins 1999, Barton and Janis 1997, Wahlgren et al 1997, Bolling 1994). At the age of 11 years, rates of smoking are exceptionally low, however by the age of 15 years, smoking prevalence almost equals that of adults (Higgins 1999).

Gender

Research has also demonstrated the clear influence of gender on smoking uptake. Two clear trends have been found. First, while boys are more likely than girls to experiment at a young age, young girls are more likely than boys to take up regular smoking. For example, McNeill (1989) has found that being a girl is strongly associated with the age of onset of regular smoking. Secondly, smoking prevalence rates amongst young girls have caught up with, if not exceeded, those of young boys (Diamond and Goddard 1995, Bolling 1994). For example, in England in 1998, 8% of young boys were regular smokers compared to 11% of young girls, and 5% of young boys were occasional smokers compared to 6% of young girls (Higgins 1999). Similarly, in Scotland daily smoking amongst girls has been reported to be higher than amongst boys (HEBS Research Centre 2000). This trend has been observed in other industrialised cultures. For example, an Australian longitudinal study of a cohort of 14 /15 year olds, found that female smokers were half as likely as male smokers to cease smoking by age 17/18 years (Patton et al 1998).

Researchers in Scotland have used qualitative and sociometric methods to help explain the means by which smoking behaviour might be influenced by gender (Michell and Amos 1997). By analysing the social networks of young people, they were able to explore the interrelationships between friendship groups, gender and smoking behaviour and concluded that the psychosocial process of smoking initiation was different for young boys and girls. They identified a hierarchical friendship structure, and this

'pecking order' was closely linked to the girls' smoking behaviour, where the most popular 'top girls' were those most likely to smoke.

Oakley et al (1992) found an alternative explanation. Analysis of data from the Adolescent Health and Parenting study found that smoking was an important coping mechanism, and suggested that young girls faced more stress and responsibility in the home than young boys.

Socio-economic Status

Socio-economic status has been clearly linked to adult smoking prevalence (see for example, Marsh and MacKay 1994), and there has also been some suggestion that socio-economic status is linked to young people's smoking behaviour (Bosma et al 1999, West et al 1999, Graham and Hunt 1998, Amos et al 1992, Oakley et al 1992). Graham and Hunt (1998) identified a significant relationship between socio-economic status and the smoking status of female adolescents and adults. Measures of socio-economic status associated with smoking behaviour included school-leaving age, housing tenure, own social class, weekly income and financial security. West et al (1999) provided evidence from their longitudinal study that socio-economic status was associated with transition to regular smoking status. The research team found that respondents from a manual class household were more likely to become regular smokers than those from non-manual households. Similarly, Oakley et al (1992) found a significant relationship between parental housing tenure, young people's own disposable income and adolescent smoking.

Geographic Location

Smoking prevalence rates have been found to be higher in some areas of the UK than others. Higher teenage smoking prevalence rates have been found in Scotland than in England and Wales. For example, the Office for National Statistics surveys conducted in 1996 found in Scotland that 14% of 11-15 years olds were regular smokers (Barton and Janis 1997), compared to 10% of 11 to 15 year olds in England (Jarvis 1997).

(ii) Education

Greater education attainment and higher educational aspirations have been associated with lower rates of smoking (Royal College of Physicians 1992, Goddard 1990, Aaro et al 1986, Bewley and Bland 1977). As well as attainment of qualifications and transition into further education, school leaving age (Graham and Hunt 1998), negative attitudes to school (Chassin et al 1988), getting into trouble at school (Simons-Morton et al 1999), dissatisfaction with school (Murray et al 1983) and parental education levels (Green 1979) have all been associated with smoking behaviour. Jessor and Jessor (1977) attempt to explain these trends by proposing that smoking may be a way of coping with academic failure, by using interpersonal achievement to offset feelings of academic failure.

(iii) Knowledge

Some studies have found that knowledge of the long-term health risks of smoking is not associated with smoking behaviour (Evans et al 1978). However, a longitudinal study conducted in Derbyshire found that girls' rejection of short term health hazards of smoking when 11-12 years was an important influence on their later smoking behaviour (Murray et al 1983).

(iv) Expectancies

Beliefs about the positive consequences of smoking ('expectancies') have also been associated with smoking behaviour. For example, Jaccard (1975) found that those respondents who intended to smoke were significantly more likely to believe that there were social benefits in smoking. Similarly, Barton et al (1982) identified a relationship between the positive images of smoking and the expressed intentions to smoke. Barton and Janis (1997) found that young smokers were significantly more likely than young non-smokers to agree with statements of the benefits of smoking, such as smoking helps people to relax, smoking gives people confidence and smoking helps you to stay slimmer. Furthermore, a study of the psychosocial factors associated with initiation

found that among many of the factors significantly associated with smoking, outcome expectancies had the largest odd ratios (Simmons-Morton et al 1999). Boys and girls with the highest outcome expectancies were over 60 times more likely to smoke than those with low outcome expectancies.

These findings have been explained in terms of social learning theory (Simmons-Morton et al 1999). This theory proposed that behaviour was dependent on its actual and anticipated consequences, therefore, young people were more likely to smoke if they anticipated certain positive outcomes (outcome expectancies) learned from experience and observation (Bandura 1986).

(v) Psychological

A number of psychological traits have also been associated with smoking behaviour, including their risk-taking propensity, personality, self-esteem, depression and locus of control.

Risk-taking Propensity

Collins et al (1987) have found that risk-taking propensity was associated with smoking behaviour. Jessor and Jessor (1977) argued that smoking is an accessible way for adolescents who are inclined towards deviance to take risks. They proposed that smoking was one of many adolescent problem behaviours, but is also influenced by other social and environmental influences. Other researchers have shown that smokers deal with risk by minimising the personal relevance of the health risks (Weinstein 1998).

Personality

Most personality studies are based on a framework proposed by Eysenck (1967). His typological theory is based on 3 dimensions of personality - extroversion, neuroticism and psychoticism. Based on the assumption that extroverts and introverts require different levels of stimulation, extroversion has been linked with smoking behaviour. For instance, at a medium level of stimulation, extroverts will be under stimulated and introverts will be over stimulated. Because of the lack of stimulation felt by extroverts, extroverts might be expected to look for other sources of stimulation, such as cigarettes.

Jaffe and Kanzler (1979) also linked extrovert personality with smoking behaviour, while Lynch (1995) found that smoking behaviour was related to independent-mindedness. More recently, Patton et al (1997) conducted a cluster analysis to identify the personality traits of adult smokers. The analysis identified two clusters of smokers. The largest cluster was older smokers, of higher socio-economic status. The smaller cluster began smoking at a young age and were higher in neuroticism, lower in self-esteem and ego-strength and higher in psychoticism.

Self-esteem

Some studies have found that low self-esteem is associated with smoking behaviour (Goddard 1990, Borland and Rudolf 1975). Minagawa et al (1993) found that young girls' self-perceptions (scholastic achievement, physical appearance, behavioural conduct, global self-worth) fell significantly between the ages of 11 and 15, and this was related to their smoking behaviour. However, some other studies have found that *high* levels of self-esteem is also associated with smoking behaviour (for example, Mosbach and Leventhal 1988, Rosenthal and Smith 1966). A critique of studies of self-esteem was offered by May (1999). He argued that problems in studies of self-esteem arise out of externally imposed and simplistic definitions of self-esteem, and therefore studies into self-identity and self-concept would be more helpful.

Depression

One study has found that depressive symptoms were positively associated with smoking both among boys and girls (Simons-Morton et al 1999).

Locus of Control

Locus of control is a concept that measures an individual's belief of the control they have over their fortune. Locus of control can be either internal or external. An external locus of control represents the belief that positive or negative outcomes result from environmental influences or chance and not from personal effort or ability. An internal locus of control represents the belief that positive or negative outcomes result from personal effort or ability, and these individuals are more likely to believe that they can take action to generate positive outcomes. Some studies have been conducted which suggest that smoking is related to an external focus of control (Clarke et al 1982, Foss 1973).

(vi) Other Behaviours

Research has also found that cigarette use is closely related to other behaviours such as alcohol and drug use (Sutherland and Willner 1998, Oakley et al 1992). For example, Sutherland and Willner (1998) found that young people who had been drunk more than five times, were more than twice as likely to smoke cigarettes as those who had not.

2.3.2 Immediate Influences

The research has identified two key sources of social influences on young people's smoking - peers and family. Each is now discussed in turn.

(i) Peers

The influence of young people's friends on smoking behaviour has long been documented. Studies of young people's smoking have consistently found that having a friend who smokes was a significant predictor of experimental, occasional and regular smoking behaviour (Simons-Morton et al 1999, West et al 1999, Owen and Bolling 1995, Charlton and Blair 1989, Murry et al 1983). For instance, West et al's (1999) longitudinal data revealed that between the ages of 15 and 23 years, those young people whose friends were smokers at age 15, were much more likely to go on to smoke than those with no smoking friends. This effect diminished over time, but even at age 23, still represented a three-fold increase.

Early research often assumed peer influences occurred as a result of 'peer pressure', ie. young people exert persuasive pressures on their friends (eg. Murry et al 1983). However, more recently, researchers have begun to question the peer pressure view, and have begun to take a more sophisticated view of peer influences (eg. Engels et al 1997, Eiser et al 1991). The key question is whether friends exert a direct influence on their peers, or whether young people choose friends with similar values and interests. Recent studies have found support for the latter theory of peer selection. For example, a longitudinal study conducted in the Netherlands found that both selection and direct

influence processes contributed to homogeneous smoking behaviour in peer groups, but the most influence came from selection processes (Engels et al 1997). Similarly, a cross-sectional study of 4059 school children found support for the more indirect explanation of peer influence, where young people choose friends who are similar to themselves (Eiser et al 1991).

Morgan and Grube (1989) propose an alternative, indirect explanation of peer influence. They suggested that there are two types of normative influence exercised by peers and family – ‘perceived approval’ (ie. young people assume that their peer group or family would approve of their smoking) and ‘behavioural example’ (ie. young people learn from their peer group or family smoking behaviour). They analysed cross-sectional data from a longitudinal study of Irish school children and concluded that the peer group influence was most likely to be explained by behavioural example, and parental influence was likely to be explained by perceived approval.

(ii) Family

There are a number of familial factors which have been associated with young people’s smoking behaviour, including - family structure, family relationships, parental and sibling smoking and parental attitudes. These are discussed below.

Family Structure

Family structure, such as family size and sibling position, have been shown to be associated with young people’s smoking behaviour (HEA 1992, Goddard 1990). However, consistent evidence regarding family structure comes from those studies which found that parental divorce and living with a lone parent increases a young person’s likelihood of being a smoker (Simons-Morton et al 1999, Lloyd et al 1998, Patton et al 1998, Goddard 1990, Oakley et al 1983).

Family Relationships

The relationships young people have with their parents may also have a bearing on their smoking behaviour. For example, Oakley et al (1983) found that young people, and particularly girls, were more likely to smoke if they experienced conflict in their

relationships with their parents. Similarly, Simons-Morton et al (1999) found that young people were significantly less likely to smoke if they experienced lower levels of conflict with their parents, had parents with high expectations of them or who engaged in authoritative parenting practices.

Parental and Sibling Smoking

Most studies which have examined the role of familial factors, have measured the impact of parental and sibling smoking behaviour on the young people's own smoking behaviour. The results of cross-sectional studies have found that young people with parents and/or older siblings who smoke will be more likely to smoke themselves (Barton and Janis 1997, Owen and Bolling 1995, Royal College of Physicians 1992, Goddard 1990, Charlton and Blair 1989, Murray et al 1983). For example, Charlton and Blair (1989) found that having at least one parent who smoked was a significant predictor of smoking behaviour. Barton and Janis (1997) found that those young people who had a sibling who smoked were four times more likely to be smokers than those who said they did not have a sibling who smoked.

West et al (1999) identified the need for longitudinal studies to be conducted in this area to understand the temporal effects of parental and sibling smoking. For example, their own longitudinal analysis of the influences on smoking between the ages of 15 and 23 years revealed no important associations of parental and sibling smoking. However, if key times are analysed (eg. 15 to 16 years) parental and sibling smoking can be shown to have a strong influence. They concluded that the family has an important influence during mid-teens, but that this influence diminishes over time.

Parental Attitudes

Parental attitudes to smoking have been shown to be strongly related to smoking initiation (Owen and Bolling 1995, Eiser et al 1989, Morgan and Grube 1989, Murray et al 1983). For example, Eiser et al (1989) found that parental opposition to smoking was a more important indicator of smoking intention than parents' smoking. This disapproval was found to be an important factor, even in the cases where parents were smokers themselves.

Anne Charlton (1996) offered a medical model explanation of familial influences on young people's smoking behaviour and smoking related health (the medical model presumes that smoking spreads like a disease, through contact with other smokers). She argued that young parents who are less well educated and less affluent are more likely to smoke during pregnancy, increasing the chances of lower birthweight and respiratory diseases later in life. This in turn increased chances of repeated absences from school, and perhaps academic underachievement. The child was more likely to feel dissatisfied and disillusioned, and more likely to be a smoker in later life. Thus creating a circle of familial smoking. This is an interesting explanation, but medical models of complex issues such as smoking, ignore the wider social and cultural environment in which children are raised, and in particular the strong symbolism and meaning of cigarettes in our society. Non-medical model explanations of family influences - such as that presented by Lloyd et al (1998) in their analysis of smoking in lone parent families - offer a more comprehensive view of familial influences by exploring some of the social and cultural influences on smoking.

2.3.3 Wider Influences

Wider environmental influences on young people's smoking behaviour included tobacco control policy, access to cigarettes, the media and cultural influences.

(i) Tobacco Control

Some tobacco control policies have been shown to have a negative affect on young people's smoking behaviour, including price, smoking policies and to a lesser degree, access to cigarettes.

Price

Research has concluded that increases in tobacco taxes will decrease tobacco consumption in young people and adults (Manley et al 1993, Lewit and Coate 1982), and that children and teenagers are at least as sensitive to increases in price as adults (Wasserman et al 1991, Grossman et al 1983, Lewit et al 1981). For example, Lewit et

al (1981) conducted the first significant work in this area and found that teenagers were more sensitive to price increases than adults. They estimated that the price elasticity of demand among youths was -1.44 (ie. a 1% increase in price will decrease demand by 1.44%), more than three times as high as among adults. They also found a strong impact of price on the decision to smoke (price elasticity -1.20). Similar findings were identified by Grossman et al (1983) who also found that the decision to smoke was negatively associated to price, and estimated the elasticity of this effect to be -0.76. More recently, Chaloupka (1991), Wasserman et al (1991) and Evans and Farrelly (1995) found that the demand for cigarettes decreases with increases in price, and young people are particularly responsive to price.

Smoking Policies

Chaloupka (1991) found that restrictions on smoking in public places had a significant impact on consumption. Charlton and While (1994) examined the smoking policies and practices in educational establishments, and found that the existence of anti-smoking policy and smoking prevalence were interrelated in colleges, but not schools. However, Stead et al (1996) noted that while the behavioural impact of school smoking policies might be small, their absence may communicate indirectly to young people a message of the acceptability of smoking.

(ii) Media

There is some evidence that the manner in which smoking is portrayed in key youth media, such as TV, film and youth style magazines may have an impact on their smoking related attitudes and beliefs (Distefan 1999, Amos et al 1998, Chapman and Davis 1997, Pechmann and Shih 1996). Yach and Ferguson (1999) noted that cigarettes are not sold as simple consumer products, but have immense social and cultural meaning, and are sold as aspirational tools inside 'created experiences for youth'. The presentation of cigarettes in the wider media reinforces this imagery.

Furthermore, the portrayal of cigarette smoking in the media does not reflect reality. It has been shown to over-estimate the prevalence of smoking (Hazan et al 1994) and communicates the message that smoking is a prevalent and acceptable behaviour

(Chapman and Davis 1997, Pechmann and Shih 1996). Another study examined the way in which smoking was portrayed in 100 popular films, and found that smokers were depicted as more romantically and sexually successful (McIntosh et al 1998).

(iii) Access

The availability of cigarettes to young people is a direct environmental influence on smoking uptake. Despite the Children and Young Person (Protection from Tobacco) Act, underage smokers still manage to purchase cigarettes. A recent ONS Survey found that one-quarter of all school children aged 11 to 15 years had attempted to buy cigarettes from a shop (Jarvis 1997). Furthermore only 15% of boys and 22% of girls said that was difficult to purchase cigarettes. The table below, Table 2.2, shows the usual source of cigarettes for current smokers, by age. This clearly shows that CTN's (Confectioners, Newsagents and Tobacconists) and garage shops were the easiest means of access.

There are very few convictions for retailers caught selling tobacco to under age smokers. Reducing access to cigarettes may reduce demand for cigarettes by underage smokers (Alchin and Lee 1995). Increasing the legal age to 18 years is unlikely to have a demonstrable impact on youth smoking (Willemsen and Zwart 1999). However, stringently enforced laws prohibiting sales to minors combined with retailer education have been shown to have an effect on youth smoking initiation (Siegel et al 1999).

Table 2.2: Usual Source of Cigarettes for Current Smokers By Age

| <u>Usual Source of Cigarettes</u> | <u>11/12 years</u> | <u>13 years</u> | <u>14 years</u> | <u>15 years</u> | <u>All current smokers</u> |
|---|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| Bought from newsagents, tobacconists, sweet shops | 30 | 47 | 70 | 84 | 69 |
| Bought from garage | 13 | 27 | 38 | 53 | 41 |
| Bought from supermarket | 4 | 7 | 14 | 30 | 19 |
| Bought from other type of shop | 7 | 10 | 14 | 18 | 15 |
| Bought from machine | 26 | 17 | 25 | 29 | 25 |
| Bought from other people | 33 | 30 | 34 | 17 | 25 |
| Given by friends | 54 | 61 | 60 | 59 | 59 |
| Given by brother/sister | 9 | 11 | 14 | 14 | 13 |
| Given by mother /father | 2 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 5 |
| Found or taken | 4 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 5 |
| Other | 33 | 17 | 14 | 6 | 12 |

Source: Jarvis L (1997) *Smoking among secondary school children in 1996: England*. Office for National Statistics Social Survey Division. London: The Stationery Office.

(iv) Culture

Culture and society has an important, if indirect, impact upon young people's smoking behaviour. For instance, young smokers have been shown to be more likely than young non-smokers to believe that, in general, society approves of and supports smoking (Aitken et al 1986a).

Religious background is also important. For example, children of Asian background have been shown to smoke less than white children of the same age (Kohli 1989).

2.4 The Potential Role of Tobacco Marketing Communications

This chapter has examined why young people smoke to determine the potential for marketing communications to influence this process. It has identified 3 types of influence from the literature: 1) personal influences such as the young people's demographic or individual characteristics; 2) immediate influences from the young people's social environment, particularly their peer group and family; and, 3) wider environmental influences which derive from government regulations on tobacco control, the media and tobacco marketing. For tobacco marketing communications to have an

influence on young people's smoking, it must impact upon at least one, if not more, of these levels.

Tobacco marketing communications can be readily understood as a source of direct, individual influence on young people's smoking behaviour. For instance, a sales promotion may communicate information about a product that may be new and interesting to consumers, and which may influence their knowledge or feelings about a brand or product category.

However, it is likely that tobacco marketing communications influences the immediate and wider levels also.

For example, tobacco marketing communications may influence smoking behaviour by engaging consumers in groups such as friends, family or community. As youth smoking is very much a social activity, this would be an effective way of reaching and influencing young people. One way of doing this might be through coupon schemes, where cigarette coupons or tokens are collected together. Another way might be point of sale communications which proliferate the types of shops used by young people. In this way, immediate level influences may help to support other social 'pressures' to smoke.

Furthermore, it may also be possible for tobacco marketing communications to influence young people via wider environmental or cultural sources. The simple presence of sponsorship or advertising may contribute towards cultural norms regarding the acceptability of smoking. Similarly, the presentation of cigarettes in the media may help to shape shared cultural perceptions about the meaning of smoking. These wider level influences may have important implications for young people's perceptions of the attractiveness and desirability of smoking.

2.5 Summary

This discussion has shown that smoking initiation occurs as the result of individual, immediate and wider level influences. It may be possible for tobacco marketing communications to influence youth smoking at any of these levels. The following

chapter examines this issue. It reviews theories of media and marketing communications to obtain a theoretical understanding of the role and scope of tobacco marketing communications.

3.0 UNDERSTANDING MEDIA AND MARKETING COMMUNICATIONS EFFECTS

“Communication is a process in which participants create and share information with one another to reach a mutual understanding”

(Rogers 1987, p79)

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the process of smoking initiation and the various contributions made by individual, immediate and wider level influences on this process. It also surmised that tobacco marketing communications could potentially operate at the smoking initiation process at each of these three levels of influence. This could occur, for example, by contributing to an individual’s knowledge or beliefs about smoking (individual level), by influencing social support for smoking by influencing significant others’ smoking related attitudes and beliefs, eg. the family or groups of friends (immediate level) or by influencing cultural norms and wider support for smoking (environmental level).

This chapter will investigate *if* and *how* marketing communications effects occur and explore the potential for tobacco marketing communications to influence each of the three levels. Two main bodies of literature are relevant here – the study of the mass media effects and models of marketing communications management. Mass media research has included study of its adverse effects on health, crime, prejudice and morality. This has developed theory of media effects on audiences that may provide some insight into the potential impact of tobacco related marketing communications. Marketing communications management is based on models of the marketing communications processes and makes certain assumptions as to how effects occur.

3.2 Media Effects

The effect of mass communications on its audience is probably the most widely studied element of media theory (Windahl et al 1992). Commentators on mass communications theory have observed different phases in the historical development of studies of media effects (McQuail 1994, Windahl et al 1992, Glover 1984). The first perspective, which dominated the period 1900s to 1950s, assumed the media was an all powerful source of influence. The second prevailed from the 1950s through the 1970s, and was characterised by an understanding that the media was not a predictable or powerful source of influence. During this era, the media was seen to influence its audience only through existing social structures and networks. More recently, as new forms of media proliferate, perspectives of media effects has returned to a view of the media as a powerful source of influence on our lives, but more sophisticated models of its effect now exist. The development of media theory of effects during each of these stages is now discussed.

3.2.1 Stage One: The Media is All Powerful

The first stage of research into the effects of the media on audiences assumed that the media was all powerful, and had potentially damaging effects on those who engaged with it. The 'War of the Worlds' radio play written by HG Wells and dramatised by Orson Welles in 1938, is often used as an example of the power of the media. The play was a story of an alien invasion and was broadcast as a news-flash, interrupting scheduled programming. The result was so terrifying it caused panic and many people fled their homes during the mayhem. This story was used to demonstrate the potential for the media to confuse, mislead and corrupt audiences (Glover 1984). The view of the media as a powerful source of influence on our lives was shared by the first researchers into media affects, and is encapsulated in the '*Hypodermic-Syringe*' model. In this analogy, the media was compared to a hypodermic syringe and the patient represented the media audience. Media effects were injected directly into the audience, where they were likely to cause harm to all patients in a predictable and uniform way. The larger the injection of media effects, the more harm caused to audiences. The first studies into the effects of the media on audiences were conducted in the USA during the 1930s by the

Payne Fund, and examined the impact of film media on young people's attitudes and behaviour. Other research based on the same powerful view of the media was conducted during the 1950s and 1960s, and was conducted to examine ways to use the media to persuade or to understand the harmful effects of the media (see Hovland et al 1949 or Berelson et al 1954 as discussed in McQuail 1994).

This model of the mass media assumed that media effects only occurred at the individual level. The mass media was believed to easily determine an individual's attitudes, beliefs and behaviour, and audiences were understood to respond to mass media messages in a predictable and uniform way. The relationship between the audiences and the mass media was uni-directional, ie. the mass media affects the audience.

Glover (1984) argued this view of the media stemmed from cultural changes following social upheaval during the post-industrial revolution era. Stable and enduring communities had been radically altered leaving in its wake uncertainty, isolation and rapid change. Perceptions of the effects of new mass media were viewed within this context, as further evidence of the uncertain and uncontrollable environment. McQuail (1994) also added that the use of advertising and the media during the inter-war years for political propaganda encouraged this view of the media as a powerful source of persuasion and manipulation.

The Hypodermic-syringe model has since been largely discredited as over-estimating and over-simplifying the role of the media on our lives, and neglecting the social and political context within which media effects occur (Tones 1996, Windahl 1992). Mendelsohn (1968) argued that rather than a hypodermic syringe, the mass media is more of an aerosol, most of it landing on the surface and drifting away, rather than penetrating.

Furthermore, the research upon which this view of the media was based has been criticised for being conducted only in laboratory conditions, and using methodologies which were not generalisable to real world conditions (Jones and Jones 1999).

3.2.2 Stage Two: The Media Has Limited Effects

Researchers began to doubt the theory of the media as an omnipotent source of influence and corruption. Audiences were no longer viewed as gullible and easily manipulated, and media effects were suspected to be more complex and indirect. In particular, researchers took issue with the predictability of the media's effect on audiences, and began to realise that people accepted some messages while rejecting others. Furthermore, media effects were realised to occur within a social, cultural and political context. Katz and Lazarsfeld's (1955) book *Personal Influence* broke tradition with the hypodermic-syringe view, by proposing that attitudes and behaviour were primarily influenced by social life and, in particular, opinion leaders within reference groups. The '*two-step flow*' model of media effects proposed that opinion leaders were vulnerable to media effects and, via their prominent position within social groups, transmitted media determined values, attitudes and behaviours to the less receptive remainder of the population (Katz 1957). Opinion leaders were argued to be more media active and literate, and to occupy positions of social status. They filtered messages from the media and translated and communicated values to others. Subsequent studies have highlighted the importance of social relationships in the transfer of ideas from the mass media to audiences. De Fleur (1966) concludes, "*...theories of mass communication recognise not only the importance of individual psychological differences and the role of social categories in shaping the responses people make to the media, but the influence of informal group ties has also become increasingly clear*" (De Fleur ML 1966, p132).

While the previous model of the media assumed that effects only occurred in the individual domain, this model assumed that effects occur mostly in the social domain, and there is very little influence of the media on individuals. Effects occur only through socially determined patterns of relationships, from opinion leaders to opinion followers.

This robust view of media effect has been a predominant tradition in media research and planning (Giltin 1978). Its importance in the development of media effects theory, is the underlying assumption that media effects are neither certain nor uniform. Furthermore, it acknowledges that family, friends or significant others often have an important role to play in translating and communicating media messages.

However, the two-step flow view has also been criticised for offering an over-simplified view of media effects. In particular, the division of audiences into opinion leaders and opinion followers has been questioned (Bostian 1970, Kingdon 1970). For example, Kingdon (1970) proposed that there were in fact two types of opinion leaders: those who actively sought to communicate media messages, and those who did so more passively. Furthermore, others have questioned the likelihood of socially influenced media effects occurring in two stages, and have proposed a multi-step flow of effects (McQuail 1987).

Diffusion theory offers a similar model of effects to that of two-step/multi-step flow models. This theory is based on the diffusion of innovations, such as new products, practices or ideas, and therefore is of relevance to communications theory (Windahl et al 1999). Rogers' model (1983) is based on the idea that individuals have different levels of susceptibility to innovations. New innovations move through society and are taken up by individuals at different times, according to their willingness to adopt new innovations. To reflect this, five 'adopter categories' are proposed, from those who embrace new innovations and are willing to take risks in order to adopt the new idea (the "innovators"), through "early adopters", the "early majority", the "late majority", to the "laggards" who are the most reluctant and suspicious of new innovations. Both diffusion theory and two-step/multi-step flow models assume that an opinion leader or a "change agent" plays an essential role in the communications process (Windahl et al 1992). Rogers (1983) proposed that the change agent has an important role to play in stimulating and facilitating innovative change in others through communication, and peers, rather than experts, are more likely to be appropriate change agents.

Another perspective on media effects that predominated during stage two was *Uses and Gratifications Theory*. Like proponents of two-step flow/multi-step flow and diffusion theory, Uses and Gratifications theorists were opposed to the view of the media as an all powerful and predictable source of corruptive influence. However, unlike the other two dominant perspectives of this era, Uses and Gratifications theorists viewed all audience members as active participants in the communications process. This perspective assumed that the audience, rather than the media, were the more influential (Rubin 1986). Audiences were believed to purposively use the media to gratify their needs (Blumer and Katz 1974) and, therefore, different audience members can use the media for different reasons, producing different outcomes (Windahl 1981).

Based on research of soap opera viewing, audiences were observed to be fulfilling the need for social interaction in their own lives, by engaging in the fictional lives of television characters (McQuail et al 1972). As social life had changed and became more isolated and disperse, it was argued that the media fulfilled some of the roles previously played by traditional community and family. This perspective has also been extensively used to examine children's use of and motivations to watch television (Rubin 1986) and is similar to the conclusions reached by Phil Aitken in his research of the effects of tobacco advertising on young people's smoking behaviour (Aitken and Eadie 1990). He concluded that young people were more involved and interested in tobacco advertising because they derived reassurance and satisfaction from it by seeking the advertising content that was most gratifying (see Section 4.5).

Uses and Gratifications theory assumed effects occur within the individual level, but unlike the hypodermic-syringe model, these effects are not uni-directional effects of the media on the audience. Rather, by determining the benefits to be derived from the media, the audience controls the effects of the media, and the media itself is relatively powerless.

The strength of Uses and Gratifications theory is that it takes account of individuals' needs and their ability to accept or reject messages according to these needs (Windahl et al 1992). However, Uses and Gratifications theory and two-step and multi-step flow models have since been criticised for over-estimating the impotency of the media, and putting the power and responsibility for media effects entirely in the hands of its audience. Furthermore, most phase two research of effects examined only short-term effects on audiences, while there were likely to be many other longer term effects on audiences (Glover 1984).

Despite the short-comings of some of the theories of this research, the work achieved during this period made two significant contributions to media theory: 1) the impact of any media campaign is now understood to be unable to achieve dramatic or predictable effects on audiences; and 2) other influences exist to mediate and interrupt media, particularly social, cultural and political influences (Windahl 1992).

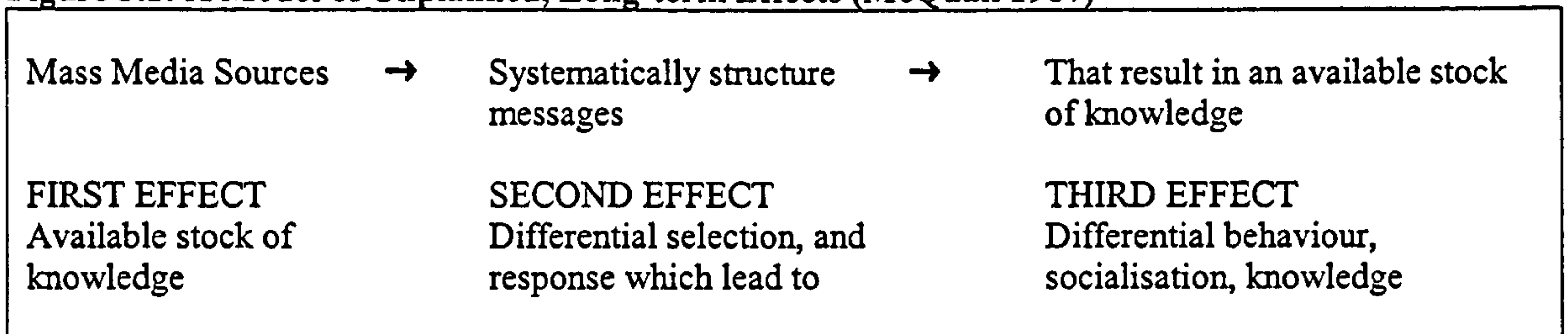
3.2.3 Stage Three: The Media is Powerful

More recently, researchers have revised the limited effect view of the media and have begun to reformulate perspectives on media effects that have assumed that it is an important influence on our lives (DeLorne and Reid 1999, Hirshman and Thomson 1997). The proliferation of new forms of media has helped to shape this new way of thinking (Windahl 1992). However, unlike the previous views of media effects, researchers have considered both long-term as well as short-term effects on audiences. There are a number of new theoretical perspectives and research approaches, but they share the view that media effects are long-term, that media audiences have an active, rather than passive role to play in the media and effects can occur in environmental, social and individual domains.

For example, *Cultivation theory* examines the role of the media in contributing to cultural values and in relating meaningful cultural values to social groups. This theory assumed that the effect of the media was long term as well as immediate, and acted upon the social and cultural fabric within which audiences and media co-exist. The media was deemed powerful because it dominated the 'symbolic environment' and presented a view of reality which audiences confused with actual reality (Gerbner 1973). This model was based on the view that the media presented an exaggerated and distorted view of the world, which ultimately contributed to stereotypes and prejudiced opinions (Jones and Jones 1999). Cultivation theory underpinned much of the research examining the effects of the media in representing and constructing racist, sexist and homophobic values. For example, imagery of women in the media has been shown to show distorted or stereotypical images of femininity (McClelland 1993).

McQuail (1987) modelled the process by which unintended long-term effects on culture might occur, see Figure 3.1. McQuail's model proposed that mass media created a systematically structured supply of 'knowledge' and social values. Media effects occur through three stages: 1) the creation of an accessible and credible source of opinion and attitudes; 2) interaction with media according to social structure and background; and, 3) impact upon attitudes, belief structures and behaviour. In this way, the media can infuse our cultural values in a slow and incremental fashion.

Figure 3.1: A Model of Unplanned, Long-term Effects (McQuail 1987)



Source: McQuail D (1987). *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*, 2nd Edition. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

One of the main contributions made by cultivation theorists was the assumption that audience members interpret meaning from media imagery according to their social position and therefore, the same media can have different effects on different members of the audience (Glover 1984). It also assumed that effects occur not only within an individual, but within a social and wider cultural dimension. However, Jones and Jones (1999) observed that there has been as yet little research evidence from European studies to support this view of the media.

Reception analysis examined the way in which audiences interpret and engage with the media. Using qualitative methodologies such as participant observation or in-depth interviewing to examine how audiences engaged with the media, this model assumed that audiences were very media literate, participated actively with the media and often challenged it (Morley 1980). Therefore, this model assumed that the media are relatively weak, while the audience is an active participant in the communication process. This research has been important in understanding the mediating role of power relationships within families on media effects. In particular, Morley found that male power within families predominated and tended to control family's media habits.

Reception analysis clearly moves away from uni-directional models of media effects, by examining audience interaction with, and use of, the media. It also acknowledges that social, ethnic and demographic differences exist in people's interaction with the media that in turn impact upon media use and effects. However, this method of analysis has been criticised for ignoring the debate on the ownership and control of the media (Jones and Jones 1999). For example, the classical Marxist view of the media argues that control of the means of production also includes control of the media. In this way, the powerful middle-class can control and manipulate dominant social ideas. On the other

hand, pluralists believe that audiences influence media via demands on its content, eg. the inclusion of 'page 3 models' in tabloid newspapers can be justified by the argument that they are there because consumers want to see it. This view assumes the media plays the passive role, by simply responding to audience's needs, wants and demands, and underestimates the extent to which the media can drive as well as respond to expressed consumer demands (Jones and Jones 1999). Therefore, reception analysis examines individual audience members' use of the media in isolation from the politics of its control.

McQuail's writing has also acknowledged that effects can occur at different *levels of effect* including the individual, the social group and society (McQuail 1987). For example, health initiatives targeted at adolescents often try to facilitate change, not just with the individual adolescents, but with relevant social groups through peer education programmes. The aim of peer education is to endorse social relationships that influence behaviour and to facilitate changes in social relationships. This has been applied to drugs prevention initiatives where campaigns have endorsed drugs prevention norms, beliefs and behaviours within a peer group or social network (Shiner and Newburn 1996, Wiist and Snider 1991). Asp (1986) [for a review of see Windahl et al 1999, p 202-3] presents a typology of potential media effects which might occur according to three variables, including the level of effects (individual or system), time frame (long or short) and source of effects (mass media or other organisation). See Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: A Typology of Effects (Asp 1986)

| | SOURCE OF EFFECT | | | |
|-------------------|--|---|---|---|
| LEVEL | Content | | Institution | |
| <u>Individual</u> | <i>Example</i> Poster campaign to encourage 'No' vote in repeal of Section 28 referendum. | <i>Example</i> Advertising campaign to encourage people to take more exercise by walking. | <i>Example</i> University wide campaign to encourage students to get meningitis inoculation before term one. | <i>Example</i> University wide campaign to encourage greater awareness of the symptoms of meningitis |
| <u>System</u> | <i>Example</i> The effects of a mass media campaign on British beef on the new menus of an industrial kitchen | <i>Example</i> The long term effects of the portrayal of very slim models in style magazines on teenager girls | <i>Example</i> Impact of a government press release to attract interest of the medical community in a new policy on availability of NRT. | <i>Example</i> The long term effects of BA's revamped corporate identity on the business community. |
| | <u>Short</u> | <u>Long</u> | <u>Short</u> | <u>Long</u> |
| | TIME FRAME | | | |

Source: Based on ASP (1986). See Windahl et al (1992), p202-3, with new examples

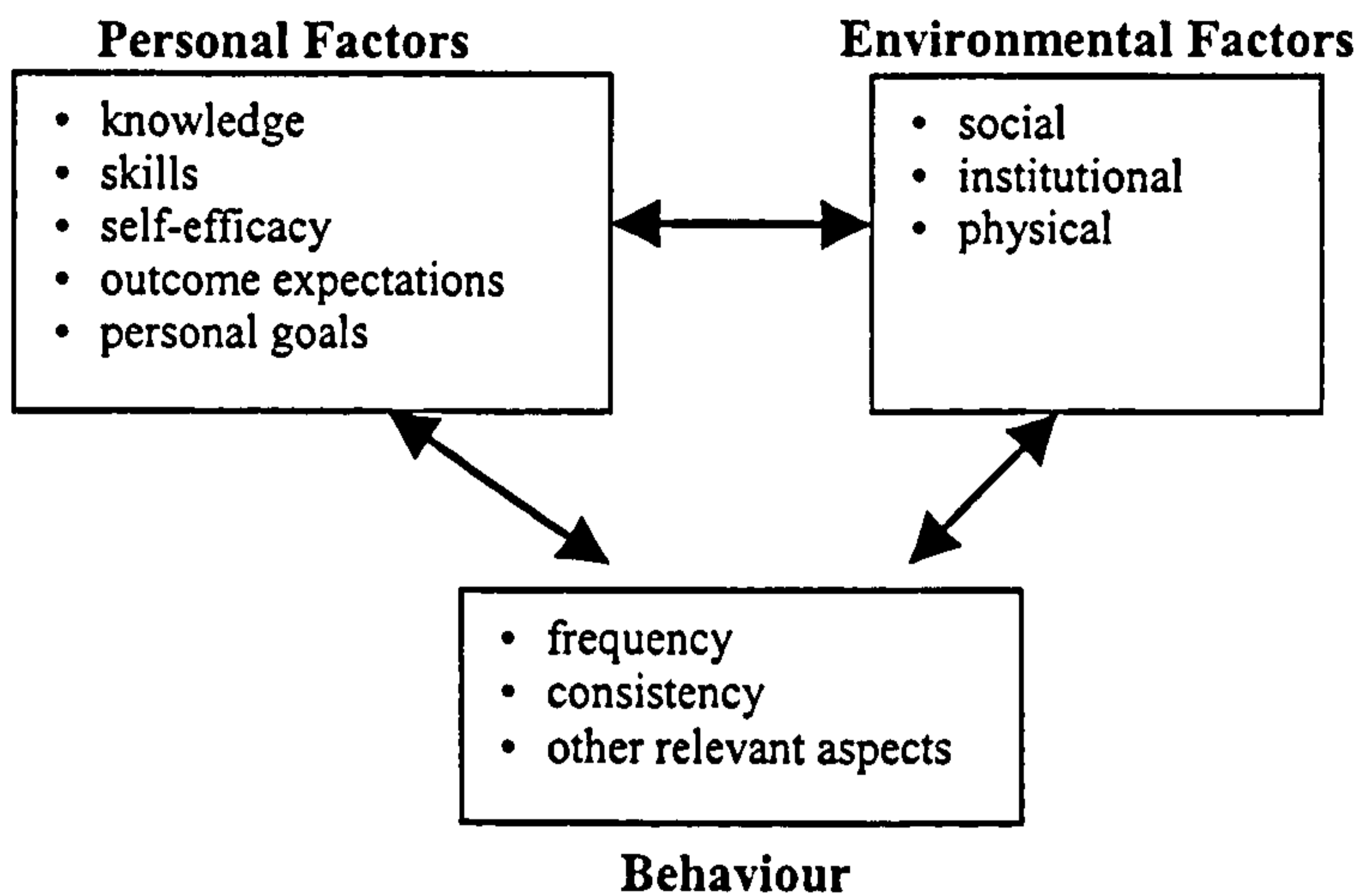
Asp's model presents an important framework for understanding and researching communications effects, according to the source of communications, level of effects and the time frame within which effects occur. By identifying two levels of effects, it assumes the importance of understanding the extent to which communications effects occur within individuals or at a wider level within a system of communications, eg. an organisation, social group or community. The source of effects, either mass media or non-mass media, pose implications for understanding the nature of the communications and hence, the nature of effects. Finally, communications can be intended to have either short or long term results, and so effects can be measured immediately or in the future.

However, while this framework has contributed to a more credible understanding of communications effects, it does contain certain inherent weaknesses. For example, there is no distinction between effects which occur within key social or reference groups (such as friends or family) and wider environmental and cultural influences. The communications effect which occurred within, say peer groups, are likely to have more resonance and to be more immediate, than those which occurs within broad cultures or societies. Secondly, there is likely to be some overlap between the eight distinct types of

effects. A mass media advertising campaign to encourage more exercise by walking more regularly, may have long term effects on individuals as they learn healthier behaviour. It may also have other effects, such as short term effects on individuals with some motivation but little commitment to exercise, or long term effects on other organisations who may be interested in using this message in their own strategies.

Social Cognitive Theory describes the influences on behaviour change. This model describes changes in behaviour as a result of reciprocal determination of the behaviour, the individual and the environment in which they live (Bandura 1986). In this model, people's behaviour is shaped not only by their own personal characteristics and knowledge, but also by their environment. Furthermore, people also have an important role to play in shaping their environment through their behaviour, needs, wants and expectations. Social Cognitive Theory has been adopted by communication theorists and practitioners to understand how to use communication to change entrenched behaviours, eg. unhealthy habits (Maibach and Cotton 1993), see Figure 3.3. To produce effects such as smoking cessation, it is understood to be important to not only target the individual with messages about the health risks or costs of smoking, but also to change the environment of the smoker. This might involve policies to increase the price of cigarettes, help GPs be more in tune with the needs of smokers who might want to quit, make cessation products readily available or help create a culture which values non-smoking. Maibach and Cotton's model assumes changes in behavioural outcomes only, as the model was designed for use in health communications campaigns where the adoption of a healthy new behaviour (eg. breast screening) or the cessation of an unhealthy behaviour (eg. smoking) was likely to be the objective.

Figure 3.3: Social Cognitive Theory (Maibach and Cotton 1993)



Source: Maibach E and Cotton RL (1993). Moving people to behaviour change: A staged social cognitive approach to message design. Chapter 3 in Maibach ED, Parrott RL (eds), *Designing Health Messages: Approaches from Communication Theory and Public Health Practice*, pp41-80. London: Sage Publications Ltd, p45.

As with Asp's typology of effects (1987), Maibach and Cotton acknowledged that there are different levels at which communications effects occur. The model identifies two main types of communications strategy to influence health behaviour – campaigns targeted at individuals to change their knowledge, attitudes and beliefs in support of the proposed health behaviour change; or, campaigns targeted at wider environmental entities to encourage an environment or culture supportive of the proposed behaviour change. As before, the model does not distinguish the importance of immediate environments to the individual that may have a major influence – eg. family, education/employment or peer groups.

Contemporary views of the media have developed considerably since the early view of the media as an all powerful source of influence on gullible and passive audiences. The current research shows that consumers play an active role in mediating their media experiences (eg. De Lorne and Reid 1999, Martin and McGentry 1997). Audience effects are now understood to be subtle, complex, long-term and may occur within individual, immediate or wider levels. The marketing communications literature has developed separately, but has arrived at similar conclusions.

3.3 Marketing Communications Effects

The following section examines the marketing communications literature, to explore if and how marketing communications effects occur, and the potential for effects to occur within individual, immediate and wider levels. The marketing communications literature has developed from early, simple theories of advertising effect to more sophisticated models which examine the effects of the marketing communications mix. These are all discussed in this section on 'marketing communications effects'. The initial models examine advertising only, as this predominated as the main form of marketing communications for many years. The latter models describe marketing communications mix as a whole, including advertising and other non-media forms of communications.

As with mass communications theory, marketing communications theory has undergone considerable development, from simplistic and naive models of effect, where the audience was viewed as a passive and willing recipient of ideas, to more complex models which assumed audiences are sophisticated and active. However, while theories of advertising effects abound, there is no one unifying and defensible theory of advertising (Bullmore 1999, Poiesz and Robben 1994, White 1993, Hedges 1982), not least because its effects are neither predictable nor consistent (McDonald 1993a).

The debate regarding the relationship between advertising and audience effects continues to persist. For example, a recent paper discussing the potential effects of advertising on consumption presented two opposing views of advertising effects (Schultz 1998). Jones' (1995) research concluded that advertising, and broadcast advertising in particular, was a strong and highly persuasive force in the market place. The conflicting view was held by Ehrenberg et al (1997) who conducted studies similar to the econometric studies described in Section 4.3.1, and concluded that advertising was a weak force in the market place and acted only to reinforce consumers' existing purchasing intentions.

However despite this, there are a number of key research traditions and debates which have evolved a theoretical understanding of marketing communications effects including: 1) The rejection of models of advertising where effects occur in a hierarchy (the 'Hierarchy of Effects models' also known as 'stimulus-response models'): These

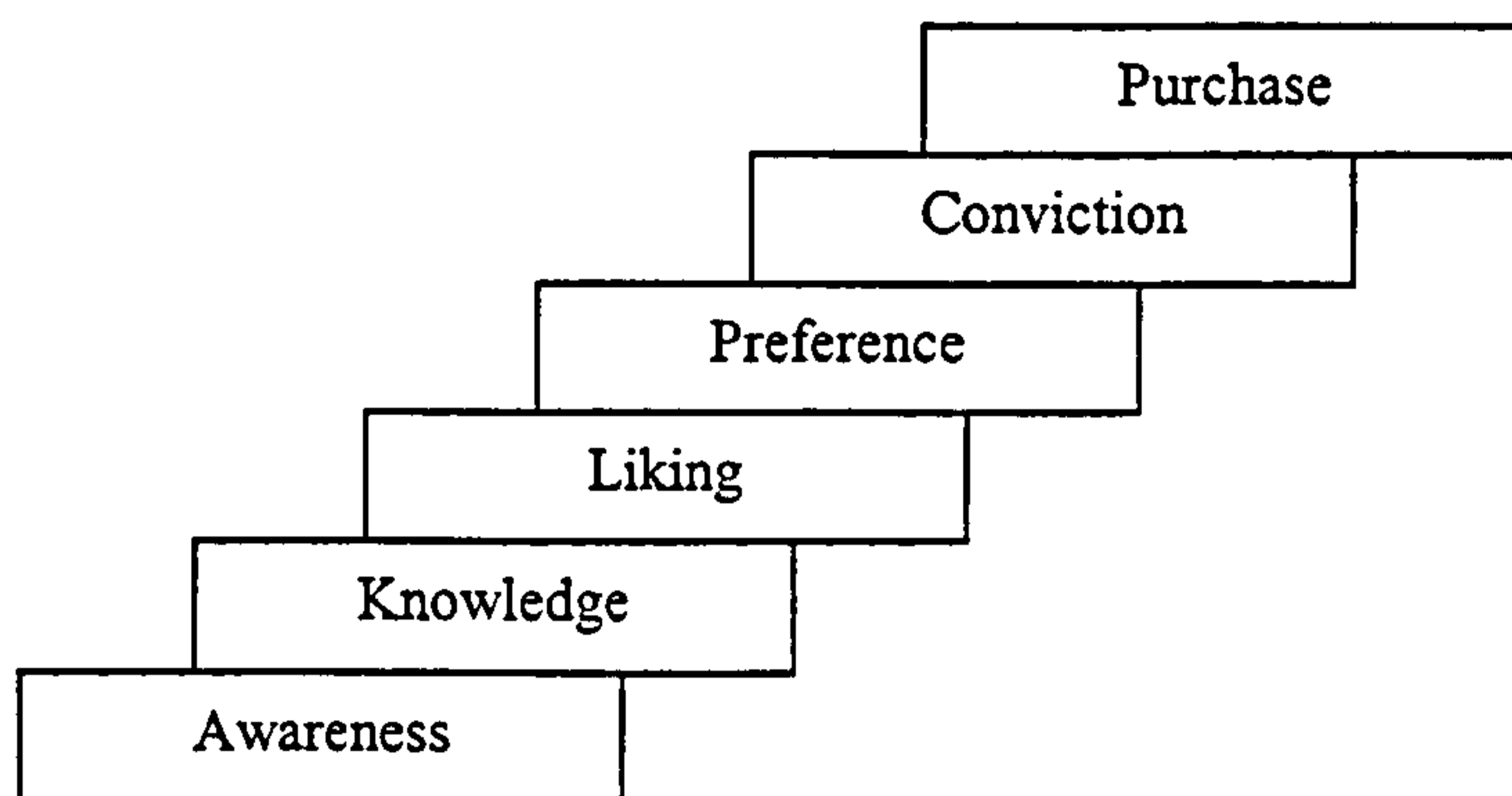
models assume that marketing communications effects are predictable and uniform.; 2) Management models of the communications process which have been used to plan advertising campaigns and make certain assumptions as to how effects occur: These models identify the key parties in the marketing communications process; 3) An understanding that the audience in the marketing communications process plays an active rather than passive role: This debate provides further evidence that effects do not readily occur on malleable audiences, but that effects may or may not occur depending on audience's characteristics and motivations; 4) The emergence of interpretivist research tradition, which examined marketing communications effects in terms of the symbolism and meaning it creates for consumers: This restored some balance to the debate on the active or passive nature of audiences, by proposing that both parties have influence over communications effects. They also explore the role of marketing communications and product symbolism within groups of consumers.

The contribution made by each of these streams of research is now discussed.

3.3.1 Hierarchy of Effects

Initial models of marketing communications effects, 'Hierarchy of Effects' Models, were developed to understand how to produce advertising that better influenced consumers. These models (also known as 'stimulus-response' models) shared a view that advertising influenced consumers over time by moving them through various stages from product unawareness, through awareness and preference, to actual purchase. Strong (1925) first popularised this model of advertising, known as 'AIDA'. Strong's model included four stages of advertising effect: attention, interest, desire and action. Lavidge and Steiner (1961) developed one of the most influential hierarchy of effect models (see Figure 3.4). Their model shown below demonstrates the hypothesised cognitive, affective and conative stages of advertising effects:

Figure 3.4: Hierarchy of Effects (Lavidge and Steiner 1961)



Adapted from: Lavidge RC, Steiner GA (1961). A model for predictive measurements of advertising effectiveness. *Journal of Marketing*, 25: 59-62.

Unlike earlier commentators (see for example, Osborn 1922, Kitson 1921, Ramsay 1921, Hall 1915, as discussed in Barry and Howard 1990), Lavidge and Steiner (1961) acknowledged that some stages were achieved more readily than others, and that more than one stage could be achieved simultaneously. Since Lavidge and Steiner's work, other similar theories have been proposed, most notably by Colley's (1961) DAGMAR model which identified four stages: awareness, comprehension, conviction and action; and McGuire (1978) who identified six stages: presentation, attention, comprehension, yielding, retention and behaviour.

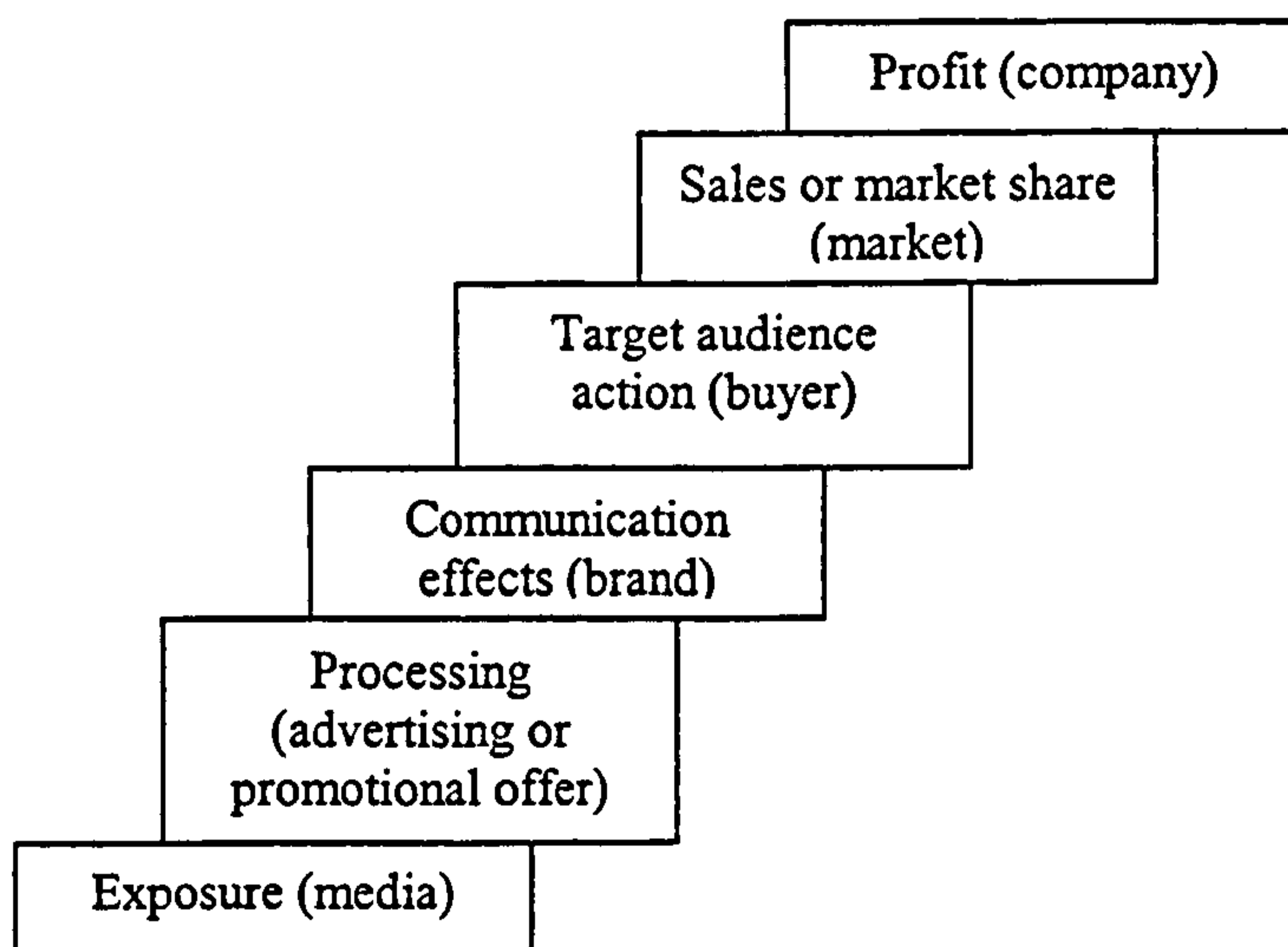
The hierarchy of effects models of advertising dominated the advertising effects research tradition for as long as 40 years. While theorists have posited different numbers of stages to reflect more sensitivity and accuracy in the process audiences must pass through for advertising to be effective, each model shares cognitive, affective and conative stages.

Despite their popularity and longevity, hierarchy of effects models have attracted considerable criticism regarding the order through which stages are undergone by consumers (Barry and Howard 1990). The traditional order proposed by Lavidge and Steiner (1961), Colley (1961) and McGuire (1978) for example, involved changes in knowledge, then attitudes towards the advertised product, before changes in consumer behaviour occur (ie. cognition, then affect and conation). However, critics of these models have argued that changes in consumer behaviour can occur before the relevant changes in knowledge or attitudes. For example, Krugman (1965) proposed a 'low

involvement' hierarchy to explain those purchases that are made by uninterested recipients of the products' advertising messages, who purchase products and *then* form liking towards the advertisements (ie. cognition, conation, affect). On the other hand, Zajonc and Markus (1982) argued that advertising effects could occur in a different sequence. They proposed that purchases might be stimulated by feelings, rather than knowledge (ie. affect, conation, cognition). Ray et al (1973) proposed another different sequence of effects. It was proposed that, in some instances, consumers purchased products without any prior knowledge or feelings about them. To deal with the feelings of post-purchase cognitive dissonance that ensued, they developed attitudes to help reassure them that the correct choice had been made, and looked for additional knowledge in support of this (ie. conation, affect, cognition).

Furthermore, the hierarchy of effects models failed to explain why some advertising worked whilst others failed, assuming progression through the stages regardless of individual, social or psychological differences (White 1993). Despite its detractors, the influence of hierarchy of effects models is present in contemporary guides to advertising and promotion management. For example, Rossiter and Percy's overview of marketing communications management (1987) included a model of the six steps of effects of advertising and promotion, see Figure 3.5 below:

Figure 3.5: Model of Communications (Rossiter and Percy 1987)



Adapted from: Rossiter JR, Percy L (1987). *Advertising and Promotion Management*. New York: McGraw Hill, p15.

As with the hierarchy of effects models, this model of marketing communication effects assumed that knowledge of the product must first be obtained and processed by the buyer, before any effects on the target audience and the market can be observed.

The reasons for the success of the hierarchy of effects models lies in its simplicity and its ability to help determine communications objectives and tools (Smith 1993). Furthermore, the model could be easily applied to assess the effectiveness of advertising campaigns. As knowledge was a necessary stage in each version of the hierarchy of effects models, measuring advertising recall became an important indicator of advertising effectiveness (White 1993). However, it is now acknowledged that recall of a campaign is not an indicator of advertising effectiveness, and indeed campaigns could be recalled for their ineffectiveness (White 1993).

3.3.2 Models of The Communication Process

Other theorists have developed models of the marketing communications process which did not assume that effects on audiences are a necessary condition of a communications *event*, but which examined the role of the sender and the receiver in the communications *process* (Kitchen 1993). One of the first models of marketing communication was developed by Lasswell (1948, 1960). This model presents a simple rubric for the types of decisions to be made when planning marketing communications, including targeting, objective setting and key outcomes (see Figure 3.6 below).

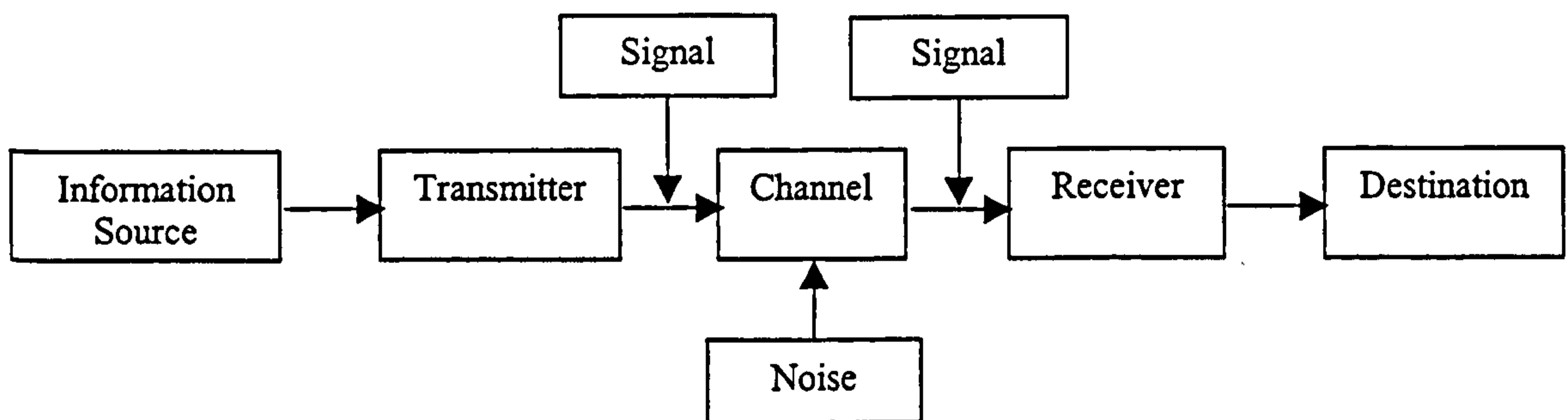
Figure 3.6: Simple Model of Communication (Lasswell 1948)

| | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| Who? | <i>(Source)</i> |
| Says what? | <i>(Message)</i> |
| How? | <i>(Channel)</i> |
| To whom? | <i>(Audience)</i> |
| With what effect? | <i>(Reaction)</i> |

Based on: Lasswell HD (1948). *The structure and function of communication in society*. In Bryson L (ed), *The Communication of Ideas*. New York: Harper.

This simple model has been developed by others to acknowledge the process by which communications are created by the sender and communicated to and received by the audience. Key models include Shannon (1948), Shannon and Weaver (1949), Schramm (1954, 1971) and Berlo (1960). Shannon and Weaver engineered a ‘mathematical model of communication’ which described the process of communication between sender (‘information source’) and audience (‘destination’), see Figure 3.7. The information source sends a message, via a transmitter, through a media channel, where the signal is accepted by a receiver. Messages are encoded by the transmitter and decoded by the receiver. Miscommunication may occur if messages are not decoded as they were originally encoded. Furthermore, ‘interference’ (‘noise’) can occur during the communication process to interrupt or distort the intended communications. Examples of interference include a competing organisation’s communication within the same media (eg. nutritional messages appearing in the same magazine page as advertisements for unhealthy foods), distractions at the point of media consumption (eg. noisy family or use of remote controls to avoid television advertising), or other more credible non-marketing messages (eg. press coverage of companies poor environmental records which defeat a companies’ environmental claims). The identification of ‘noise’ in the communications process is one of the most important and enduring contributions made by this model.

Figure 3.7: Mathematical Model of Communication (Shannon & Weaver model 1949)

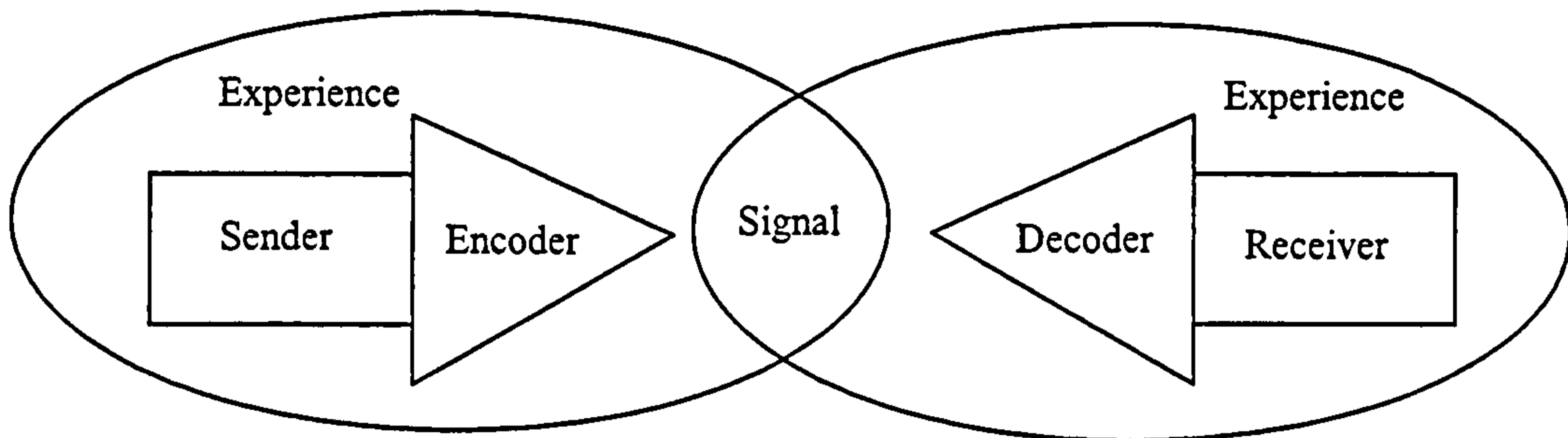


Based on: Shannon CE, Weaver W (1949). *The mathematical model of communication*. Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press.

Schramm (1954, 1971) developed a similar model of the communications process in marketing, which also described communication as a process of encoding and decoding signals (see Figure 3.8). Schramm’s work emphasised that communication is not an event or an activity which one party exerts on another (sometimes called the ‘magic

bullet' view of communications), but is in fact a two-way sharing of understanding. Schramm describes communication as, *“a relationship, an act of sharing, rather than something someone does to someone else”* (Schramm 1971, p15).

Figure 3.8: Model of Mass Communication (Schramm model 1971)



Based on: Schramm W (1971). The nature of communication between humans. In W Schramm and D Roberts (eds), *The Process and Effects of Mass Communications*. Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press.

Schramm's perspective on communication has made a major contribution to contemporary models of marketing communication. It defines communication as a signal or sign which on its own has no meaning, but becomes meaningful when two parties (the sender and receiver) share their fields of experience and come to a mutual understanding. In terms of understanding marketing communications' effects, it implies that research must examine how messages are decoded by receivers, as well as encoded by marketers.

Berlo (1960) developed a similar model of the communications process that identified 6 key actors including the communications source, the encoder, the message, the channel, the decoder and the receiver. Berlo's major contribution to marketing communications theory is in identifying that the source, the encoder, the decoder and the receiver are all separate entities. Therefore, it acknowledges the existence of client and agency, receiver and, potentially, opinion leaders (Kitchen 1993).

Advertising academics have also developed a more sophisticated perspective on the types of effects that occur as a result of marketing communications. Effects are now known to be either short term or long term. A recent analysis of 113 advertising case studies, has produced some evidence on the types of short and long term advertising

effects. Broadbent (2000) found that the types of effects that can be produced by advertising depend on the products' history, weight of advertising, substitutionality of products and habits of consumers. However, there were some generalisation which could be made including the existence of short-term increases in sales ('blips') following specific campaigns. Furthermore, the research also concluded that during the long-term a brand could grow, supported by advertising and other marketing and communication activities. This supported research previously conducted by McDonald (1993a) which found that advertising had long term effects achieved through the short term blips. McDonald likened advertising's long term effects to that of an engine which kept an aeroplane aloft. However, this author denies that any advertising effects occur in the tobacco market (McDonald 1993b). The two opinions expressed in these papers would seem to contradict on another.

Kitchen (1994) proposed that some of the long-term effects of the proliferation of marketing communications may have a damaging effect, acting as a form of 'cultural pollution'. The sheer volume of marketing communications may have a damaging effect upon consumers, which our current regulations have no means to control.

3.3.3 Active or Passive Audience

One of the major themes in marketing communications effects theory is the extent to which the audience plays an active or passive role in the communications process. As with early models of mass media, earlier models of advertising effect assumed that audiences played only a passive role in the communications process. Marketing communications was viewed as a 'magic bullet' that had a direct impact on its target (Buttle 1995). However, as research and theory developed, an opposing view of audience participation emerged which assumed that the audience played an active role in the communication process. For example, Schramm's (1971) perspective assumed that communication was a 2-way process, where the receiver of messages had an important role to play in determining whether and how messages were received. Similarly, Klapper's (1960) model of marketing communications also shared the view that the audience had an active role to play in the communications process, via other social or

cultural influences. He argued that mass communication alone did not produce audience effects, but was a contributing agent which functioned through other mediating factors.

Alan Hedges (1982) concluded that audiences actively choose to attend to certain marketing communications due to the proliferation of media messages they must deal with. It has been estimated that consumers are exposed to as much as 1,500 advertising messages per day (Kitchen 1993). Consumers cope with this by screening out those messages that are not of interest or relevance ('selective exposure'), distorting those which conflict with current belief systems ('selective distortion') and only remembering those which are relevant and help support our current consumer behaviour ('selective retention') (Hedges 1982). Therefore, consumers are most likely to get involved with communications that reinforce and clarify thoughts and feelings they already hold. As a result, Hedges surmised that, "*perhaps one should think less about what advertising does to people and more about what people do with advertising*" (Hedges 1982, p29).

Audiences have been described as 'advertising literate', as they can understand the language and method of the advertising industry (Meadows 1983). Advertising literate audiences are able to 'read the advertising text', ie. they can read and understand the strategy, use of characters, famous personalities, humour or symbolism. They can interpret and make sense of the symbolism encoded in advertising (Scott 1994). Qualitative research methods have proved important in revealing how audiences interpret advertising texts. For example, it has been found that audiences can identify various advertising styles, and use a wide range of sophisticated and cynical schema to make sense of advertising (Lannon 1985). Young people have also displayed well cultivated interpretative skills for dealing with complex advertising imagery and could guess the likely objectives and strategy of individual campaigns (O'Donohoe and Tynan 1998).

This type of research has contributed to the debate regarding the potential misleading effect of advertising on audiences. The level of consumer sophistication apparent in these qualitative studies of advertising might suggest that consumers are too cynical and empowered to be duped by advertising messages (Rowland 1994, Nava and Nava 1990). However, good advertising that meets people's needs effectively and has an impact upon them may be hard to assess. Literate audiences are unwilling to admit that advertising

affects them, and try to distance themselves from advertisements (O'Donohoe and Tynan 1998). This has important implications for research that explores the effects of advertising.

There is no magic formula for successful advertising. Its potential effects are assessed and refined during the development work to reduce the potential for redundant advertising (Hedges 1982). Qualitative research with the consumer has an important role to play in reducing the risk that people will do something else with advertising than the advertiser intended (Lannon and Cooper 1983).

3.3.4 Symbolism and Brands

There have been recent developments in the debate regarding the active or passive nature of the audience. The interpretativist tradition proposed that rather than the power balance being either in the hands of the sender or receiver, both the sender and receiver have some power over the communications process. This theory is based on the premise that 'interpretative communities' exist to which consumers are members. Community membership involves learning and sharing a particular view of the world, which is then used to decode media messages in a shared manner. This can include commercial messages from marketers.

Consumers imbue products with symbolic value over and above the functional values of the products (Hirschman and Holbrook 1982, Levy 1959). Marketers try to encode appropriate and motivating symbolism in their products through their communications. This is the essence of the 'brand'. Interpretativists use qualitative research methodologies to explore the social meanings of product symbolism and to examine its contribution to consumer behaviour (eg. O'Donohoe 1994).

This field of research ('symbolic consumption') is related to the philosophy of the consumer market place as a post-modern society (Elliot and Wattanasuwan 1998). This perspective determines a social life which is characterised by fragmentation, uncertainty, unpredictability and contradiction (Cova and Badot 1995), and consumers must struggle

to deal with the 'looming threat of personal meaninglessness' by seeking self-identity through consumption and brands (Elliot and Wattanasuwan 1998).

This has helped us to understand the nature of the consumer - "*postmodernism has focused upon consumption as communicator of meanings - all culture is text - the consumer is an artist whose purchases are brush strokes of an ongoing cultural process.*" The consumer is understood to be "...*the communicator of self-image*" trying to answer the question 'who am I?' (Thomas 1997, p5). Consumers try to convey their self-image through consumption, adopting the brand image of their purchases as part of their extended selves (Belk 1988, Belk et al 1982, Sirgy 1982). This has been shown to be particularly the case when products are consumed conspicuously (Holman 1981). Consumers' ability to decode the symbolic meaning of products is developed during childhood and is almost fully developed by the age of 12 (Belk et al 1982, Belk et al 1984). This is congruent with other research which has found that young people develop relatively sophisticated levels of consumer decision making by adolescence (Moschis and Moore 1979).

Therefore, marketers now understand how consumers can use the symbolic meaning of their branded possessions to communicate their self-image and solidarity with others (Solomon 1983, Schenk and Holman 1980). Research has been conducted to explore the congruence between self-image and product image for cars, health and grooming products, beer, leisure products, clothing, retail stores, food products, cigarettes, home appliances, magazines and home furnishings (Belk et al 1982). This has shown that consumers deal with the complex imagery inherent in both products and brands by stereotyping prototypes of their users, and using these stereotypes to help them make decisions about which products to buy (Hyatt 1992).

A product or 'brand' is laden with symbolic meanings that can be used as expressive devices for consumers to fulfil and communicate their self-image (Schenk and Holman 1980). The brand is regarded to be separate from the functional product. While the actual product may serve a rational, useful or economic purpose, its image satisfies consumers ego and/or emotional needs (King 1991, Murphy 1987). The distinction between a 'product' and a 'brand' is clearly illustrated by Tony Meenaghan:

“The product is seen as providing core functional benefits while the brand is responsible for creating the magnetic human-like aura around the actual product”.

(Meenaghan 1995, p24)

Therefore, brands turn functional products into brands that have a distinctive image and personality. This concept has been an important aspect of marketing management, almost since its inception. In 1955, Gardner and Levy say of ‘brand names’:

“A brand name is more than the label employed to differentiate among the manufacturers of a product. It is a complex symbol that represents a variety of ideas and attributes. It tells consumers many things, not only by the way it sounds (and its literal meaning if it has one) but, more important, via the body of associations it has built up and acquired as a public object over a period of time.”

(Gardner and Levy 1955, p35)

Marketing communications is one of the most important sources of ‘brand image’ (Hankinson and Cowking 1993, Lannon and Cooper 1983, Moschis and Moore 1979). Marketing communications can be used to develop a brand’s proposition (eg. masculine and quality), and its personality (eg. the Cowboy, in the case of Marlboro). For example, Hankinson and Cowking (1993, p48) describe how a combination of advertising and sponsorship has helped to build Bell’s Scottish Whiskey’s brand image. The Bells’ Scottish Open competition provides extended TV exposure for the brand as well as the opportunity to associate the brand with images of Scottish-ness, heritage, healthiness and vigour. This can be supported by other forms of communications from their packaging to product display in shops. A common approach to all means of communication must be taken to ensure that the brand image is communicated consistently (King 1991). Indeed, it is for this reason that it has been argued that it is no longer useful to examine whether or not ‘advertising works’, but whether or not ‘brand communication works’ (Schultz 1998). Don Schultz defines brand communication as *“all investments made by*

an organisation in all forms of media and all types of promotional activities in support of a brand” (Schultz 1998, p410).

However, while marketers attempt to integrate strategically desirable values through symbolism in their communications, the audiences may often interpret varied and unintended messages from these (Elliot and Wattanasuwan 1998). Therefore, to understand marketing communications effects, is to understand the social and cultural situation of consumers and advertising.

This view of marketing communications and its effects on consumers has a number of important implications for research. In particular, it suggests a move from rigid and standardised survey procedures that observe aggregate trends in established consumption patterns. Rather, market research should involve more sophisticated surveys and qualitative research to understand consumers’ values (Thomas 1997, Cova and Badot 1995).

It also suggests the importance of understanding the effect of marketing communications on brands, and in particular, how consumers gain symbolic and experiential benefits from brands (Grayson 1996). Successful marketing communications is intended to grow ‘brand equity’ (ie. consumers’ perceptions of a brands’ image and status) as well as sales (Ambler 1998). Marketing communications is not solely informational, but more often communicates brand values, symbols and lifestyles (Ambler 1998). Schultz (1998) also agreed that brand communication and brand equity are more relevant measures of marketing communication activities than advertising or sales. He argued that measures of sales alone are likely to be inaccurate and misleading, since marketers engage in ‘brand communications’ which involve a variety of activities including packaging, point of sale, sales promotions and sponsorship, to build brand equity. The ‘integration’ of marketing communications efforts to build brand equity has been a major influence on marketing. Integrated Marketing Communications (IMC) is the process of *integrating all the elements of the promotional mix* (Pickton and Hartley 1998) and necessitates that all forms of marketing communication are coherent and consistent.

3.4 Summary

This chapter examined two distinct, but similar bodies of literature (mass media theory and marketing communications theory) to investigate if and how tobacco marketing communications effect occur.

It has demonstrated that marketing and the media do affect the way in which audiences behave, but these effects are more indirect and subtle than initially conceived. Contemporary literature assumes effects are complex, long-term and mediated by audiences who are very media and marketing literate. Furthermore, effects must be understood within the social and political structure that both influences and is influenced by the media/marketing. Therefore it is important to understand what audiences do with marketing as much as what marketing does to audiences.

The literature also recognised that effects occur at individual level (by helping us arrive at certain conclusions, feelings or courses of action), at the immediate level (by influencing opinion leaders in our family, peer group or workplace) and at the wider level (by influencing cultural norms and national feelings).

With this understanding of effects in mind, the following chapter discusses the research to date on tobacco marketing communications effects. The chapter will examine if and how tobacco marketing communications effects audiences. As the following will explain, most research solely examines 'if' effects occur and makes naive assumptions about 'how'. Furthermore, the research is restricted to the effects of advertising on the individual level with little research attention given to other forms of tobacco marketing communication.

4.0 THE EFFECT OF TOBACCO MARKETING COMMUNICATIONS ON SMOKING BEHAVIOUR

“our primary objective must be to maintain, despite the attacks on smoking and health grounds, a position in which we are free to pursue our legitimate business interests through the marketing of tobacco products...We should resist restrictions on media advertising on the basic ground that advertising does not affect consumption....”

(BAT Board Guidelines, Public Affairs 1982, April {Minn Trial Exhibit 13, 866})

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have examined the theoretical potential for marketing communications to influence smoking related behaviour and has concluded that there is a possible role for marketing in the smoking uptake process. The marketing communications effect on smoking behaviour is likely to occur in three ways - by influencing smoking and brand related attitudes and beliefs, by influencing key opinion leaders within social groups and by contributing to cultural perceptions of smoking.

This chapter will examine the research on the effects of tobacco related marketing communications on smoking behaviour. The majority of this research has focussed primarily on the influence of advertising, with fewer and less sophisticated studies examining the role of other forms of marketing communications. This is a limitation of the research to date. A further limitation is lack of research attention as to how these effects occur. Effects are assumed to be direct, uniform and individual, and little attention is given to contemporary models of marketing or media effects.

Five broad types of research have been conducted to answer the question, ‘do tobacco marketing communications influence smoking behaviour?’:

- Econometric studies have modelled changes in tobacco consumption with fluctuations in tobacco advertising spend. These studies are inherently complex and have yielded inconsistent findings.

- Other studies have examined the influence of tobacco advertising bans in some countries comparing consumption before and after the ban, and most conclude the importance of advertising bans in reducing smoking.
- A small number of studies have attempted to evaluate the impact of a particular campaign on smoking behaviour.
- However, most research has taken the form of consumer studies conducted to compare advertising awareness and appreciation with smoking behaviour. Cross sectional and longitudinal studies of effects have been conducted which have consistently and convincingly demonstrated the important relationship between tobacco advertising and cognitive and affective measures of communications effect.
- Finally, a few studies have been conducted to assess the impact of non advertising forms of advertising on smoking behaviour. This type of research is in its elementary stage of development and most describe the types of communications young people have come into contact with.

The research findings of each of these five types of studies are now discussed in turn:

4.2 Econometric Studies

There are two main types of study which have modelled the effects of tobacco advertising on consumption. These are: a) cross-sectional studies of countries with different levels of controls on advertising; and, b) studies which model the effects of year to year fluctuations in advertising expenditure on consumption within one particular country.

There are two main cross-sectional studies which have assessed the influence of tobacco controls between different countries (EORD 1992). Cox and Smith (1984) conducted a time series regression for a number of countries over similar time periods, where tobacco consumption was modelled in terms of price, income and time trend. The authors

compared a legislative approach to advertising with voluntary agreements and concluded that a legislative approach was more effective. Laugesen and Meads (1991) conducted a similar study of the factors effecting tobacco consumption in 22 OECD countries using a pooled cross-section time-series analysis. Their model concluded that tobacco advertising restrictions have increased in OECD countries since around 1973 and this was associated with declining tobacco consumption in these countries and rising tobacco prices.

Another group of studies have examined the influence of changes in tobacco advertising expenditure on smoking behaviour by conducting time-series analysis within one particular country (see Table 4.1). Many of these studies have found advertising to have had an effect and many have not. Of those to have found an effect, Clive Smee (EORD 1992) notes the tendency of these to underestimate the scale of advertising's effect on sales.

McGuinness and Cowling (1975) conducted one of the first and most influential studies in the UK. They modelled the aggregate demand for cigarettes in terms of price, income and advertising (measured in terms of 'messages' instead of expenditure). Their findings suggested that advertising does have a significant effect on cigarette sales and that health publicity had reduced the sales effect of cigarette advertising. They argued that it is possible to, "*manipulate consumer preferences by corporations in their various promotional activities.*" (McGuinness and Cowling (1975), p327).

The report of the Metra Consulting Group (1979) was commissioned by the tobacco industry in response to McGuinness and Cowling's work. They criticised the construction of McGuinness and Cowling's model and conducted their own research using data from 1958-1978. The Metra researchers' model produced statistically insignificant results (albeit in the right direction) and concluded that McGuinness and Cowling's work was flawed. Clive Smee's analysis of these studies observed that the Metra researchers had access to more reliable data and conducted more sensitive analysis (EORD 1992). However, the Metra team did not present errors of estimates, allow for the effect of specific health scares or examine the potential confounding effects of multicollinearity.

Witt and Pass (1981) concluded that a ban on tobacco advertising would produce a 7% reduction in cigarette consumption using annual data from 1955 and 1975. Radfar (1985) replicated the work of McGuinness and Cowling and produced similar results. He found that advertising elasticity of demand was between 3% and 5%. Godfrey (1986) constructed a different model which allowed for different responses to fluctuations in price. Her study produced a large range of results according to the measure of cigarette consumption used.

Duffy (1991) modelled the demand structure for a number of products including tobacco and alcohol. He found that tobacco advertising has a statistically insignificant influence on consumption and concluded that advertising controls are a poor public policy option. Indeed, he argued that health campaigns had encouraged more people to switch from tobacco to alcohol. Duffy (1996) conducted an investigation into the effects of total cigarette advertising on aggregate demand for cigarettes, using a 'rational addictive' model and again concluded that advertising had an insignificant effect on demand.

Studies conducted in the UK are in some ways more problematic than those conducted in the US, because published data on cigarette advertising expenditure are not freely available in the UK. The following studies were conducted in the US where publishable data is more widely accessible.

Hamilton (1972) concluded that the 1971 ban on broadcast advertising probably raised cigarette consumption in the US, suggesting that health scares around the time decreased consumption more than advertising could have raised it. Schmalensee's study (1972) examined twelve sets of annual data to assess the influence of aggregate advertising on total demand. Schmalensee's findings were mixed and inconclusive. On the other hand, Fujii (1980) found the elasticities associated with advertising bans were 3.5% in the short term and 7% in the long-term. Bishop and Yoo (1986) and Seldon and Doroodian (1989) all concluded that cigarette advertising has at least a small or short term effect on the demand for cigarettes.

Therefore, econometric studies of advertising and consumption are intricate, and have produced mixed results. Part of the difficulty with the econometric studies lies with the fact that it is an incredibly complex procedure. The models must account for a large

number of other social, political, and economic factors which may have a confounding effect on consumption patterns. Furthermore, there is some controversy as to the short or long term effects of advertising on sales, and therefore those studies which have only examined short term effects are open to criticism. In the UK, reliable data on tobacco advertising and promotion is not readily available. Despite this, the majority of studies have at least found a small or short term support for the notion that tobacco advertising influenced the demand for tobacco products. Of all studies which have conducted a time series research of within country tobacco advertising expenditure and tobacco consumption, 171 studies found that advertising has a positive influence on demand (of these, 68 are statistically significant and 103 statistically insignificant) and 41 studies found advertising does not have an influence on demand (of these, 2 were statistically significant and 39 were insignificant) (EORD 1992).

Table 4.1: Summary of Time Series Research of Within Country Tobacco Advertising Expenditure and Tobacco Consumption

| | % Reduction Associated with the Ban | Date of Data |
|------------------------|--|---------------------|
| United Kingdom | | |
| McGuiness, 1975 | 7.5% | 1957-68 (quart) |
| Metra, 1979 | * | 1958-78 (quart) |
| Witt, 1981 | 7% | 1955-75 |
| Radfar, 1985 | 3-5% | 1965-80 (quart) |
| Godfrey, 1986 | ** | 1956-84 |
| Duffy, 1991 | * | 1971-87 |
| Duffy, 1996 | * | 1963-92 |
| United States | | |
| Hamilton, 1972 | * | 1953-70 |
| Schamalensee, 1972 | * | 1956-67(quart) |
| Fujii, 1980 | 3-7% | 1929-73 |
| Young, 1983 | 3% | 1929-73 |
| Baltagi, 1986 | * | 1929-73 |
| Bishop, 1988 | 7% | 1954-80 |
| Seldon, 1989 | 9% | 1952-84 |
| Tegene, 1991 | 4-5% | 1953-85 |
| Other countries | | |
| Leeflang, 1985 | 14-16% | 1960-1975 |
| Johnson, 1986 | * | 1961-83 |
| Chetwynd, 1988 | 7% | 1973-85 |
| Harrison, 1991 | 8-12% | 1973-85 (quart) |

[* Statistically insignificant]

Adapted from the "Smee Report": Economics and Operational Research Division, Department of Health (1992). *Effect of Tobacco Advertising on Tobacco Sponsorship: A discussion document reviewing the Evidence*. London: Economics and Operational Research Division, Department of Health.

Chapman (1989) criticised the use of econometric analysis of cigarette advertising effects upon consumption, and in particular noted the inability of this type of study to examine all the forms of promotion used by the tobacco industry, such as loyalty schemes or point of sale. He also questioned the assumptions of advertising effects inherent in this type of approach. Econometric analysis only examines the effects of advertising on overall sales, while advertising also has important influences on smoking related cognition and beliefs. He argued that more relevant analysis would examine the consumers' use of marketing communications, deploying qualitative and quantitative methodologies. In addition to Chapman's criticisms, econometric studies are limited in their ability to only provide aggregated data on consumption levels. In most cases they are not able to provide data on the effects of advertising on key vulnerable groups, eg. young people, women or low income.

4.3 Evaluation of Advertising Bans

The most reliable economic evidence is provided by those studies that have compared what happens before and after an advertising ban is put in place within a particular country. Norway and Finland have both had tobacco advertising bans in place for a considerable period of time.

The authors of the "Smee report" (EORD 1992) conducted their own analysis of Norway's Tobacco Act, 1975, modelling both prevalence and consumption (the amount smoked per smoker). Their findings suggested that the Norway Tobacco Act decreased smoking demand from between 9% and 16%. Smoking prevalence decreased, while the amount smoked per person (consumption) remained largely unaffected.

Perkurinen (1989) conducted a study of the effects of the Finland Tobacco Act in 1971, analysing data from 1960 to 1987. This study concluded that the advertising ban produced a long term reduction of 6.7% in cigarette smoking.

4.4 Evaluation of Specific Campaigns

A number of studies have been conducted to examine the impact of particular advertising campaigns on smoking prevalence. Pierce and Gilpin (1995) examined historical data to explore the impact of major cigarette marketing campaigns on smoking behaviour and found gender specific temporal associations. They examined national survey data from 1910-1977 and analysed trends in prevalence in 3 key time periods when tobacco marketing underwent significant development. For example, during the period 1912 to 1923 tobacco companies began to target women where previously campaigns were developed for male audiences only. Similarly, during the mid 1960s cigarette brands specifically for women began to emerge. The research found that prior to the 1960s smoking was primarily a masculine behaviour. However, smoking uptake among young adolescent females increased rapidly during the 1960s during which period a number of brands were launched with more feminine appeal, eg. Virginia Slims.

Pierce et al (1994) also examined the temporal relationship between smoking behaviour and advertising, by analysing trends in smoking initiation among women from the 1940s to 1980s and advertising campaigns targeted at women. They found that dramatic increases in smoking initiation rates by young females during the mid 60s to early 70s were associated with the launch of female targeted advertisements and brands during this period.

An evaluation of a Camel cigarette campaign in the early 1990s revealed that in a short period of time, it had had a huge impact upon children's smoking behaviour (Di Franza et al 1991). The campaign featured a cartoon drawn Camel known as 'Joe the Camel' which was suspected to have particular appeal to children. The brand's share of the under eighteen year old market rose from 0.5% to 32.8% in the 3 years following the launch of the campaign. The research found that children were more aware of the campaign and able to identify the product type and brand name from the logo than adults. Children were also more likely than adults to find the campaign appealing.

Analysis of the effects of tobacco marketing campaigns on smoking uptake was conducted by Pierce and Gilpin (1995). They examined five key time periods in tobacco marketing history, where significant changes or increases in tobacco marketing occurred

and compared this with corresponding patterns in smoking prevalence. This analysis demonstrated the clear impact of tobacco marketing campaigns targeted at particular consumer groups, eg. campaigns targeted at women post-war were proceeded by significant increases in female smoking. More recently, particular brands have been found to be targeted at young people. For example, in print media, cigarette brands popular with young people have been shown to be more likely than adult brands to be advertised in those magazines with high youth readership (King et al 1998). Furthermore, the brands smoked by young people tend to be the brands most heavily advertised (Pucci and Siegel 1999, Pollay et al 1996, Pierce et al 1991).

In the UK, Hastings et al (1994a) investigated young people's responses to a controversial advertising campaign for Embassy Regal cigarettes which ran in Scotland and the North of England. The billboard and press advertisements featured an unattractive, middle aged character called, "Reg". The campaign was intended to be humorous. Reg would attempt to comment on popular issues or current affairs, but would make silly or ignorant mistakes. Examples included, "*Reg on public transport - Yes, but only after waiting 30 minutes*" and "*Reg on taxes - I think some mini-cabs drive far too fast*". Qualitative and quantitative research found that young smokers were more familiar and appreciative of the campaign than other young non-smokers or adult smokers. While adults felt alienated by the rude, school boy humour, adolescent smokers appreciated its churlish appeal and it allowed them to poke fun at the health risks of smoking.

The researchers concluded that the appeal of the Reg campaign was associated with the brand image of Embassy Regal cigarettes. While the quantitative element of the study demonstrated the greater involvement with the campaign amongst young smokers, the qualitative stage helped to explain the dynamics of this involvement. Young smokers were found to hold strong opinions of the relative acceptability of cigarette brands and held adult like perceptions of their brand images. A small number of cigarette brands were popular and socially acceptable amongst young smokers (including Embassy Regal), while other brands were entirely rejected as being too pretentious or down market. The Reg campaign contributed to the positive brand values young people associated with Embassy Regal cigarettes.

4.5 Consumer Studies

Most interesting are those studies conducted with the consumers themselves. Consumer researchers have assessed the influence of tobacco advertising (and to a lesser degree sponsorship) on cognitive, affective and conative structures. The overriding assumption was that if tobacco advertising is to be shown to have an effect, then young smokers must be more aware and appreciative of tobacco advertising than young non smokers. Colin McDonald (1993b), an ardent defender of the tobacco industry's advertising activities says, "*we can never prove that advertising has never influenced a child, any more than we can prove it has actually done so*" [p 285]. However, the nature of social science is such that relationships are never easy to define and measure, but the accumulation of evidence produced by many research teams validates causal relationships (Hastings et al 1994b). Numerous studies have examined the influence of tobacco advertising on smoking behaviour, particularly in the US and the UK. This accumulation of evidence constitutes a powerful argument for the role played by tobacco advertising and marketing.

Consumer researchers have used a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches to investigate the influence of tobacco advertising on smoking uptake among adolescents. The majority of this research has been conducted by research teams in the UK and US. The key assumption underpinning this type of work is as follows: to demonstrate that tobacco advertising has an effect on smoking uptake, young smokers must be observed to be more aware and appreciative of tobacco advertising than non-smokers of the same age.

(i) Advertising Awareness

Aitken et al (1985), conducted qualitative work which found that even children as young as six were aware of cigarette advertising. This qualitative study explored children's perceptions of 'brand stretching' adverts (John Player Special Grand Prix Holidays) and found that young primary school children had learned the brand imagery or personality of leading cigarette brands from cigarette advertisements. Similarly qualitative research with school children concluded that young people were more adept at recognising

cigarette brands, and developed perceptions of cigarette advertisements similar to those of adults between the ages of 10 and 14 (Aitken et al 1985). The quantitative follow-up to this study confirmed that the majority of school children, particularly those with smoking experience, could recognise cigarette brands from disguised brand advertisements, and furthermore, the older school children had a basic understanding of the brand personalities (Aitken et al 1987).

Anne Charlton (1986) conducted a quantitative study of 9-10 year old and 12-13 year old children in England. She found that 17% of the younger and 23% of the older group could name a favourite cigarette advertisement. The brands most frequently named were also those most heavily advertised in the area at that time (Benson & Hedges, John Player Special, Regal King Size and Embassy). In addition, she found that the children who named favourite cigarette advertisements were also more likely to agree with some positive statements about smoking and the image of smokers. She concluded that children are receiving positive messages about smoking behaviour from advertising which may reinforce their decision to start smoking during experimentation.

In the US, Fischer (1989) found that adolescents' recognition of tobacco advertisements correlates with cigarette use. Later work by the same author examined cigarette brand recognition among very young children and demonstrated that children as young as three exhibit high levels of brand logo recognition. Children were shown a number of brand logos and characters and asked to match them to the pictures of the products they were associated with. This controversial study found that 30% of three year olds and 91% six year olds could recognise the Old Joe (Camel) brand logo (Fischer et al 1991). Similarly, Di Franza et al (1991) concluded that children were more likely to report prior exposure to Old Joe and were more adept at recognising the type of product being advertised than adults.

Young smokers tend to be most sensitive to the most heavily advertised products and it is these brands that dominate the under-age sales. In the US, Pierce et al (1991) found that teenagers were more perceptive about which cigarette brands in the US were most heavily advertised (Marlboro and Camel) and these were more likely to be the brands of choice amongst teenagers than adults. They concluded that Marlboro and Camel have been highly effective in targeting the adolescent market. These findings were supported

by research conducted by the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) in 1994. Here, the three most heavily advertised brands in the US in 1993 (Camel, Marlboro and Newport), were also the three most likely to be purchased by adolescents (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 1994). Pollay et al (1996) found that: adolescents are significantly more sensitive to cigarette advertising than are adults; cigarette advertising brand 'share of voice' are related to actual market brand shares; and, teenagers are around 3 times more sensitive to advertising than are adults. Similar patterns of preference for heavily advertised brands have been observed amongst adolescents in the UK also (Barton 1998).

Some studies have focused on youth exposure to advertising in particular media. For example, Botvin et al (1993) found that exposure to cigarette advertisements in popular magazines and journals was significantly related to smoking behaviour. Schooler et al (1996) examined youth perception of their perceived exposure to tobacco marketing in various media. They found that 88% of 13 year olds reported exposure to tobacco marketing. Most of them were exposed to cigarette advertising in magazines, at shops or events or on billboards. When other social influences were controlled for, exposure to tobacco marketing was demonstrated to be related to smoking behaviour. Owning a promotional item or receiving promotion mail increased their likelihood to be a smoker 2%-3%, and seeing cigarette advertisements in magazines or stores increased this by 21% and 38% respectively. This emphasised the potential importance of shop-front or point of sale advertising in addition to more conventionally thought of forms of advertising in the mass media.

(ii) Advertising Appreciation

Research has demonstrated that many children and young people like cigarette advertising, and their appreciation of advertising has been associated with their smoking behaviour. Studies have consistently shown that children and young people who like cigarette advertising were more likely to smoke (Arnett and Terhanian 1998, Covell et al 1994, Pechmann and Ratneshwar 1994, Di Franza et al 1991, Pierce et al 1991, Aitken and Eadie 1990, Potts et al 1986) or intend to smoke (Feighery et al 1998, Evans et al 1995, Unger et al 1995) than those who do not. For example, Potts et al (1986) found

that fifteen and sixteen year olds were more likely to rate cigarette advertisements as eye-catching, interesting and exciting than non-smokers of the same age.

A number of researchers in the US have developed and used the concept of young people's '*susceptibility to smoking*' to examine the impact of tobacco advertising on young people's future smoking intentions. This research demonstrated that young people who did not smoke but were 'susceptible' to smoking in the future (ie. they had made a commitment to experiment with cigarettes in the future) were more likely to appreciate cigarette advertising than those who were not susceptible to smoking (Evans et al 1995, Unger et al 1995). Evans et al's 1995 analysis suggested that tobacco marketing may be a stronger influence on susceptibility to smoking than peer or family smoking.

While, young children of primary school age tended to be very moralistic about cigarette advertising, teenagers became more much tolerant and appreciative of it, especially if they smoked. For example, Aitken et al (1986) investigated children and adolescents' opinions on a ban on advertising. They found that children who smoked or who expressed an intention to smoke in the future were more likely to oppose a ban on cigarette advertising. Furthermore, the advertisements most popular (ie. most likely to be recalled and liked) with young people were for those brands most likely to be smoked by young people (Arnett and Terhanian 1998, Pierce et al 1991).

Various explanations have been offered by researchers to explain this affect. Aitken and Eadie (1990) argued that higher levels of awareness and appreciation of advertising amongst young smokers suggested that young smokers were paying more attention to cigarette advertising than young non-smokers, and therefore, they were deriving pleasure from their involvement with tobacco advertising. They suggested that young people were reassured and rewarded by cigarette advertising which, in turn, reinforced their smoking behaviour. Feighery et al's (1998) study examined promotional items and found that children who were more receptive to tobacco promotional items were also more susceptible to smoking. They concluded that the ownership of tobacco promotional items afforded the young people an opportunity to experiment with a smoker's self-identity. However like most studies in this section, it was cross-sectional

in design, and a causal relationship between tobacco marketing and smoking behaviour cannot be concluded.

(iii) Potential Smokers

The most convincing consumer research evidence comes from cohort studies of advertising sensitivity and smoking behaviour, where causal relationships between tobacco marketing and smoking behaviour can be determined. Aitken et al (1991) conducted a longitudinal study to measure the predisposing effects of cigarette advertising on children's intentions to smoke when they were older. The study found that those children whose expressed intention to smoke when they were older had strengthened between the two interviews, were more likely to have liked cigarette advertising at interview one. This demonstrates that non-smokers who felt that they may smoke when they were older were paying more attention to cigarette advertising than other non-smokers.

While (1996) conducted a similar study measuring 11 and 12 year olds awareness of cigarette advertising in relation to changes in their smoking behaviour. The research produced similar findings to Aitken et al (1991), but found some gender specific differences in relation to advertising sensitivity. Girls who were most aware of cigarette advertising, ie. named the most advertised brands (Benson & Hedges and Silk Cut), were more likely to be smokers at the time of the second survey. Similar findings were drawn for boys, but the strength of the relationship was weaker and statistically insignificant.

Alexander et al (1983) conducted a school based longitudinal study to assess the relative importance of a number of personal and social factors on the uptake of smoking. They found that children who approved of cigarette advertising at the baseline were more likely to have become smokers in the follow-up year than those who disapproved.

4.6 Evaluation of Below-The-Line Marketing Communications

While most studies have tended to examine the impact of advertising on young people's smoking behaviour, a few studies have explored the influence of other below-the-line marketing communications such as sponsorship, loyalty schemes, sales promotions (or "promotional items"), brand stretching, packaging, point-of-sale, product placement and the internet. However, many of these studies are not as sophisticated in design as the previous studies of advertising effects. Most tend to be cross-sectional data, and many tend to be descriptive. The evidence to date on the impact of each form of marketing communications on smoking behaviour is discussed below:

4.6.1 Sponsorship

There is some evidence to suggest that cigarette company sponsorship of sporting events can achieve some of the same effects as tobacco advertising on brand awareness, attitudes and smoking behaviour (Cornwell 1997). Consumer researchers have examined the potential effects of tobacco sponsorship on smoking uptake using the same assumptions and research methods as research into tobacco advertising.

Ledwith (1984) studied the effects of tobacco sponsorship for snooker on children's recall and brand knowledge. This study found higher levels of awareness of the sponsoring brand by those children who had viewed the snooker tournament. Other research has since replicated this study. For example, Piepe et al (1986) found that there were strong associations between exposure to sponsored sport and recall of branded cigarettes. Furthermore, positive associations were found between recall of branded cigarettes and smoking frequency among children. This association was consistently maintained when other factors known to influence smoking behaviour were controlled.

Aitken et al (1986b) examined children's awareness and perceptions of sports sponsorship. The study concluded that sports sponsorship placed cigarette brand names and associated sports imagery into children's memories. For example, 47% of children in the survey believed that the brands sponsoring racing cars were preferred by people "who liked excitement and fast racing cars". A study conducted in New Zealand of 203

young males aged 12 to 18 years, found that a single exposure to a Rothmans's cricket sponsorship advertisement could achieve the following effects: reinforce existing smoking behaviour, create more favourable attitudes towards smoking among non-smokers, increase awareness of cigarette brands among non-smokers and influence liking of brands by non-smokers (Huek et al 1993). Most recently, Charlton et al (1997) conducted a longitudinal study of school children's appreciation of televised sport which demonstrated that a preference for motor racing was a significant independent variable in progression to regular smoking.

4.6.2 Loyalty Schemes

Loyalty schemes are an integral element of tobacco marketing communications initiatives since cigarette trading cards were first inserted into cigarette packets around 50 years ago (Blum 1995). With the gradual decline in the attractiveness of mass media advertising, cigarette couponing schemes have become increasingly popular (Altman et al 1996). For example, in the US, industry spending on sales promotions (including cents off coupons, multiple price breaks, offers of speciality items through coupon redemption/point-of-sale) has increased from 20% of total marketing spending in 1984 to 42% of spending in 1993 (FTC 1995).

Typical schemes involve the collection of coupons inserted in cigarette packets which can be redeemed for a number of household products and gifts selected from a branded catalogue. Participation allows companies to build up a database of current customers and their characteristics. This can then be used for direct marketing initiatives, such as brand magazines, special offers, newsletters and for gathering consumer research.

Couponing initiatives have obvious strengths. First, these schemes offer added value to consumers and help to counter some of the effects of taxation and escalating prices. When used as part of a long-term customer programme, they can assist the development of consumer databases and direct marketing initiatives. To date, little consumer research has been conducted to examine the influence of couponing and consumer loyalty schemes on smoking attitudes, brand knowledge and smoking behaviour. Initial exploratory research conducted in Glasgow found significant differences in participation

of couponing schemes between smokers in deprived and non-deprived areas (CSM 1995). This suggests that couponing initiatives may be successfully used to offset price increases, but clearly more research must be conducted.

4.6.3 Free Samples

Another major sales promotions initiative conducted by the tobacco marketers is the distribution of free product samples. Sampling teams offer consumers free sample packs of cigarettes or offer to swap a smokers' current brand with those on offer. Sampling teams often tap into youth culture and target bars, clubs, music concerts and festivals or sponsor their own events.

For example, in the summer of 1996, Gallaher's Silk Cut brand ran its "*Silk Cut Renaissance Tour*". This was a custom-made social experience for young clubbers. The club night sponsored and advertised by the brand and featured popular DJs, free music CDs and cigarettes (Grant 1997). UK regulation stipulates that free samples can only be given to smokers over the age of 18. But this type of initiative is harder to police (Anon 1992) and is likely to be a very effective means by which to target teenagers and young adults.

There is very little research conducted on the influence of cigarette sampling schemes on purchase behaviour. Academic and commercial marketing research has acknowledged the important role of sales promotions in stimulating consumer trial of a product category and brand. Most marketers would agree that sampling accomplishes this objective more effectively than other advertising or sales promotions initiatives (Rossiter and Percy 1987). But, even within commercial marketing research, little research has addressed the question of the role of sampling on purchase behaviour (McGuinness et al 1995).

4.6.4 Sales Promotions (“Promotional Items”)

Using a cigarette brand name on other promotional items or to sell other non-tobacco products is also used by the industry to create brand awareness and build brand imagery. Promotional items such as branded lighters, T-shirts, base-ball caps and badges, are distributed at the point of sale, special events or through competitions.

There is some evidence from the United States that promotional items can be used to target adolescents. For example, analysis by Pierce et al (1999) calculated that some 7.9 million new experimenters in the US, could be attributed to tobacco advertising and promotional items. Coeytaux et al (1995) examined adolescents’ and young adults’ participation in coupon redemption schemes and ownership of promotional items in the US. They concluded that many minors were in receipt of promotion items despite regulations surrounding their distribution. Gilpin et al (1997a) also found that teenagers as young as 12-14 years were in receipt of tobacco promotional items, and many 12-17 year olds were willing to use promotional items. Furthermore, experience with tobacco promotions and susceptibility to tobacco use have been shown to be positively and significantly related (Feighery et al 1998, Gilpin et al 1997a, Altman 1996).

Sargent et al (2000) examined the number of promotional items owned by young smokers and found a ‘dose-response’ relationship between the number of promotional items owned and the increased likelihood of experimental and regular smoking.

A longitudinal design that modelled expected and actual rates of smoking initiation during periods of high sales promotion expenditure, identified that, during these years, higher than expected rates of smoking initiation were observed (Redmond 1999). Pierce et al (1998) provided the most robust evidence to date that promotional items can influence smoking uptake. A longitudinal design examined progression towards regular smoking behaviour and young people’s ‘*receptivity to tobacco promotion*’ (ie. their ownership and willingness to use tobacco promotional items). Logistic regression revealed that high receptivity to tobacco promotions was predictive of progression towards smoking.

4.6.5 Brand-Stretching

A variation on this strategy is the endorsement of other non-tobacco products for commercial sale by cigarette brands. For example, cigarette companies have put their name to footwear, shirts, jackets, and holidays. Companies can then advertise these products through mass media channels, using attractive imagery without the use of health warnings. Aitken et al (1985) examined children's perceptions and understanding of an advertisement for John Player Special Grand Prix Holidays in Scotland. The researchers found that this advertisement used particularly strong and vivid imagery that children found appealing and that conveyed images of excitement, sports and holidays. Furthermore, the children perceived the campaign to be a cigarette advertisement. To date, very little research has been conducted examining the role of branded merchandise on smoking attitudes and behaviour.

4.6.6 Packaging

Product packaging has an obvious functional role, but it can also serve an important communications purpose by reinforcing brand imagery and interrupting the impact of health warnings (Goldberg et al 1995a, Rootman and Flay 1995, Carr-Greg and Gray 1993, Beede and Lawson 1992).

Again, only a small number of researchers have investigated the influence of packaging on smoking attitudes and behaviour. Those who have, call for plain, generic packaging to be introduced to tackle brand image and to increase the effects of on-pack health messages. For example, Beede and Lawson (1992) investigated the possible effects of generic packaging upon perceptions of health warnings among 568 adolescents. A measure of unaided recall was used to assess attention to various cues presented on cigarette packs. The research concluded that when fewer brand image cues were presented on the packaging, respondents were able to recall with greater accuracy, non-image health information. Researchers at Health Canada conducted a series of experiments and surveys to assess the possible impact of plain, generic packaging on smoking behaviour. Four out of the five studies conducted suggested that plain generic packaging would have a significant influence on smoking behaviour, limiting the ease

with which consumers could associate particular images with cigarette brands (Goldberg et al 1995a).

4.6.7 Point of Sale

Little research has been conducted on the role and impact of point of sale material for cigarette brands. Di Franza et al (1999) conducted an observational survey of point of sale activities and concluded that point of purchase advertising had increased and that cigarette packets were displayed in such a way at the point of sale, as to act like advertising. There is some evidence from the US to suggest that there are greater levels of point of purchase advertising in areas where there is likely to be a high prevalence of smoking, eg. deprived or ethnic minority areas (Woodruff et al 1995).

4.6.8 Product Placement

An innovative and controversial marketing communications tactic is the paid for placement of cigarette products in film and TV broadcasts. This is another means by which companies can achieve broadcast coverage of their brands and therefore circumvent regulations regarding TV advertising. In the United States, a number of product placement firms have been set up to act as talent agents for products and identify appropriate broadcasts for brand exposure (Hart 1996). For example, it has been revealed that cigarette companies paid \$42,500 to place Marlboro in Superman II, \$350,000 to place the brand Lark cigarettes in License to Kill and \$30,000 to have Eve cigarettes in the film Supergirl (Chapman and Davies 1997).

The media's portrayal of smoking in general is of concern. An analysis of the use of tobacco products in a random sample of the most successful popular films from the 1960s to 1990s found that while smoking in popular films declined in the 1980s, it has now returned to the high levels observed in the 1960s (Stockwell and Glantz 1997).

Product placement can offer the marketer an inexpensive means of obtaining brand awareness on broadcast media. Its potential reach is high, films shown originally at the cinema are typically then offered for both video and TV release. Attractive characters can be used to endorse a product and consumers do not generally object to product placement in films (Sharkey 1988).

4.6.9 Internet

A search of the Internet has found it to be used in a number of different ways by the tobacco industry. Tobacco companies have set up their own home pages which communicate background information about their company and performance, new products etc. More interestingly, some companies or brands have sponsored other unrelated Web sites, eg. Brown and Williamson sponsor an on-line magazine called "Circuit breaker" which covers music, cinema, food and fashion and is targeted at a youth audience. Similarly, Camel have their own "Camel Party Line" which discusses similar topics. Other tobacco related Web sites support other marketing communications initiatives, such as sports sponsorship: for example, Rothman's "Autoweb", a Formula One racing site. Finally, there are other sites which are supportive of cigarette smoking, but are not directly sponsored by the industry. For example, the "Smoking Causes" Web sites or the "Save Joe Camel" Web site. These sites often have links to other industry sponsored sites and home pages.

To date, there is no research examining the use of the Internet by the tobacco companies or research which addresses if models of marketing communication developed for traditional media advertising are appropriate for new electronic media.

4.7 The Defence of Tobacco Marketing Communications

The tobacco industry and its proponents offer three main counter arguments in defence of its marketing: i) Cigarette advertising do not influence the total demand for cigarettes, but only redistributes market share amongst competing brands (the TMA 2000, McDonald 1993b); ii) The industry defends its public position on advertising by proposing that current controls on media channels and thematic appeals prevents appealing messages from effecting child audiences. It is argued that studies which find a correlation between awareness and appreciation of advertising, does not imply causation (the TMA 2000, Mizerski 1995, Straughn and Mizerksi 1995, Boddewyn 1994, McDonald 1993b and 1994), iii) The industry paints its critics as alarmists who misunderstand the purpose and function of advertising (the TMA 2000, Boddewyn 1989a, Jenkins 1988). Consumers are said to be sophisticated consumers of advertising who choose to become involved with advertising campaigns and who can erect psychological barriers against commercial messages. These arguments are used to lobby against the erection of marketing controls (Luik 1993, 1995).

Each of these three propositions are discussed in the following section:

(i) Advertising Does Not Influence The Total Demand For Cigarettes

The market for cigarettes is argued to be mature and static. Therefore, marketers can only encourage or maintain brand loyalty (the TMA 2000). However, this makes some naive assumptions about the product lifecycle concept (Pollay et al 1996, Hastings and Aitken 1995). There is no single market for tobacco or cigarettes. Rather, there are several markets, of which some may be mature, others which are in growth or decline. For example, there is the market for low tar cigarettes, for economy priced cigarettes, or menthol cigarettes. Furthermore, the marketing literature acknowledges the limitations of the product life cycle concept as a planning tool (Lilien et al 1992, Dhalla and Yuseph 1976). The technique can only tell you about the relative performance of a particular product or market at one point in time. Products or markets may move through the life cycle in both directions, eg. they may move from growth to maturity as well as maturity to growth (Aaker 1995).

A recent review of the potential impact of advertising on market size reached uncertain conclusions. The effect of advertising on market size was found to differ according to the type of market, but advertising was believed to effect market size when markets: were small and products similar; the market was new or had many different products; the market included a high proportion of triallists; the market was already growing for other reasons; and, manufacturers combined their marketing outputs (Broadbent 1997). Therefore, rather than convincing evidence existing in the marketing literature as to the limited affect of advertising on the cigarette market, it seems that there is no consensus on the validity of the mature market classification nor on the potential impact of advertising on broad product categories.

(ii) Correlation Does Not Imply Causation

The industry proposes that current controls on cigarette advertising are vigorous and effective, preventing any over-spill from adult to young audiences. However, research has demonstrated that children and young adolescents are very much aware of cigarette advertising and can recall and recognise cigarette advertisements and identify specific brands (eg, Charlton 1986, see Section 2.3.4).

There is also considerable evidence that the values offered by cigarette advertising reinforce the decision to start smoking. One of the primary functions of advertising is to reward and reinforce post-purchase dissonance. If cigarette advertising were having this effect, adolescent smokers would have a greater awareness and appreciation of cigarette advertising than non smokers (Hastings and Aitken 1995). The research evidence supports this: children who smoke pay more attention to cigarette advertising (Covell et al 1994, Klitzner et al 1991, Charlton and Blair 1989, Aitken et al 1988, Charlton 1986). Children who smoke are also more appreciative of advertising than non-smokers and can identify more readily with its message (Aitken and Eadie 1990, Aitken et al 1987, Charlton 1986). For example, Potts et al (1986) found that fifteen and sixteen year olds are more likely to find cigarette advertising emotionally appealing than non-smokers, rating them as exciting, interesting and eye catching. This has suggested that cigarette advertising may reinforce an image of the self that is successful, attractive or glamorous in young smokers.

This large body of data has been criticised on the grounds that children who smoke, or who are interested in smoking, will naturally pay more attention to tobacco advertising, just as they would with toy or confectionery advertising if they were buying these products. Industry defendants argue that studies which find a correlation between awareness and appreciation of cigarette advertising and smoking behaviour present 'mere statistics' and do not imply causation (McDonald 1993). It is proposed that children and young people's interest in tobacco advertising is innocuous, and that other influences, particularly friends and family are more relevant (Boddewyn 1994, McDonald 1993, Van Raaij 1990, Boddewyn 1989b, Jenkins 1988).

In particular, Fischer et al's (1991) research of cigarette trademark recognition among 3 to 6 year olds has attracted passionate criticism (see especially Mizerski 1995). The study was controversial as its findings presented damning evidence of the attraction of Camel's 'Joe the Camel' campaign to young children. Mizerski (1995) replicated the study and found similar overall levels of recognition of Joe Camel, but levels for some age groups were slower. Like Fischer, he also found that levels of recognition of Camel increased with age, while appreciation of cigarettes decreased with age. He concluded that Fischer et al (1991) had over-stated the impact of the Camel campaign on children, because the liking of cigarettes appeared to decrease with age (he doubted the proposition that older children's views of cigarettes were influenced by their knowledge of Camel's campaign). However, while primary school age children do tend to have disapproving views of cigarettes, these views do get more tolerant during their teens when they are more likely to experiment with cigarettes, and Mizerski's interpretation does not account for this (Hastings et al 1997). Furthermore, the analysis does not account for other important variables on smoking, which might demonstrate the effect of the advertising on attitudes of smoking, when other variables were held constant (Hastings et al 1997).

The common theme of these criticisms of consumer studies in particular, is that correlation between measures of advertising affect (awareness, recognition, appreciation) and its outcomes (smoking behaviour and intentions, attitudes towards smokers and smoking) do not imply direct causation. McDonald (1993) argued this case and suggested that links between tobacco advertising and smoking behaviour could never

provide conclusive evidence because they do not always occur in every case (ie. not every smoker likes cigarette advertising), and other influences are important (ie. family or peer smoking). However, in science, it is highly unlikely that causal relationships between two influences will occur in every case, for example Hastings et al (1994b) argued, “...if we followed McDonald’s logic, we would not pronounce any link between smoking and lung cancer, until all smokers died of the disease and all lung cancer sufferers were smokers” [p199]. Longitudinal studies of advertising effect and changes in smoking behaviour have provided the most convincing evidence that there is a causal relationship between appreciation of advertising and smoking initiation, as the direction of influence can be determined by changes over time. These studies provide evidence that cigarette advertising can help ease the transition from non-smoker to smoker by demonstrating that children who are most aware and appreciative of cigarette advertising are also those most likely to become smokers in the future. Furthermore, by holding other influences known to be associated with initiation, the potential confounding effect of other influences can be controlled for. For example, Aitken et al (1991) concluded that children who were more appreciative of cigarette advertising tended to be those whose intentions to smoke became stronger over the following year, when other factors known to influence smoking were controlled.

(iii) Misunderstandings About Advertising

Critics of the tobacco advertising research have argued that they are based on naive or false impressions of advertising theory (McDonald 1993 and 1994, Boddewyn 1993 and 1989a, Moschis 1989, Jenkins 1998). They have argued that research has been based on an over simplistic, “stimulus-response” view of advertising effects. This was the view of advertising which prevailed at the beginning of the twentieth century, see Section 3.3.1 (McQuail 1994). It assumed that the mere communication of something undesirable by the media would facilitate an increase in that undesirable behaviour. This model of advertising assumes that attention will lead to interest, will lead to desire, will lead to action. Therefore, involvement with commercial messages is a didactic experience. Since this view assumes that people’s social behaviour is solely determined by external forces, rather than personal choice, it is fraught with difficulties (Gitlin 1978, Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955). The defenders of tobacco advertising have stated that since

consumers are bombarded with a weight of advertising and commercial messages, they choose to respond to some and to ignore others, and therefore, consumers will only see or hear those messages which are important to them and consistent with their deeply held beliefs or values (Jenkins 1988). In this way, exposure to advertising will not convert a non-smoker into a smoker; not unless s/he is already actively contemplating the habit.

As the previous chapter has discussed, this poses the most credible criticism of the research on tobacco marketing to date, after all, advertising cannot make us act against our wishes, or create a need for a product from nothing (Begler 1999). But there is the risk of undermining the value of advertising. We are all sophisticated consumers of marketing who can erect psychological barriers against those we have no interest in or which contradict our values and beliefs (Hedges 1974). But advertising and marketing does maintain a powerful influence over our consumption behaviour (Hastings 1990a). Advertising is more than merely the transmission of messages or ideas. It reinforces social meanings through stereotypes, for example, that women should be thin and beautiful, that families should consist of one mother, one father and two children or that smoking is rebellious and adult (Lazier and Gagnard Kendrick 1993). Consumers have their own view of the social world and where they fit in. This world view is formed in interaction with the messages offered by society (of which advertising is part). Therefore, there is a two-way flow of ideas, beliefs and values between advertisers and the receivers of advertising (Lannon and Cooper 1983).

This suggests that more sophisticated models of advertising do not mean that advertising has no effect on people's behaviour, but that we should expect any effect to be complex and indirect. In the case of tobacco, for example, it has been shown to reinforce current smoking behaviour by reducing cognitive dissonance and to ease the process of becoming a regular smoker not by forcing people against their wishes, but by contributing to positive and enduring brand imagery with which consumers choose to become involved (Hastings et al 1994b).

4.8 Summary

This chapter examined if and how tobacco marketing communications effects audiences. This research has demonstrated that tobacco advertising has an important influence on brand awareness, social attitudes towards smoking and brand image. In addition, it is widely accepted that tobacco advertising does reinforce current smoking and help to recruit new smokers. Research has also shown that advertising has its biggest effects on adolescent, starter smokers. For many companies, the attraction of traditional above-the-line advertising has diminished. A number of pressures, including the sheer volume of traditional advertising has stimulated the development of broader marketing communications mixes. In the case of the tobacco industry, the pressure for broader communications is increased by the restrictions being placed on advertising and sponsorship. There is ad hoc evidence that the diversification of tobacco marketing communications is well under way. However, no systematic study has been made of it in the UK, and little is known of its influence on smoking behaviour or branding.

This chapter of literature has demonstrated that marketing communications does play a role in influencing young people's smoking behaviour. However, the research conducted to date is limited in two respects. Firstly, the majority of research has examined the impact of main media advertising on smoking behaviour, while the tobacco industry has increasingly invested in other forms of tobacco marketing communications such as sponsorship, loyalty schemes, brand stretching, sales promotions, point of sale, product packaging, product placement and the internet. Secondly, the research has tended to make naive assumptions of the effects of tobacco marketing on behaviour, which only examine its individual level effects.

4.9 Literature Review Conclusions and Discussion

The literature review has drawn three main conclusions: 1) There are three broad types of influence on the smoking uptake process – individual influences, immediate influences and wider level influences; 2) Theories of media and marketing communications effects suggest that marketing communications has the potential to influence the smoking uptake process at each of the three levels; 3) Most research

examining the influence of marketing communications has been limited to advertising, and to a lesser extent sponsorship, and then has only examined the influence of advertising on the individual level (knowledge, attitudes and behaviour). Research with a more credible theoretical basis should examine the influence of the marketing communications mix on individual, immediate and wider levels.

1. Three levels of influence on smoking uptake amongst young people

The first chapter of the literature review identified the importance of young people for smoking uptake and described the process and influences on smoking initiation. It was found that the majority of smokers take up the habit before the age of 18 years, and the majority of these during the ages 11 to 16 (Thomas et al 1998). Age 15 and 16 are key ages when smoking prevalence rates first begin to resemble that of the adult population (Higgins 1999, Thomas et al 1998). Smoking initiation was found to be a long and difficult process, rather than a single event. Young people go through a complicated process of contemplation, trial and experimentation before establishing regular smoking habits (Pallonen et al 1998, Pavis et al 1996, Amos et al 1992, Leventhal and Cleary 1980).

Young people do not take up smoking because of some innate predisposition to smoke, but three broad levels of influence were found to expedite or inhibit young people's smoking habits. This included: i) 'Individual level influences' such as demographic characteristics, education levels and aspirations, acceptance of the health risks, positive expectancies of smoking, psychological factors and participation in other behaviours; ii) 'Immediate influences' such as the direct and indirect support for smoking provided by families and peers; iii) 'Wider influences' such as the cultural support provided for smoking, easy access to cigarettes or the controls on smoking which may contribute to a view that smoking is socially unacceptable.

2. Marketing communications has the potential to influence the smoking uptake process at each of the three levels of influence

The second chapter of the literature review examined if and how marketing communications effected consumers, and explored the potential for influence at individual, immediate and wider levels. To answer these questions, the literature examining media effects and models of marketing communications were reviewed. This review concluded that tobacco marketing communications effects are wider and more complex than simply raising knowledge, changing attitudes and inducing behaviour change within individuals. Cognitive, affective and behavioural change are all important effects of tobacco marketing communications, but these changes do not necessarily occur, or occur in a step-wise fashion. Furthermore, tobacco marketing communications effects occur out-with the individual level. Tobacco marketing communications are likely to influence via key opinion leaders or through other important social groups, eg. the family. Tobacco marketing communications are also likely to cause effects at a wider environmental level by gradually reflecting and shaping cultural values, eg. perceived acceptability of smoking.

The review also identified the nature of the relationship between the consumer and originator of tobacco marketing communications. The research indicated that marketing communication is a two-way process between sender and recipient, rather than an activity undertaken by the sender or the recipient. Communication is nothing without the two parties – it is the transmission of encoded meaning via symbols that have common meaning for both the sender and recipient. Effects may occur when recipients decode the symbolism inherent in tobacco marketing communications.

Marketing communications is socially and culturally situated. They are interpreted in the context of society and consumers use these and brands as extensions of their own self identity. Therefore, branded possessions can be used to communicate self-image or solidarity with others. This implies that research investigating tobacco marketing communications effects must explore how messages and brands are decoded by consumers rather than how they are encoded by marketers.

3. The research conducted to date is limited to the investigation of advertising on the individual level

Considerable research has been conducted to date which has explored the impact of tobacco advertising on smoking related behaviour and attitudes. This has included econometric studies which modelled changes in tobacco consumption with changes in advertising expenditure, economic analysis of changes in tobacco consumption following complete bans on tobacco advertising, analysis of the impact of particular tobacco advertising campaigns, consumer studies of young smokers' involvement in tobacco advertising, and research describing and exploring the impact of other forms of tobacco marketing communications. This has produced a wealth of evidence that there is an important relationship between tobacco advertising and smoking behaviour. In particular, longitudinal consumer studies have demonstrated that young people's attention to and appreciation of tobacco advertising is predictive of their later smoking behaviour.

However, the research which has been conducted to date is limited in two respects. First, only the effects of tobacco advertising have been examined extensively, while the industry has been involved with other forms of marketing communications including sponsorship, loyalty schemes, sampling, sales promotions, brand-stretching, packaging, point of sale, product placement and the internet. Secondly, the research has been widely criticised by industry defendants for its implied assumption that advertising effects occur predictably and uniformly (as with hierarchical models of effects). The research does not take into account contemporary models of marketing communications and media effects which would suggest that: effects occur at individual, social and environmental levels; the audience plays an active role in a two-way communications process; and, brand imagery is an important outcome of tobacco marketing communications.

Typically, theoretical models of communications effects are not discussed in research examining the effects of marketing on smoking behaviour. However, more sophisticated theoretical views of effect exist, and research into the impact of the broad range of tobacco marketing communications on young people's smoking behaviour should have a more credible theoretical basis. It should include qualitative work to understand how

consumers engage with tobacco marketing communications, before quantitative research is conducted to measure the effect. The research should also take cognisance of the different levels of marketing communications effect which occur, by measuring not only impact on individual knowledge, behaviour and attitudes, but also key social (eg. family or peer smoking related behaviour and attitudes) and environmental (eg. perceived cultural norms) influences.

This discussion was presented at the EMAC conference in May 1998, and the ideas were refined as a result of the peer review process and discussion with other delegates, (see Appendix 9). The research which follows examined the role of tobacco marketing communications on young smokers in Britain, attempts to take account of these ideas. It explores young people's interaction with tobacco marketing communications and its likely effects on individual, immediate and environmental influences on smoking initiation.

PART TWO: METHODS

The previous three chapters of literature review and discussion have established the scope of the thesis and have been instrumental in identifying the research aims and in suggesting an appropriate method of inquiry.

The second part of the thesis describes and justifies the research methods used. It is presented in one chapter. This begins by clarifying the aims of the research, as suggested by the literature, and then explores methodological options. The selection of the research methods was essential for the rigour of the thesis, and therefore, the various options are examined and critically reviewed for their suitability. The results of this are presented in the first half of this chapter.

The second half of this chapter describes in detail how the chosen method was implemented.

5.0 METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

The previous literature review chapters identified the need for research to be conducted which examines: a) *if* tobacco related marketing communications affects young smokers in the UK, and b) *how* these effects occur.

The literature review identified the current status of knowledge with respect to these questions and found that: 1) Young people's smoking behaviour is influenced by the subtle interplay of individual, immediate and wider level influences; 2) It is likely that tobacco marketing communications has a role to play in this process, but it is not likely to be one that is either direct, uni-directional or obvious; and 3) Brand imagery may provide some way of understanding the relationship between young people's smoking behaviour and commercial marketing material.

To examine if and how tobacco marketing communications affect young smokers in the UK, a research design incorporating both qualitative methods and quantitative methods was used. In the first instance, qualitative focus group discussions with young people (smokers and non-smokers) were conducted to examine their responses to tobacco marketing communications. These were analysed and used to develop a hypothetical model of the relationship between tobacco marketing communications and young people's smoking behaviour (see Chapter 6). This research framework hypothesised that young people's smoking behaviour was not only associated with their contact with tobacco marketing communications, but also their beliefs about smoking and their perceptions of the key youth brand (see Chapter 7). The research framework and hypotheses were tested quantitatively using a survey of young people and the results of these are presented in Chapter 8.

This chapter describes the research methods used to develop and test the research framework. It has two goals.

First, the chapter justifies the research design. It identifies the research aims since the specific needs of the research problem should drive the design of the research (Section

5.2). Then it examines three important questions that are answered when selecting research methods: 1) What type of research is being conducted?; 2) What type of data is needed?; 3) What data collection methods are appropriate? For each of these three decisions, alternatives are described and compared, before the choice of the final method is justified. This decision-making process is described in Section 5.3.

Second, the chapter describes, in detail, how the chosen method was implemented. The research involved an initial qualitative stage incorporating focus group discussions, followed by an interviewer administered quantitative survey. Section 5.4 provides a broad overview of this design and describes what was achieved by each stage. The qualitative and quantitative stages of research are then described in detail, providing information on the purpose, method, sample selection, recruitment, questioning techniques, administration and analysis procedures for each. The qualitative stage is described in Section 5.5 and the quantitative stage is described in Section 5.6.

5.2 The Research Aims

The literature has demonstrated that smoking uptake amongst young people is influenced by a range of individual, immediate and wider influences and that marketing communications has the potential to influence behaviour at each of these three levels of influence. However, current research has tended to focus on the role of advertising (rather than marketing communications), and has tended to be based on now discredited models of communication effect which only examine the effects of advertising on the individual level.

This thesis aims to address some of the limitations of previous research. Its twin objectives are to examine if and how tobacco related marketing communications influenced young smokers in Britain. The research attempts to bridge the gap between marketing based research of communications effects, and largely medical based research of the influence of tobacco advertising, by applying more contemporary understanding of marketing communications effects to the case of tobacco. In particular, it examines the relationship between tobacco marketing communications, young people's beliefs about smoking, perceptions of key youth brand/s and their current smoking behaviour.

Therefore, the research has the following objectives:

1. To establish if there is a relationship between tobacco related marketing communications and young people's smoking behaviour.
2. To determine the nature of the relationship between tobacco related marketing communications and young people's smoking behaviour.

5.3 Selecting The Research Design

There are many alternative methods of conducting marketing research. The selection of the appropriate research strategy should be influenced by the particular needs of the research problem (Kumar et al 1999). However, in reality the selection of the research design is influenced by other constraints such as cost, time and other practicalities, eg. access to appropriate sampling frames (Kumar et al 1999, Hakim 1987).

This section discusses the alternative methods of conducting research in marketing and the social sciences. It is structured around three broad questions that need to be answered when selecting the research design:

1. What type of research is being conducted?
2. Which type of data is required?
3. What data collection methods are available and appropriate?

It was first important to consider the type of research being conducted (Kinneer and Taylor 1991). Whether the research is exploratory or conclusive in nature will have important implications for the types of data generated and the types of data collection methods used (Hartman and Hedbloom 1979). Secondly, it was important to consider the type of data (ie. qualitative, quantitative or both) that should be collected in order to answer the research questions (Parasuraman 1991). Finally, it was important to consider the data collection methods that are most appropriate, accessible and reliable (Procter 1997).

The following sections examine each of these issues in turn. Section 5.3.1 discusses the type of research involved in this thesis, Section 5.3.2 explores which type(s) of data that should be generated to meet the research aims, and Section 5.3.3 examines which type(s) of data collection methods are most appropriate.

In each section, the alternative options are defined, and then compared, before the final choice is justified.

5.3.1 Which Type of Research?

Broadly speaking there are two types of social research: exploratory research or conclusive research (Chisnall 1992, Kinnear and Taylor 1991, Parasuraman 1991), see Figure 5.1.

“Exploratory Research” is appropriate when little previous research has been conducted and published (Chisnall 1992). It is used to generate general insights about a topic and tends to be small scale, open-ended and flexible in design (Parasuraman 1991, Kinnear and Taylor 1991). This sensitivity in design should be able to respond to unanticipated insights and ensures that the research design is driven by the topic (Kinnear and Taylor 1991). It is usually, although not necessarily, qualitative in nature.

This type of research is appropriate for defining problems or in understanding the scope and dynamics of a particular research issue (Kinnear and Taylor 1991). Therefore, it typically forms the initial stage of a broader research project and can be used to formulate research hypotheses that are later tested (Chisnall 1992, Kinnear and Taylor 1991).

“Conclusive Research” on the other hand, is used to verify insights or hypotheses. It is likely to have a clearly defined purpose and design and most usually (although not necessarily) be quantitative. Within this, conclusive research may be either descriptive or causal (Parasuraman 1991, Kinnear and Taylor 1991).

Descriptive studies collect data that describe the particular characteristics of a group of respondents eg. The Office for National Statistics (ONS) survey of the smoking habits of school children, describes the socio-demographic characteristics of young smokers. Studies can either be conducted at one point in time to obtain a 'snap-shot' of data (a cross-section), or at repeated intervals over time (a cohort) (Parasuraman 1991). Cohort studies, which can be used to determine the impact of certain variables on the characteristics of a sample, are generally superior studies, however, they are also significantly more costly and time-consuming (Parasuraman 1991).

Conclusive research can also be causal. This type of research explores the cause and effect nature of relationships between key variables and tests hypotheses (Chisnall 1992, Kinnear and Taylor 1991). Causal research might involve survey research or experiments. Survey research can successfully explore the causal nature of relationships and test hypotheses, but experimental research design is more adept at distinguishing causality. A randomised controlled trial (or a 'true experiment') is the primary example of an experimental causal design (Sommer and Sommer 1991). In this research several groups are randomly assigned to a particular intervention or object for research (for example, a stop-smoking product or an advertising campaign to encourage use of seat belts) and a number of other groups are assigned as control groups with no intervention. Before and after measures of key variables are assessed in the control and intervention groups (eg. smoking behaviour or seat belt use), and changes in these can be directly attributed to the intervention, because of the presence of the control group (Sommer and Sommer 1991).

Conclusive research is appropriate for informing policy, making decisions and testing hypotheses (Kinnear and Taylor 1991).

Figure 5.1: Differences Between Exploratory and Conclusive Research

| Research Project Components | Exploratory Research | Conclusive Research |
|------------------------------------|---|--|
| Research Purpose | General: To generate insights about a situation | Specific: To verify insights and aid in selecting a course of action. |
| Data needs | Vague | Clear |
| Data sources | Ill-defined | Clear |
| Sample | Relatively small; subjectively selected to maximise generation of useful insights | Relatively large; objectively selected to permit generalisation of findings. |
| Data collection | Flexible; no set procedure | Rigid; well laid out plan |
| Data analysis | Informal; typically non-quantitative | Formal; typically quantitative |
| Inferences / recommendation | More tentative than final | More final than tentative |
| Types | Qualitative | Descriptive or Causal Quantitative |

Adapted from: Parasuraman A (1991). *Marketing Research*, 2nd Edition. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, p129.

The twin aims of this study suggested that both exploratory and conclusive research be conducted. There was a need for exploratory research that was open and flexible, in order to explore young people's awareness, experiences and involvement with tobacco marketing communications and thereby develop the theoretical framework. However, there was also need for conclusive research that could confirm the extent and nature of the relationship between tobacco marketing communications and young people's smoking behaviour. Therefore, both qualitative and quantitative research was conducted.

5.3.2 Which Type of Data?

Diverse assumptions in scientific discourse have generated two broad types of research inquiry, and hence, two types of data: qualitative and quantitative (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 1992). Qualitative and quantitative research makes different assumptions about scientific inquiry, involves different relationships with data and uses different research methods (Brannan 1992). The choice between qualitative and quantitative methods is the second major decision to be made when designing a programme of

research. This section defines qualitative and quantitative data, compares the strengths and weaknesses of each, and then discusses the relative benefits of research that incorporates both these methods.

(i) Qualitative Methods

Qualitative research is concerned with respondents' own accounts of events, experiences and feelings. It involves the exploration of loosely defined concepts amongst a statistically unrepresentative group (Silverman 1993). Researchers are closely involved with the generation of the data and see themselves as the research instrument. Rather than being involved in the testing of hypotheses and the measurement of relationships between variables, qualitative researchers explore flexible concepts that may change throughout the research process (Parasuraman 1991). The findings are not intended to be generalisable to a wider population, but are used to identify relationships and categories (Kinnear and Taylor 1991). This research paradigm uncovers the presence of concepts and categories, but is not concerned with their frequency (Miles and Huberman 1994).

There are a number of definitions of qualitative research, but most share two common features - direct observation and detailed description (Broughton 1991). The main method of data collection is the direct observation of respondents either through personal interviews, group discussions or actual observation. The use of questionnaires is rare. Examples of qualitative data include detailed and rich descriptions, of which much of this is conversation, documentation and meticulous observations. Miles and Huberman (1994) add to these two common features a prolonged contact with the field or 'situation', the need to establish a holistic and sympathetic understanding of the respondent's situation, the isolation of common themes and expressions, and the analysis of words.

Qualitative research belongs to an interpretative, rather than positivist, research perspective (Silverman 1993). This assumes that reality is socially constructed, and that individuals act according to the meanings derived from their socially constructed reality (Cunningham-Burley 1999). Therefore, researchers do not seek to establish objective facts about the research issue, but seek to understand how the participants in the research

make sense of their world or of the issue for study. However, it is inevitable that researchers' analysis of their respondents is ultimately influenced by their own understandings (Secker et al 1995). In this way, data must be treated according to the social context of its creation and prioritise subjective experience (Miles and Huberman 1994).

For example, a qualitative research design might examine consumers' responses to a health advertising campaign designed to encourage greater fruit and vegetable consumption. In this case, it would not be appropriate to 'measure' the size of impact of the campaign, but to examine the types of changes the campaign might have had and explore how the target group engaged with the advertising. Research could be conducted with consumers before, during and after the campaign to discuss and understand their perceptions of and feelings towards the campaign. The qualitative data generated would describe the relationship between the consumers and the advertisement, but would not provide a neat answer to the question, 'did the campaign work?'

Qualitative research methods have been used to examine young people's smoking behaviour and attitudes (eg. Amos et al 1997, Allbutt et al 1995), their attitudes towards cigarette brands (Barnard and Forsyth 1996), and to examine their perceptions of smoking cessation (eg. Balch 1998). They have been used to help develop campaigns to prevent smoking initiation or to facilitate cessation (eg. Goodlad et al 1996 a and b). In most cases, focus group discussions have been used. This type of research cannot confirm the effect of tobacco related marketing communications on young people's smoking behaviour, but can be used to understand how they engage with this material and to generate hypotheses about how any effects might occur.

(ii) Quantitative Methods

Quantitative methods are used to measure and test hypotheses, the findings of which can be generalised to specific populations (Procter 1997). It is derived from a view of research known as 'positivism' (Filmer et al 1972). Positivism views respondents passively and researchers assume that their role is that of documenting respondents' opinions or behaviours. It assumes that objective facts can be established about the

social world that are best described as statistical proof (Milburn et al 1995). Researchers operating in this paradigm have a relatively distant relationship with their data. The quantitative researcher isolates and defines variables to test and frame hypotheses and the data is obtained via a predetermined and validated instrument (eg. questionnaire) (Kinnear and Taylor 1991). The research is conducted with a statistically representative sample of the population. The method of analysis is deductive: the data is analysed numerically to measure relationships between characteristics / variables, which are then generalised to a wider population (Chisnall 1992).

Quantitative research can involve experimentation, analysis of secondary data sources or questionnaire based surveys:

Experimental research is a rigorous approach to research where ‘experimental groups’ are exposed to particular independent variable(s) that the ‘control groups’ are not. The two groups are then compared over time according to other important dependent variables, and conclusions about effects are compared (Grosf and Sardy 1985). This is an excellent approach to research that can determine the causal nature of relationships between variables. However, all the potential variables that might influence the experimental and control groups must be under the control of the researcher. In practice, this is difficult to construct, and may result in artificial situations that are false or unimportant (Grosf and Sardy 1985).

Experimentation could be used to examine the effects of tobacco advertising on smoking consumption. For example, researchers have taken advantage of natural experiments that occur when one country introduces new controls on tobacco advertising. Changes in smoking behaviour in the country with the ban are compared with other control countries without similar policy changes (eg. Perkurinen 1989). However, there are a number of limitations of this approach. First, there is a need to conduct primary fieldwork in at least two countries, if similar secondary data is not already available. Secondly, a considerable period of time will need to have elapsed before changes in smoking behaviour are likely to be detected. Finally, there are likely to be other important variables in the experimental and control countries that cannot be controlled for, eg. health promotion activities, peers and familial smoking, cultural differences and the

media's portrayal of smoking. For these reasons, experimentation was not an appropriate research option for this thesis.

Secondary analysis of published data is another alternative quantitative approach to research. It is a method that permits replication and the use of longitudinal research design (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 1992). A number of studies have been conducted to determine the effect of tobacco advertising on behaviour, which have relied on the secondary analysis of published data (for example, Cox and Smith 1992, Laugesen and Meads 1991, McGuinness and Cowling 1975). These include econometric studies (see Section 4.2), which analyse and model smoking rates with advertising expenditure. However, in this case, published data is unlikely to be available in a disaggregated form necessary to examine youth smoking, or for time periods lengthy enough to conduct meaningful analysis. Furthermore, this type of research design does not permit exploration of how tobacco marketing communications effects occur, and can only be used to understand if effects occur. As discussed in the literature review, these studies have provided some important knowledge about the effects of advertising and advertising bans, but is limited and will not help to understand the nature of the relationship between marketing communications and behaviour.

Questionnaire based survey methods are a popular method of quantitative design. These involve consumer-based measures of key variables. Questionnaires may be administered by interviewers or completed by the respondents themselves. The research may be cross-sectional or longitudinal, and therefore, can be either descriptive or causal. This type of method was most appropriate to this research problem. A consumer-based design was essential to obtain accurate and relevant measures of tobacco marketing communications, smoking beliefs and brand perceptions. This method has been used elsewhere to examine young people's awareness, appreciation and involvement with tobacco advertising and sponsorship (see for example, Arnett and Terhanian 1998, Charlton et al 1997, Hastings et al 1994a, Aitken and Eadie 1990).

Questionnaire surveys were considered to offer the most potential for this research. Measures of consumers' awareness and involvement in tobacco marketing, their smoking beliefs and brand perceptions could be accurately taken. Factors known to be important for smoking behaviour that could not be controlled experimentally (eg. tobacco control,

peers' and familial smoking, health promotion, culture) could be measured and controlled for in statistical analysis. Furthermore, the research could be designed in a consumer orientated way, driven by the young people's agenda.

(iii) Qualitative vs. Quantitative Methods

Qualitative and quantitative methods have different research traditions and uses, and have tended to be viewed as two incompatible approaches. Both qualitative research and consumer based questionnaire surveys offer potential benefits to this research. This section compares and contrasts their relative strengths and weaknesses and provides a rationale for conducting research that includes both qualitative and quantitative components.

Quantitative methods have a particular appeal to those who need concrete answers to the 'did it work?' questions (Tesch 1990). Statistics (hard data) are an alluring and an easily justifiable research expense (Kinnear and Taylor 1991). However, this neglects the importance of qualitative research questions such as 'What do young people really think about cigarette brands?', 'What image does smoking have?', or, 'What are the young people's perceptions of tobacco marketing?'. Qualitative research is good at getting close to the consumers, and can get beyond superficial responses (Parasuraman 1991). While quantitative methods have traditionally enjoyed an implied superiority over qualitative research, there has been an increasing research interest in qualitative methods, amongst a wide range of researchers interested in exploring motivations, attitudes and behaviour (Chisnall 1992).

Qualitative and quantitative methods have particular strengths and weaknesses that make them appropriate for different research settings, see Figure 5.2.

Qualitative methods have certain characteristic strengths. As a subjective method, it is open and flexible, allowing the respondents to drive the research agenda. Unlike quantitative methods there is no need to make assumptions as to what the key issues are, or how respondents may react to particular questions (Kinnear and Taylor 1991). A wider array of more complex issues can be explored more readily than quantitative

questionnaires, which are restricted by space and time (Hastings 1990, Dickens 1982). Furthermore, qualitative methods can explore the underlying reasons why particular behaviours and attitudes occur (Hastings 1990b). The use of projective techniques such as word association, mapping and personification can help respondents elucidate subconscious or socially undesirable attitudes (Will et al 1996).

However, qualitative methods also have a number of inherent weaknesses. Due to the inductive nature of the analysis and the proximity of the researcher, the quality of analysis in qualitative research is very much determined by the skills and rigour of the researcher. Interpretivism is central to qualitative research. Therefore, researchers do not seek objective facts about the social world, but explore how respondents interpret and understand their social world. However, it is unfortunately inevitable that during this analysis process, the data is filtered through the researchers' own knowledge and value systems. Therefore, the qualitative theory is as much reflective of the researchers' understanding of the social world, as the respondents' (Secker et al 1995). As Miles (1979) has written:

“The most serious and central difficulty in the use of qualitative data is that methods of analysis are not well formulated. For quantitative data, there are clear conventions the researcher can use. But the analyst faced with a bank of qualitative data has few guidelines for protection against self-delusion...How can we be sure that an ‘earthy’, ‘undeniable’, ‘serendipitous’ finding isn’t in fact wrong?”

(Miles 1979, p591)

Silverman (1998) also notes the potential for qualitative studies to produce insensitive results. However, he suggests that researchers can reduce the potential for invalidity by: 1) supporting generalisations by counts of events; 2) ensuring the representation of cases; 3) testing hypothesis in data analysis; 4) using computer programmes to assist qualitative analysis; and, 5) recording data objectively and comprehensively using field-notes and actual recordings (eg. audio-tapes or video-tapes).

Furthermore, qualitative research is not generalisable to the wider population. Qualitative samples are small and tend to be purposively selected to fulfil particular criteria, therefore, they must not be assumed to be representative of the population as a whole. However, qualitative research is not conducted with the purpose of generating statistical information, but in understanding the diversity of meaning and understanding that key groups hold of a particular issue (Miles and Huberman 1994). In this way, qualitative research is able to generate hypotheses that can then be explained statistically, or in interpreting other statistical information (Brannan 1992).

On the other hand, quantitative methods have key strengths that reflect the inherent weaknesses of qualitative research. Quantitative methods can be used to explain what is happening and the frequency of its occurrence (Kinnear and Taylor 1991). By conducting the research in a structured and replicable way to large numbers of respondents, bias is reduced and controlled and the findings should be generalisable to larger populations (Kinnear and Taylor 1991). The researchers' role and relationship with the data and the subjects of research is entirely different. They maintain an objective distance to the respondents, using a technically validated instrument (eg. a questionnaire) to gather data. The research process and survey instruments can introduce bias (eg. people may answer in a different way to be socially more acceptable, such as questions about alcohol consumption), but the opportunity for the researcher to influence the research process and analysis is less than with qualitative research (Procter 1997).

Analyses methods are also more objective. If random samples are used, statistical analysis can be conducted on the data to describe, compare and make correlation between key variables, which can then be generalised to the wider population (Black 1999). The deductive nature of quantitative analysis is extremely attractive to many researchers. Hard data can be produced. However, unlike qualitative data, quantitative data cannot get under the skin of respondents, and is limited to the researchers' understanding of how respondents might respond to particular questions.

Therefore, qualitative and quantitative methods are appropriate for different research situations.

Figure 5.2: A Typology of Quantitative and Qualitative Methods

| | Quantitative | Qualitative |
|-------------------|--|--|
| Measurement | Tends to be objective | Tends to be subjective |
| Instrument | Reliable and objective; <i>Technology as the instrument</i> | Valid and subjective; <i>Self as the instrument</i> |
| Proximity to Data | Evaluator is removed from the data | Evaluator is close to the data. |
| Analysis | Deductive; <i>Verification and outcome orientated</i> | Inductive; <i>Discovery and Process Orientated</i> |
| Generality | Can be generalised; <i>The outsider's perspective</i> <i>Population orientated</i> | Cannot be generalised; <i>The insider's perspective</i> <i>Case orientated</i> |
| Methods | Surveys Experimentation Secondary Data Analysis | Depth Interviews Focus Groups Participant Observation |

Based on: Steckler A, Eng E, Goodman RM (1991). Integrating Qualitative and Quantitative Evaluation Methods. *Hygie*, 10(4): 16-29, p16.

Some describe these two methods as distinct paradigms - two different poles of a dichotomy with fundamentally opposing assumptions (positivism versus interpretivism) (Smith and Heshius 1982). This view assumes that the epistemological differences between positivism and interpretivism are irreconcilable and precludes their integration. There is believed to be an inherent incompatibility between a view of the social world which can be described in terms of statistical truths and one which is made of subjective meanings (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 1992). However, others argue that this view is misleading, and indeed that research methods should be selected on the basis of the particular contingencies of the research problem, rather than a philosophical commitment to a fuzzy paradigm (King et al 1994, Hammersley 1992, Brannan 1992, Sommer and Sommer 1991). This alternative opinion assumes that the philosophical divergence between positivism and interpretivism is less important and less extreme than the practical benefits of combining the two methods (Brannan 1992, Sommer and Sommer 1991).

Most researchers note the importance of using various different methods of inquiry to validate or strengthen a research project. Traditionally, known as 'triangulation' (Denzin 1970), it is often argued that research design should incorporate a range of different research methods to ensure the confidence and validity of the findings (Sommer and

Sommer 1991). Indeed, Chisnall (1992) argues that *“It is not so much a question of which method is best, as which set of methods is likely to result in an objective research programme”* (Chisnall 1992, p28).

Broadly speaking there are three main opinions on why a multiple methods approach is valuable. First, combining research methods and integrating their findings is assumed to be useful to check the validity of findings (Bryman 1988, Denzin 1970). Therefore, the findings from the qualitative and quantitative research phases are assumed to be similar and can be ‘added’ together. However, some commentators have criticised the implied assumption inherent in this opinion that qualitative and quantitative findings can be integrated (Bryman 1988, Fielding and Fielding 1986, Hammersley and Atkinson 1983). They propose that the two methods will reveal important, but complementary differences, and that the data should be viewed in terms of its method of collection. In this way, qualitative and quantitative methods can be usefully deployed together, but it is important to understand the relevance of the differences in the data and findings.

Second, qualitative and quantitative methods can be practically combined to develop hypotheses, which can then be tested quantitatively (Brannan 1992). Another important application of multiple methods is the qualitative piloting and development of quantitative research instruments (Brannan 1992). A third potential use, is qualitative research conducted to help interpret the findings of a quantitative survey. On the other hand, the two methods can be seen as two distinct, but complementary research phases. Essentially, the research problem should guide the decision as to the appropriateness of qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods approach (Bryman 1988).

A mixed methods approach was chosen for this thesis. An initial qualitative phase of research was conducted to explore young people’s responses to tobacco marketing communications and cigarette brands, and to generate hypotheses about these relationships that were then tested in a quantitative survey. The qualitative phase provided data that was quite different in nature and use from the quantitative survey, but the two collection methods complemented each other well.

The following section describes the qualitative and quantitative data collection methods available for conducting research with young people. It reviews their relative strengths and weaknesses and justifies the chosen methods.

5.3.3 Which Research Method?

The previous section has concluded that the best approach is an incorporation of both qualitative and quantitative methods. This section now reviews the available qualitative and quantitative data collection methods, and provides a rationale for the chosen method - focus groups, followed by an interviewer administered survey of young people.

A. Qualitative

There are three main types of qualitative research methods: participant observation, depth interviews and focus groups.

(i) Observation

Observational research is an important element of qualitative research which has its roots in anthropological and sociological investigation, where it has been used to produce rich and detailed descriptions of human behaviour (Foster 1996). It is widely used in academic and scientific studies and is often termed, "*the classical method of investigation*" (Chisnall 1992, p32). Observation is planned and recorded in a relatively systematic way, but researchers have a commitment to record data in an open and flexible way (Foster 1996). Kinnear and Taylor (1991) define observational research methods as, "*the recording of the respondent's behaviour; it is the process of recognising and recording the behaviour of people, objects and events*" (Kinnear and Taylor 1991, p327).

Observational techniques may be either covert or overt (Foster 1996). Covert observation is conducted when the subject is unaware of the researcher. It is more

difficult to orchestrate, but is most likely to reveal true and unbiased results (Foster 1996), and is advised wherever knowledge of the researcher's presence is suspected to influence the study (Kinnear and Taylor 1991). Furthermore, there are some circumstances where overt research is neither possible nor desirable, eg. if researching illegal behaviours. However, there may be circumstances where covert research is not possible, and access to the study group can only be openly pre-arranged, eg. access to a company.

It may also involve either the active or passive participation of the researcher with the group. Active participation (ie. participant observation) involves the researcher being introduced and integrated into the group for study. This is a lengthy and committed process, but one which reveals highly detailed and accurate qualitative data (Sommer and Sommer 1991). If the researcher has successfully built trusting relationships with the research subjects, there is less likelihood that the process of research has biased the findings. As compared to other methods of observation, participant observation is particularly appropriate when the behaviour of study is covert (Hartman and Hedblom 1979).

It can be used at a variety of stages in a research project (Foster 1996, Chisnall 1992):

1. During the initial stages to explore the problem for later study.
2. During the final stages as a check or supplement to interviews or surveys.

It may also be the main method of research in a project that needs to obtain descriptive data or to enable qualitative description of particular behaviours (Hartman and Hedblom 1979). In particular, observation is useful for obtaining more accurate accounts of behaviour while they are actually happening, rather than relying on respondents' retrospective or anticipatory accounts (Procter 1997). Furthermore, it does not need to rely upon the eloquence of the respondents, or their ability to remember and interpret their previous experiences and feelings (Procter 1997). The observer can record events while they happen, requiring little effort or willingness on the part of the participants (Kinnear and Taylor 1991, Parasuraman 1991). It is also appropriate when the subjects for study are not suitable to surveys or other research, eg. very young children. For

instance, the Fisher Price company which makes children's toys operates a nursery school in a residential area to field-test potential new products (Kumar et al 1999)

However, as with other qualitative methodologies, the quality of the data depends very much on the skills of the researcher. It is inevitable that the significance and meaning of the observed data will be influenced by the observer's values and research skills. To reduce the potential for this, field notes are used to record, as accurately as possible, all the relevant events and the development of analytical codes are suspended until after this process (Øvretveit 1998).

Observational methods are, of course, limited to research problems where the behaviour or event is visible. Therefore, there may be a number of research problems that involve changes in individual or organisational knowledge or attitudes which cannot be assessed through observation (Parasuraman 1991). Therefore, observational research is most appropriate for circumstances where it is more appropriate to understand what people do, rather than why they do what they do (Crouch and Housdon 1996).

(ii) Depth Interviews

Individual depth interviews are another qualitative alternative. These are conducted face-to-face with the respondents and are used to explore issues, events, knowledge and attitudes in detail (Kumar et al 1999). Kinnear and Taylor define the depth interview as, "*an unstructured personal interview which uses extensive probing to get a single respondent to talk freely and express detailed beliefs and feelings on a topic*" (Kinnear and Taylor 1991, p315).

Depth interviews can be either non-directive or semi-structured (Kumar et al 1999). Non-directive interviews allow the respondent complete freedom to respond within the boundaries of the subject matter. The interviewer must establish a trusting and relaxed atmosphere and probe and clarify the respondents' discussion. These interviews are likely to be relatively lengthy (around 45 minutes to 2 hours) and provide detailed case histories of particular issues (Kumar et al 1999), without constraining their response by quantitative, predetermined codes of responses (Sapsford and Jupp 1996). The

interviewer uses an open and flexible interview brief, similar to that used in focus group discussions (see (iii) focus groups, below) (Crouch and Housdon 1996). The respondents are encouraged to discuss topics at length and depth and to explore all their thoughts and feelings on the issue of concern (Crouch and Housdon 1996). As with the focus group, the interviewer plays a critical role in the success of the depth interview. They must establish rapport and trust and be able to help the respondent, who may not be particularly articulate or forthcoming, discuss entrenched beliefs without fear of judgement (Kinnear and Taylor 1991).

Semi-structured interviews are essentially qualitative in nature, but as the title suggests, are more rigidly structured around core themes or questions (Kumar et al 1999). Unlike quantitative interview schedules, qualitative schedules do not determine the precise wording of questions, nor do they suggest any alternative answers for interviewees. The questioning process is entirely open and flexible, and there is some opportunity for probing from the interviewer. This type of depth interview is likely to be shorter in length than the non-directive depth interview, and is particularly appropriate to those situations such as interviewing busy managers, interviewing on the telephone or when the research dictates conducting very large numbers of qualitative depth interviews (Kumar et al 1999). However, there is more difficulty in recording the data from semi-structured interviews, particularly when audio or video recording devices are not possible (Crouch and Housdon 1996).

In comparison to other qualitative methods, depth interviews produce the greatest depth of insight, and can reveal the historical context of particular events or activities in people's lives. They can produce very detailed case histories. During group interviews, it can be difficult to attribute specific comments to particular people and therefore, to understand the individual nature of the issue. Furthermore, the researcher is more likely to establish a greater level of rapport and trust with individuals in depth interviews, and they are, therefore, more appropriate for particularly sensitive issues.

(iii) Focus Groups

A focus group is a semi-structured group interview (Steckler et al 1991), where the focus is a particular topic of interest or collective activity (McDougall 1999). Focus groups are distinguished by their use of group interaction to generate data. Instead of an interviewer directing questions at a respondent, the group members ask questions of each other, share experiences and anecdotes, comment on and interpret the ensuing conflicts and consensus (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999). They provide rich and detailed data that could not have been produced through other methodologies (Asbury 1995). As such they have been defined as, *“The explicit use of the group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group”* (Morgan 1988, p12).

Focus groups are a suitable context within which to explore people’s feelings, motivations and concerns. It allows the respondents to frame concepts in terms of their own experiences, free of the subjective bias of the interviewer (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999). They are also excellent ways in which to examine the social nature of people’s views. People behave differently in a group than they would do individually, and the group process influences and is influenced by its members (Robson 1989).

Focus groups were developed by sociologists, but adopted by commercial marketing researchers to explore and test marketing strategies and concepts (Morgan 1988, Kitzinger and Barbour 1999). They have since been widely used in social science as a distinct methodology or in combination with other qualitative and quantitative procedures (McDougall 1999, Morgan 1988). It has also gained increasing academic respectability (Krueger 1995). Cunningham-Burley et al (1999) suggest that the related interests in consumerism and citizens’ rights, coupled with a need to be seen to ‘listen to users’ during the last decade have propagated the popularity of focus groups. However, rather than liberate consumer power, they also warn that the unquestioning use of focus groups might have the opposite effect. They suggest that research which views the respondents as passive consumers rather than active citizens might promulgate the existing power base of the market over consumers. Therefore, the social context of the commissioning, conduct and dissemination of focus group research should be carefully considered.

There is an argument that focus groups are useful preliminary work, but must then be validated by quantitative work. This viewpoint is reflective of a perceived superiority of quantitative over qualitative methods. However, as with other qualitative methods, focus groups can deliver essential data on the meaning, interpretation and attitudes of people to particular issues or behaviours (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999, Morgan 1988).

Morgan (1988) describes how focus groups have been used on their own, or with other methods to:

1. Explore new fields.
2. Generate hypotheses.
3. Evaluate the potential of new research sites or populations.
4. Develop interview schedules and questionnaires.
5. Understand and interpret quantitative data.

Focus groups are led by a trained and skilled 'moderator', whose role is to create a permissive environment in which to discuss the issues (Krueger 2000). Once the information needs of the focus group research have been established, the researcher prepares a list of key topics (a 'discussion brief') which outline the main areas for discussion (Tynan and Drayton 1988). The order and design of the brief is important. The discussion brief should be designed carefully to move from the general to the specific (Krueger and Casey 2000). It should be open, flexible and non-committal, to leave the respondents to discuss relevant issues that may be beyond the researcher's experiences (Robson 1989, Tynan and Drayton 1988).

Focus groups contain around 6 to 8 respondents. Some commentators have suggested larger numbers of respondents (for example Tynan and Drayton 1988 suggest 8 to 12), but most qualitative researchers have suggested that a group of more than 8 respondents become unmanageable (Krueger 1995, Robson 1989). Smaller groups are especially advisable if the subject matter is sensitive (Mendes de Almeida 1980). The groups should be as homogeneous within groups and heterogeneous between groups, with respect to socio-demographic or other behavioural characteristics of relevance to the topic for study (eg. smoking behaviour or experience of a particular product). This

presents respondents with a more familiar group of respondents from similar backgrounds and hopefully a more relaxed environment for discussion. The differences in responses according to the socio-demographic or other characteristics between groups can be accounted for in analysis of between group differences (Parasuraman 1991).

Depth interviews and focus groups make use of projective techniques to help the researcher understand the meanings behind particular attitudes or beliefs. They are also used to uncover values and beliefs which may be socially undesirable, difficult to express or those which the respondent may not be consciously aware of (Will et al 1996). These techniques are derived from clinical psychology and are used to explore attitudes and beliefs indirectly, through particular activities including word association, role playing, cartoon completion, mapping and personification (Will et al 1996, Kinnear and Taylor 1991).

The key to understanding the success of these techniques is that respondents are asked to interpret the behaviours of others and is therefore easier and less threatening than being asked direct questions about themselves (Will et al 1996). However, in doing so, they project their own beliefs and values onto others.

(iv) Summary of Qualitative Methods

The advantages and disadvantages of the three main types of qualitative methods are summarised below, see Figure 5.3 (derived from the literature discussed above).

Observational methods have the advantage of being unobtrusive and accurate. Furthermore, the observer has a unique vantage point from which to record behaviours that participants may not be able, or willing, to articulate. Observation is an excellent method of verifying self-reports of behaviour, and for gathering data on particular actions or events where survey data would be unavailable or unattractive. However, it is only appropriate for those situations where there is an act to observe, and where this act is visible, short and frequent. Observational methods were not selected for this research for these reasons. To some degree it may have been possible to observe young people's responses to tobacco related marketing communications, but these occasions happen too

infrequently and irregularly to be feasible. Therefore, observation methods were rejected.

Depth interviews produce very detailed case histories and are very adept at producing detailed insights into particular issues, and in understanding the implications of particular events over time. However, they are demanding and require an experienced and skilled researcher. Furthermore, they are time-consuming and produce too few case histories in general. Depth interviews are particularly appropriate where it is important to understand case histories in depth, or when subject matter is particularly complex and sensitive. Depth interviews are a possible research approach, however, the inability to explore group processes is a disadvantage in this case. As youth smoking and brand behaviour are likely to be both social and peer driven behaviours, individual interviews are limited.

Focus groups have the benefit of producing rich data embedded in the group processes. The group context provides a safe and familiar environment within which respondents can explore issues and generate ideas and concepts from each other. Focus groups are particularly versatile and can be used for a variety of research topics and respondents, including children. However, they can be subject to 'group think' where respondents agree to a false consensus, and the true diversity of responses is lost. The artificial research context may mean that respondents act or reflect on their actions in different ways, and researchers are restricted to essential verbal reports of behaviour. Finally they are open to misuse, particularly in those situations where researchers allow their own preconceptions to influence the analysis. Focus groups are most suited to those situations where it is important to understand the range of feelings or attitudes people have to an issue, where it is important to understand feelings, motivations or knowledge levels, and to have ideas emerge from a group.

Focus groups were selected as the most appropriate method for an initial, exploratory stage of research, where they were used to examine young people's responses to tobacco related marketing communications and cigarette brand images.

Figure 5.3: Advantages and Disadvantages of Qualitative Methods

| Method | Advantages | Disadvantages |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| (i) Observation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Behaviour can be recorded while it happens (rather than retrospectively or anticipatory). • The observer may be able to see what the participant may not. • Can record behaviours which participants are not able to articulate, eg. young children. • Little effort on part of respondent. • No need to obtain willingness – few issues with non response. • Little bias from interviewer or interview process. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The environment, event or behaviour may not be available or appropriate for observation. • People may consciously or unconsciously change the way they behave because they are being observed. • The observer interprets the relevance and meaning of the acts. • Issue of research must be observable. • Can't observe awareness, feelings, attitudes, beliefs, intimate or personal activities. • Observed behaviours must be short and frequent. |
| (ii) Depth interviews | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can produce detailed case histories. • Temporal perspective. • Can use semi-structured interviewing for hard to reach situations. • Sensitive data. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No opportunity to explore group process. • Relies on the skills and experience of the researcher. • Lengthy interview. • Few cases. |
| (iii) Focus groups | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Richness of data. • Can observe group interaction. • The group interaction puts greater emphasis on the respondent's point of view. • Versatility – can be used to explore a variety of problems. • Ability to study special respondents – especially children who communicate well in groups through play. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unnatural settings / group think. • Selection of the group could be based on suitability rather than representation. • Can only observe verbal behaviour and interaction in groups – essentially self-reported behaviour. • Because the discussion is controlled by the moderator, cannot guarantee how real the verbal behaviour is. • Opportunity for misuse – eg. generalising from a few key remarks made in groups / selective perception in analysis. |

B. Quantitative

There are two main options for collecting quantitative data: self-administered questionnaire surveys and interviewer administered surveys. Within these options, there

are different alternatives for delivering the survey to young people including mail or school based self-administered surveys, and face-to-face or telephone interviewer administered surveys. The suitability of these options depends on the versatility of the research design, complexity of the research problem, the availability of time and resources, the opportunity to control and access the appropriate sample, the quantity of data required, the quality of data that is likely to be obtained, and the likely response rate (Kinnear and Taylor 1991). The main quantitative options are now reviewed according to these criteria:

(i) Self-administered

A common method of conducting quantitative research in marketing is the use of self-administered questionnaires (Procter 1997). Respondents receive a copy of the questionnaire and are invited to complete and record the data on their own. There are two main types of self-administered questionnaire that may be of use when conducting research with young people - postal questionnaires and surveys administered in schools.

Postal

Postal questionnaires involve a questionnaire and explanatory cover letter or instructions being sent to respondents, for completion and return. This necessitates the presence of a suitable and accurate sampling frame including postal address and/or addressee names.

This has the benefit of being a relatively flexible and low cost research method. It also eliminates the potential for interviewer introduced bias.

However, the absence of a suitable sampling frame and the potential for a low response rate are important limiting factors. Non-response error is a major disadvantage of mail surveys (Kinnear and Taylor 1991). This error can be minimised through the use of reminder mail-outs, the inclusion of free post return envelopes or the use of incentives (Reece et al 2000).

As with other self-administered methods, the questionnaire must be easy to complete (Chisnall 1992). Therefore, the use of complex questioning techniques and excessive

routing is not advised. Furthermore, there is limited opportunity to use visual prompts, such as products or show cards. As a result, it is likely that the quality of data obtained from a postal survey will be less than with other methods - respondents are most likely to misinterpret questions or misread instructions for completing particular questions. Some of this error can be minimised through careful piloting, but respondent error is inevitable.

Schools

Another option for conducting research with young people is self-administered interviews conducted within schools (eg. Higgins 1999, Barton and Janis 1997). As with mail surveys, respondents are expected to complete the questionnaires on their own, although it might be possible to have a researcher on hand to answer any questions.

One major benefit of this method is the opportunity for random sampling. In situations where an accurate and accessible sampling frame which details young people's ages, names and addresses are inaccessible, the schools' registers provide the only real alternative. Schools and classes within schools can be randomly selected and surveys administered to whole classes, typically under exam conditions. To ensure confidentiality, respondents can be issued an envelope in which to seal their completed questionnaire prior to collection. To prevent the research being influenced by the teacher-pupil relationship, researchers can be present and take responsibility for issuing and collecting the questionnaires. However, it is also desirable to have teachers present in the room to maintain discipline. This method has been used successfully to measure the drug use behaviour of young people (Stead et al 2000), smoking behaviour (Higgins 1999) or other health behaviours (Currie et al 2000).

This method has certain benefits over postal surveys, in particular there is more opportunity to standardise and control quality. For example, researchers can explain why the research is being conducted, provide advice on how to complete the survey and ensure that there is no conferring. It also has certain benefits over interviewer administered surveys. There is no opportunity for interviewer bias, and it offers a more confidential setting for the collection of sensitive material. However, the school environment may have some impact on the extent to which young people feel confident in revealing taboo or illegal activities, eg. drug-taking.

Furthermore, school surveys are likely to obtain the highest response rates as compared to postal or interviewer administered surveys, although there will inevitably be some losses due to illnesses and absences.

Self-completion school based questionnaires are limited to relatively straightforward questioning styles and minimal use of routing or visual prompts. Where research requires additional probing or other complexities, interviewer administered surveys are more appropriate. A further problem in conducting schools based surveys is found in obtaining access to schools. It is normally necessary to obtain permission from both local education authorities (LEAs) and individual school heads, which can be a potentially lengthy and bureaucratic process. A clear benefit for the school needs to be identified and delivered - eg. top-line data from the survey for each school or other incentive such as computer equipment or books. Having obtained permission, there are additional hurdles to be overcome such as obtaining parental permission and arranging a suitable time and place to conduct the survey.

(ii) Interviewer Administered

The other alternative method of survey administration is for another person to conduct a survey interview with the respondent. This can either be done face-to-face or via the telephone. The relative advantages and benefits of each of these methods is now discussed.

Face-to-Face

In this case personal interviews are conducted with respondents face-to-face. The interviewer, who should be experienced and trained, takes responsibility for the interview schedule (questionnaire) and asks and records the questions (Kinnear and Taylor 1991). Interviews are normally conducted within the respondents' home, although some commercial market research companies may conduct interviews in the street ('intercept interviews'). If a random sampling methodology is being used, intercept interviews are not possible. A random sample of addresses needs to be drawn and interviewers are sent to conduct interviews at these.

Face-to-face interviews have the benefit of being more flexible and able to deal with complex topics. Because the interviewer is responsible for the administration of the survey, there is greater opportunity to use complex routing, use visual prompts and ask more complicated and open-ended questions (Sommer and Sommer 1992).

However, the presence of the interviewer has drawbacks. In particular, respondents may feel the need to respond in socially desirable ways, and may under-estimate or over-estimate behaviours, eg. respondents may under-report alcohol consumption or over-report fruit and vegetable intake. This interviewer bias is an important disadvantage of face-to-face surveys that needs to be addressed (Procter 1997).

Another potential disadvantage of these surveys is the potential time and cost needed to conduct these (Procter 1997, Parasuraman 1992). Interviewers need to be recruited, briefed and managed. The questionnaires need to be carefully coded and edited to monitor and manage any inconsistencies introduced by the interviewers' different style.

If the survey is managed well, using a well designed questionnaire and trained interviewers, it should be possible to obtain a relatively good response rate. The response rate should certainly be better than mail or telephone interviews, but is unlikely to be as good as schools based surveys.

Telephone

The other alternative interviewer administered technique is the use of telephone interviewing. As before, the interviewer assumes responsibility for the questioning and recording of data, but in this case the interview is conducted via the telephone. A sampling frame which lists telephone numbers and names is preferred, although some researchers have introduced an element of randomisation by using computers to randomly generate telephone numbers (random digit dial) (Sommer and Sommer 1991).

This is a popular method in commercial market research due to its economical efficiency. The survey design, administration and data entry can be centralised (Chisnall 1992). This is particularly efficient when computers are used to assist this process (CATI - computer assisted telephone interviewing).

However, there is less opportunity to establish rapport and it is therefore inappropriate for research that demands lengthy or complex interviewing (Procter 1997, Sommer and Sommer 1991). It is also limited to specific populations and by the bias that may be introduced through incomplete sampling frames or non-phone ownership (Sommer and Sommer 1991). Finally, due to the overuse of the telephone for market research and direct selling, many potential respondents have a poor view of such 'cold calling' and the approach is less likely to produce a reasonable response rate (Chisnall 1992).

(iii) Summary of Quantitative Methods

Figure 5.4 below summarises the advantages and disadvantages of the various quantitative options for survey research with young people.

Self-administered surveys include postal or schools based methods. Postal methods are flexible, low cost and preclude interviewer bias. However, they need to be simple and easy to complete and tend to produce relatively low response rates. Schools based surveys produce highest response rates, but as with other self-administered surveys need to be designed around simple questioning methods. As a result of this limitation, self-administered surveys were not considered to be a viable option for this study. Obtaining responses to tobacco related marketing communications requires that visual prompts be shown to respondents and the range of tobacco marketing communications is difficult to express in simple terms. An interviewer-administered survey has the benefit of being able to use visual prompts and more complex questioning. Open-ended questions can be used, as the interviewer can prompt the respondent for more depth answers and can ensure that all relevant details are recorded consistently. Therefore, an interviewer administered survey was selected.

Telephone surveys were rejected. A suitable sampling frame is generally not available for this type of social research, as it precludes interviewing young people whose parents do not have a telephone or whose numbers are not recorded in telephone directories. Furthermore, telephone interviews are best suited to quick and simple research, and research conducted with adults.

Therefore, interviewer administered surveys were selected for the quantitative stage of the research.

Figure 5.4: Advantages and Disadvantages of Quantitative Methods

| Method | Advantages | Disadvantages |
|--|---|---|
| Self-Administered: Postal | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Flexible. • Low cost. • No interviewer bias. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to sampling frame. • Non-response error. • Must be easy to complete and contain no complex questions or routing. • No visual prompts. • Less opportunity for quality control. • Low response rates. |
| Self-Administered: Schools | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunity for random sampling. • Can standardise and control quality. • Relatively cheap to administer. • No interviewer bias. • High response rates. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Must be easy to complete and contain no complex questions or routing. • No visual prompts. • Need to obtain access to schools. • Need to arrange practical issues - time and space. |
| Interviewer Administered: Interviewer | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complex and lengthy questionnaires. • Routing and visual prompts possible. • Opportunity to establish rapport. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can be expensive. • Interviewer bias. |
| Interviewer Administered: Telephone | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic. • Quick and efficient. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Short and simple questionnaires only. • Incomplete sampling frames (eg. ex-directory numbers). • Bias though non-telephone ownership. • Potential poor response rate. |

5.4 Overview of Selected Research Design

To understand if and how tobacco marketing communication influences young people, a mixed methods approach was taken. This involved an initial qualitative stage of focus groups and was followed by a quantitative consumer survey. This permitted both the flexibility to explore and assess new ideas, and the rigour to test the emergent hypotheses. It also provided an opportunity to triangulate the data.

In the first stage of the research, focus groups were conducted to explore young people's awareness of and response to tobacco related marketing communications. This approach followed tried and tested procedures used to research tobacco advertising and was also in accordance with communication theory (McQuail 1994), which suggests that it is the message as received, rather than as sent, that ultimately matters. This research produced qualitative data of the relative impact of tobacco related marketing communications on young smokers, and produced hypotheses (summarised in the research framework described in Chapter 7) which were tested in the quantitative survey. The research was conducted with 12 to 15 year olds, including those who smoked and did not smoke.

Focus groups were selected as they had particular benefits for the research. They provided an informal, relaxed atmosphere in which to discuss sensitive issues (eg. underage smoking). The group context allowed the respondents to generate ideas from each other and provided rich data on the research topic. It also provided a vehicle through which participants selected their own agenda, and ensured the research did not solely reflect the bias of the researcher.

The qualitative research should be seen as a discrete stage of research that uncovers important findings about the young people's responses to tobacco related marketing communications. However, this work was also used to develop hypotheses that were tested quantitatively.

Quantitative survey methods were used to determine the prevalence and impact of tobacco marketing communications on young people, and to assess how these effects occurred. Hypotheses were developed which summarised the potential relationship between tobacco marketing communications, brand beliefs, smoking attitudes and smoking behaviour.

To test this model, a large-scale quantitative survey was conducted in the North East of England with a stratified random sample of 629 young people. This was administered by professional market research interviewers in the respondents' homes by means of a face-to-face interview, accompanied by a short self-completion section. This, on the one hand, made it possible to use relatively complex questioning procedures involving visual

prompts and open-ended questions, and on the other provided a sensitive, confidential means to collect data on smoking behaviour. The research was conducted only with those at the key age for smoking initiation, ie. 15 to 16 years (Higgins 1999).

The following sections describe the execution of the qualitative and quantitative methods. Section 5.5 describes the qualitative stage, and Section 5.6 the quantitative. In each section, attention is paid to the purpose of the method, sample selection, recruitment and administration, questioning styles and methods, and analysis.

5.5 Stage One: Qualitative Methodology

5.5.1 Purpose

Qualitative consumer research was conducted with adolescents aged 12 to 15 years. It was used to *explore* if and how young people responded to tobacco marketing communications. Specifically it explored:

- Young people's awareness, appreciation and involvement with tobacco related marketing communications.
- The relationship between awareness, appreciation and involvement with tobacco-related marketing communications and smoking behaviour and/or smoking intentions.
- The relationship between smoking behaviour and brand perceptions.

The findings of this stage provided important qualitative descriptions of young people's responses to tobacco marketing communications and were used to inform the theoretical framework of the research, the design of quantitative measures and the hypotheses.

5.5.2 Sample

Fourteen focus groups were conducted with young people, aged 12 to 15 years. As qualitative research is not concerned with testing theory, but rather developing it, qualitative samples are not randomly generated representations of the population. Qualitative research is purposively sampled to reflect relevant positions so that the implications of these different positions on the research topic can be observed (Morgan 1988). Participants within focus groups should be as similar as possible in demographic or other relevant behavioural characteristics to ensure a cohesive group (Asbury 1995). The relevant sub-groups are represented using a quota sample method.

The sample incorporated five quota sample variables: gender, age, socio-economic group, smoking status and geographic location. Each of these variables has known implications for smoking behaviour and are discussed in turn below.

- *Gender:* Smoking prevalence amongst adolescent girls has increased over recent years. Recent research found that 12% of female 11-15 year olds smoked regularly (at least one cigarette a week) compared to 9% of males (Barton 1997). There are also important gender differences for adult smokers in terms of smoking prevalence, consumption and addiction (Thomas et al 1997).
- *Age:* Smoking prevalence increases with age. The prevalence of regular smoking increases from less than 1% of 11 years olds to 26% of 15 year olds (Barton 1997). Although age 15 is the key age for onset, it was important to examine a broader age range in the qualitative research, ie. from 12 to 15 years, in order to understand young people's involvement with tobacco marketing communications at different stages of the initiation process.
- *Socio-economic group:* Socio-economic group also has important implications for smoking prevalence and cessation. Economic deprivation is associated with greater prevalence of smoking (Dong and Erens 1997, Marsh and MacKay 1994) and with greater difficulty in giving up smoking (Marsh and MacKay 1994).

- *Smoking status:* Smoking behaviour is associated with differences in attitudes and beliefs about smoking. For example, Barton and Janis (1997) found that young smokers were more likely than non-smokers to agree with positive statements about smoking, including 'smoking helps people to relax', 'smoking gives people confidence', 'smoking helps people to stay slimmer'. Responses to tobacco related marketing communications are expected to differ by experience of smoking. It was believed to be important to conduct research with young non-smokers, to understand the relative importance of tobacco marketing communications for young smokers.

In this type of research, the group is the fundamental unit of analysis. Therefore, it is important to conduct enough groups to represent the views of the different sub-groups and to ensure that it is not simply the unique interaction of a particular group of respondents that is being observed (Morgan 1988). Others have suggested that 3 or 4 groups with any one type of participant is acceptable, and will avoid saturation (Krueger and Casey 2000). Therefore, fourteen groups were believed to be sufficient to obtain the views of the different sub-groups, according to the age, gender and smoking status specifications.

Of the 14 focus groups, 7 were conducted with males and 7 with females. The groups were skewed towards 15 year old respondents as this is key age at which smoking prevalence begins to resemble adult patterns (Jarvis 1997). However, it was also believed to be important to explore the views of younger children, to understand the process of initiation. Thus, 2 groups were conducted with 12 year olds, 2 with 13 year olds, 2 with 14 year olds and 8 with 15 year olds. Half of the groups were conducted with smokers and half with non-smokers.

A breakdown of the sample for the focus groups follows (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Focus Group Sample Breakdown

| Group No | Gender | Age | Socio-economic Group | Smoking Status |
|----------|--------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------|
| 1 | Male | 12 [*] | C2DE | Smokers |
| 2 | Female | 12 | ABC1 | Non-smokers |
| 3 | Male | 13 [†] | ABC1 | Smokers |
| 4 | Female | 13 | C2DE | Non-smokers |
| 5 | Male | 14 [‡] | ABC1 | Non-smokers |
| 6 | Female | 14 | C2DE | Smokers |
| 7 | Male | 15 [§] | C2DE | Smokers |
| 8 | Male | 15 | ABC1 | Non-smokers |
| 9 | Male | 15 | ABC1 | Non-smokers |
| 10 | Male | 15 | C2DE | Smokers |
| 11 | Female | 15 | ABC1 | Non-smokers |
| 12 | Female | 15 | C2DE | Smokers |
| 13 | Female | 15 | C2DE | Non-smokers |
| 14 | Female | 15 | ABC1 | Smokers |

* Smoker status for 12 year olds defined as, "I sometimes smoke cigarettes, but not as many as one a week".

† Smoker status for 13 year olds defined as, "I sometimes smoke cigarettes, but not as many as one a week".

‡ Smoker status for 14 year olds defined as, "I smoke one or more cigarettes a week".

§ Smoker status for 15 year olds defined as, "I smoke one or more cigarettes a week".

The dynamics of discussion are maximised when the group contains between 6 to 8 respondents (Krueger and Casey 2000, Asbury 1995, Morgan 1988). Larger groups carry

the risk of 'social loafing' where respondents feel they can avoid participation, as the discussion can easily be continued by the other members (Lantane et al 1979). They are also more difficult to control and limit each person's opportunity to contribute (Krueger and Casey 2000). Consequently, 8 respondents were recruited for each focus group, and in all cases between 6 and 8 respondents were included in each group discussion.

5.5.3 Recruitment

The groups were recruited by professional market research qualitative recruiters. In comparison to other recruitment strategies, such as advertisements in local newspapers or public places, this method is quicker, more economical and reliable (Hastings 1990b). They were instructed to recruit respondents with the assistance of a short recruitment questionnaire (see Appendix 1). Typically, the recruiters located young people near schools or in housing schemes, where young people were believed to live. The local police and schools were informed of the research, and their permission was sought. Furthermore, parental permission was sought in all cases before the young people were included in the groups. In order to facilitate recruitment, the respondents were offered a small incentive (£10). This is in line with standard market research practice for research with this age group.

As smoking prevalence amongst 12 and 13 year olds is relatively low (Higgins 1999 et al estimate the regular smoking prevalence of these age group as 1% and 2% respectively) and smokers of this age are more reluctant to admit their behaviour, the definition of 'smoker' was relaxed to include occasional smokers and regular smokers. The 14 and 15 year old groups included only regular smokers.

The recruiters were instructed not to recruit respondents in a group of friends. They were also not to have attended any more than three group discussions in the past. The adolescent respondents were required to obtain parental permission and to bring signed parental release forms to the discussion group.

The recruitment questionnaire served two useful purposes. First, it served to disguise the health-related focus of the groups. Previous experience suggests that when young people

anticipate the likely public health focus of research, they either feel alienated, or become 'helpful respondents' and produce what they anticipate to be the 'right answers'. Secondly, it was used to ensure that the sub-groups were recruited according to the correct socio-demographic and smoking criteria.

5.5.4 Discussion Strategy

The development of a well thoughtout discussion strategy is essential to the success of focus group research (Krueger and Casey 2000, Morgan 1988). While a good questioning procedure looks simple, it should have a number of key qualities. Krueger and Casey (2000) identified the importance of a discussion strategy which includes: an easy beginning that will encourage everyone in the group to participate; a logical sequence which flows from general issues to specific questions; and, enough time to focus on the key issues. Morgan (1988) also observed the importance of having a well-planned discussion guide that naturally progresses between overlapping topics. Furthermore, Asbury (1995) highlighted the importance of beginning the group discussion with simple topics which are of importance to the respondents, and Payne (1976) and Axelrod (1975) reiterated the importance of moving from the general to the specific.

A non-directive approach is the essence of questioning in focus groups. In general, direct questions do not allow respondents to engage with each other and can inhibit unaffected discussion or 'toying' with ideas (Morgan 1988, Templeton 1976). Direct questions also invite superficial or socially acceptable answers to questions, which demand more subconscious or non-verbal responses. Questions should be open and indirect and involve probes (sub-questions) to prevent discussion wandering from the point or to help articulate ideas (Krueger 1996, Asbury 1995, Robson 1989).

The moderator plays an essential role in the success of the focus group. Cox et al (1976, p77) note that, "*the moderator's objective is to focus the discussion on the relevant subject areas in a non-directive manner*". The moderator must create a relaxed and non-critical atmosphere for discussion, lead the discussion in a non-directive way and ensure the participation of all members of the group (McDougall 1999, Morgan 1995). This

necessitates the careful use of questions, pauses, probes, projective techniques and body language (Krueger 1996, Will et al 1996).

Projective techniques are an essential component of focus group research. These are used to help respondents reveal non-verbal aspects of communication and to help elucidate entrenched attitudes and beliefs (Will et al 1990). Examples include: word association, sentence-completion, role-playing, cartoon-completion, mapping, choice ordering and personification (Krueger and Casey 2000, Will et al 1990). Word association involves presenting particular words to respondents and recording the thoughts or other words that the respondent associates with this. A variation on this requires respondents to complete half-finished sentences. In role playing, the respondent is presented with a particular situation, either verbally or visually. They are instructed to assume the role of a third party to this situation and are instructed to describe how a typical person might respond to this situation. The indirect nature of this technique allows the respondent some freedom and safety within which to reveal beliefs or feelings about this situation. Cartoon completion operates in a similar way. Instead of assuming the third person in a particular situation, they are asked to complete the drawing by adding a thought or speech bubble to the characters. Other techniques involve asking respondents to rate the importance or relevance of particular concepts or objects (mapping and choice ordering), eg. asking them to rate the importance of information which could be contained on food labels. Finally, personification involves asking respondents to create a personality or character for objects, eg. cars, cigarette brands or companies. This is particularly useful for gaining an understanding of the meaning attached to objects and their use, and for understanding brand imagery.

With these principles in mind, a discussion guide was developed which began with general issues and moved to specific topics. The group discussion was structured around five broad themes: marketing communications, brands and popular brands, tobacco marketing communications, cigarette brands and popular brands and smoking attitudes and behaviour. Use was made of various projective techniques and indirect questioning styles. A copy of the discussion guide is given in Appendix 2. The author conducted all fourteen focus groups.

The discussion was designed as follows:

The moderator introduced the topic (respondents were told the research was an academic study of products and promotions), the style of research, and the use of the tape-recorder. Respondents were invited to ask questions at this point.

The discussion began with a general discussion of their life-styles, friends, leisure activities, part-time jobs and shopping habits. In particular, the focus was on style and preferred brands.

Attention then turned to brands in particular, eg. clothing, food, retail, tobacco and alcohol brands to explore their awareness, appreciation and sensitivity to branding (see Appendix 3). Respondents were asked to place brands on a two-dimensional grid according to 'like'/'dislike', and 'for someone like me'/'not for someone like me' scales. They discussed the positioning of brands and the criteria for comparing brands.

The discussion then moved from brands to how these are communicated. The groups focused on awareness, appreciation, appropriateness (targeting) of various forms of marketing communications, eg. direct mail, sampling, merchandising, couponing, the internet, sales promotions, advertising and sponsorship. At a relevant point in the discussion attention turned to tobacco related marketing communications, and their awareness, appreciation and involvement with various forms of these were discussed in a similar way. Examples of forms of tobacco marketing were used as stimulus materials.

Attention then turned to cigarette branding imagery and preferences. Brand awareness and preferences were explored through brand personification and mapping exercises.

Smoking behaviour and attitudes were then explored in detail. This included discussion of first smoking experiences and expectations, current smoking behaviour, smoking attitudes, beliefs, and the social and familial context of smoking.

The groups were conducted in informal venues. Most were conducted in either community centres or the recruiters' own homes. This provided a more relaxed and neutral context for the discussion (Green and Hart 1999). The recruiter was present to

provide a familiar face to meet the respondents and assemble them. She/he also helped to ensure that the respondents had suitable travel arrangements and obtained parental consent.

5.5.5 Analysis

Qualitative analysis is entirely different from quantitative analysis (Asbury 1995). Responses are not counted and compared, but the emphasis is on identifying and understanding the context of responses. Given the volume of data that can be generated by qualitative analysis, it is inherently complex, and one of the main jobs is coding and interpreting this (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999, Hastings 1990b). Analysis should be conducted during as well as after the fieldwork (Krueger 1996). Field notes taken during and shortly after the focus groups are important, but transcripts of the focus group discussions are the fundamental data for analysis (Broughton 1991).

Analysis of focus groups involves preparing the transcripts, and then systematically relating the data to key objectives and research questions, and seeking patterns and relationships in the key themes that are identified. As the unit of analysis in general, is the group, an important balance must be struck between the consensus of the group, and the dissent within groups (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999). To reduce and analyse the results, the data is indexed or coded, according to key and emergent themes. Each section of the text is assigned any number of relevant codes in a cyclical process of exploration of the data and identification of codes (Miles and Huberman 1994). Analysis involves continual interaction with the data (Tesch 1990).

Counting the number of times a theme emerges is a naive approach to qualitative analysis. Instead careful attention should be paid to the types of response and their context, as well as the nature of consensus within and between groups (Morgan 1995). It is essential to understand the context in which comments are made in the group (Asbury 1995). Therefore, having indexed the data, it is important not to simply count the frequency of their occurrence, but to determine the essential features or the construction of key themes (Tesch 1990). This is an intellectually demanding process, but is the defining characteristic of inductive research.

Software programmes have been developed which can assist with qualitative analysis (Lee and Fielding 1991, Tesch 1991, Tesch 1990). These programmes do not conduct the analysis, but are useful tools for managing, coding, and retrieving data analysis (Lee and Fielding 1991, Tesch 1991, Tesch 1990). Therefore, they can be economical and efficient tools (Tesch 1991). It was decided that a computerised software tool would be used to analyse the focus groups. Given the large amount of data that fourteen focus groups would generate (around 25 hours of transcripts), the software would provide a more efficient means to manage this data.

The group discussions were audio-taped with the respondents' permission and then transcribed for analysis using QSR NUDIST Version 3.0. The full transcripts were formatted and introduced into NUDIST as on-line documents, where they were coded and indexed. An index system of the key themes and concepts was created by exploring the data, interpreting the key findings and exploring their relationships. Concepts were mapped graphically using an 'index tree', and the code-book developed as a result was used to code the findings.

The analysis was conducted in three stages. First, the documents were explored and the text coded to the key themes, called 'nodes' in the Index system. This first level of analysis examined the objective findings relating to awareness, appreciation and involvement with communications and perceptions of brands. Then, these nodes were analysed to explore and interpret the findings from the first stage. Additional codes were defined and indexed as a result, eg. attributes of popular cigarette brands. Finally, the relationship between the key concepts was explored using the searching and retrieval facilities.

This analysis generated hypotheses that were tested in the following stage of research.

5.5.6 Development of Hypotheses

A hypothesis is “*a testable proposition*” (Sommer and Sommer 1990). One of the important outcomes of the qualitative stage of the research was the development of hypotheses that were then tested in the quantitative phase. To develop an acceptable theory that explains how tobacco marketing communications may influence young smokers, it is necessary to test the proposed relationships between tobacco marketing communications and young smokers’ behaviour. The scientific testing of relationships necessitates development of hypotheses (Black 1999, Sommer and Sommer 1992, Kinnear and Taylor 1991, Hartman and Hedbloom 1979). Hartman and Hedbloom cite Stephens (1968) who states that the hypothesis is the essential unit or building block from which more sophisticated or complicated analysis evolves. Black (1999) argues that the development of knowledge is a cyclical process - theories grow and evolve through the process of defining and testing hypotheses.

There are a number of different types of hypotheses, according to its level of abstraction (Hartman and Hedbloom 1979). A ‘general hypotheses’ (GH) expresses the hypothesised relationship between two variables at a high level of abstraction, for example:

GH ‘young people’s smoking behaviour will be related to tobacco marketing communications’.

An ‘operational hypotheses’ (OH) is a more specific and less abstract expression of this, for example:

OH ‘young current smokers will be more aware of tobacco marketing communications than young non-smokers’.

However, neither the general nor operational hypotheses can be scientifically proved (Black 1999, Diamantopoulos and Schlegelmilch 1997, Hartman and Hedbloom 1979). Statistical tests can be used to help understand whether relationships occur due to some causal relationship, or whether they occur by chance (Black 1999, Diamantopoulos and Schlegelmilch 1997, Tabachnick and Fidell 1983). However, they cannot prove that

these relationships occur universally in every case (Black 1999, Diamantopoulos and Schlegelmilch 1997). For example, if we hypothesised that liking cigarette advertisements was related to being a current smoker, a survey might find that in 9 times out of 10, those young people who were current smokers also liked cigarette advertisements. However, because in 1 out of 10 cases this hypothesis was not true, the hypothesis would have to be rejected.

To cope with this problem, 'null hypotheses' (H_0) are developed, and it is these that are evaluated in hypothesis testing (Kinnear and Taylor 1991). These are null expressions of the statement of hypotheses (Diamantopoulos and Schlegelmilch 1997, Hartman and Hedbloom 1979). For example, the null form of the operational hypothesis stated previously would be:

H_0 'young current smokers will be less or equally aware of tobacco marketing communications than young non-smokers'.

Hypotheses cannot be proved, it can only be concluded that there is enough evidence to reject the null hypotheses (Diamantopoulos and Schlegelmilch 1997, Kinnear and Taylor 1991). In other words, the process of hypothesis testing involves disproving and rejecting null hypotheses.

The qualitative findings suggested a number of hypotheses that were expressed as null hypotheses and tested in quantitative survey (the hypotheses are derived in Chapter 7).

5.6 Stage Two: Quantitative Methodology

5.6.1 Purpose

The quantitative survey measured the statistical significance of the hypotheses developed as a result of the qualitative research. These hypotheses were derived from the research framework (see Chapter 7), and describe the relationship between tobacco marketing communications, beliefs about smoking, brand perceptions and smoking behaviour.

To test the research framework, the operational hypotheses were expressed as null hypothesis, as follows:

Operational Hypotheses

H1: All things being equal, young people who are more aware of tobacco marketing communications will be more likely to be current smokers

H2: All things being equal, young people who have more positive beliefs about smoking will be more likely to be current smokers.

H3: All things being equal, young people who have more positive brand perceptions for the 'key youth brand' will be more likely to be current smokers.

Null Hypotheses

H1₀: All things being equal, young people who are more aware of tobacco marketing communications will be less or equally likely to be current smokers

H2₀: All things being equal, young people who have more positive beliefs about smoking will be less or equally likely to be current smokers.

H3₀: All things being equal, young people who have more positive brand perceptions for the 'key youth brand' will be less or equally likely to be current smokers.

5.6.2 Sample Administration and Recruitment

In order to draw generalisations from the research, the acquisition of a reliable sample of respondents was essential (Kinneer and Taylor 1991, Backstrom and Hursch-Cesar 1981). A probability sample, where each respondent has a known chance of being selected for the research, is the most rigorous type of sample (Robson 1993, Kinneer and Taylor 1991, Backstrom and Hursch-Cesar 1981). Probability samples are preferred because: they reduce the amount of bias introduced through selecting respondents to participate; the amount of error due to sampling can be calculated; and, the degree of confidence that estimates are within a range of precision can be determined, allowing the use of a range of statistics (Kinneer and Taylor 1991, Backstrom and Hursch-Cesar 1981,). Non-probability samples are most appropriate when the purpose of the research is not to make generalisations (Grosf and Sardy 1985).

There are four main types of probability procedures: simple random sampling, stratified random sampling, systematic and cluster sampling (Kumar et al 1999, Sapsford and Jupp 1996, Robson 1993, Kinneer and Taylor 1991, Parasuraman 1991, Grosf and Sardy 1985, Hartman and Hedbloom 1979).

The simple random sample is the procedure where each person in the survey has a known equal and independent chance of being selected for the research (Sapsford and Jupp 1996, Parasuraman 1991, Hartman and Hedbloom 1979). This can be done by assigning numbers to each respondent or unit in the population ('sampling frame'), and simply randomly selecting each unit one at a time, using for example, a table of random numbers (Sapsford and Jupp 1996, Parasuraman 1991).

Stratified random sampling involves dividing the sample into particular groups ('strata'), according to particular characteristics, eg. age or gender, and randomly sampling from within these strata (Sapsford and Jupp 1996, Robson 1993). This can allow you to disproportionately over-sample a particular group of people whose characteristics are important for the research ('disproportional stratified sampling'), eg. smoking status (Kumar et al 1999, Robson 1993, Parasuraman 1991). This may be useful when the naturally occurring prevalence of this characteristic would not yield a sample size large enough for statistical analysis (Kumar et al 1999). This method of sampling also offers a stronger sampling distribution and lower sampling error than simple random sampling (Parasuraman 1991).

A systematic random sample, the sample is generated from the sampling frame by selecting every k th element after a random start point within the first k elements (Kumar et al 1999, Robson 1993, Kinnear and Taylor 1991, Hartman and Hedbloom 1979). The number of possible samples that can be generated from the sampling frame is equal to the sampling interval (k). This method has the benefit of being simple and easy to execute (Kumar et al 1999, Kinnear and Taylor 1991, Grosf and Sardy 1985). However, it can produce a biased sample if the elements in the sampling frame contain characteristics that repeat cyclically (Kumar et al 1999, Kinnear and Taylor 1991, Grosf and Sardy 1985).

The last main type of probability sampling is cluster sampling. This involves dividing the population into smaller units or clusters. The clusters are chosen at random, and then sub-groups within the population are then selected (Robson 1993, Backstrom and Hursh-Cesar 1981, Hartman and Hedbloom 1979). This is useful when accurate sampling frames are not available (Kumar et al 1999, Backstrom and Hursh-Cesar 1981), or when the population is large and widely dispersed, eg. schools (Robson 1993). This technique has

the benefit of reducing the cost of sampling, but carries the risk of increasing sampling error (Sapsford and Jupp 1996).

An accurate sampling frame of young people was available for this study. As young smokers, who form a minority of the sample population of 15 year olds, were of particular interest in this study, a disproportionate stratified random sampling approach was chosen. This approach enabled the rigour of a random sampling strategy to be maintained, while it also permitted the opportunity to boost the number of young smokers that occurred in the final sample.

The Newcastle and North Tyneside 'Patient Registration Database' formed the sample frame. Due to changes in health authority policy during the research programme, access to the sampling frame could only be obtained following the approval of the Newcastle and North Tyneside Health Authority Ethics Committee. Ideally an 'opt-out' methodology would have been used, where the names and addresses would be released to the University and respondents, when approached on the doorstep, would have the opportunity to refuse to participate. However, the Ethical Committee granted approval on the understanding that certain modifications were made to the protocol. Primarily, they insisted on an 'opt-in' methodology: ie. potential respondents had to agree to participate in the research before their names were released to the University.

As a consequence, the process of generating a boosted sample of young people who had consented to participate in the research was complex and had to be conducted in two stages:

In the first stage, a proportionate stratified random sample of young people aged fifteen (on 1st September 1999, ie born between 2.9.83 and 1.9.84), stratified by post-code and gender was generated. A mailing inviting participation was sent to 2,400 young people. This allowed for an estimated 50% response rate, 35% ineligible or inaccurate addresses, and an occurrence of regular smoking in 30% of the sample. The total number of required mail-outs was over-estimated to yield a sufficiently large number of young smokers in those who consented to participate. The over-estimated sample was anticipated to yield a surplus number of young non-smokers, which would then be randomly de-selected.

The mail-out explained the research and invited participation and consent. It included: a brief questionnaire which established smoking status; information materials for young people; consent form to be signed by parent/guardian; and free-post return envelopes (see Appendix 4). Two reminders were sent out at fortnightly intervals, before the final consenting sample of young people was generated.

The surplus non-smokers were then randomly de-selected via a simple random sampling procedure, using a table of random numbers. The result was a sample of young people who had consented 'yes' to the research, including disproportionate number of smokers.

This process was conducted between November 1998 and October 1999, and is summarised below:

Nov 1998 - Feb 1999: Ethical Committee review the protocol and approved the research subject to the use of opt-in methodology.

Mar 1999 - June 1999: Negotiation with the health authority, to obtain access to sampling frame and to arrange the mail-out.

July 1999: Health Authority drew a stratified random sample from all postcodes in the health authority area. A total of 2,400 15 year olds stratified by postcode and gender were drawn. This allowed for an estimated 50% response rate, 35% ineligible addresses, 30% smoking rate.

Aug - Sept 1999: A mail-out containing: a cover letter, information sheet, consent form, brief questionnaire (to establish smoking status), and return envelope (to Health Authority) was sent from the Health Authority (see Appendix 3). Two reminders followed the first mail-out at fortnightly intervals - the first contained a reminder letter, and the second, a copy of all documents sent in the first mailing.

Oct 1999: The names and addresses of those respondents who had consented to participate were sent to the University. The 'excess' sample of non-smokers were randomly deselected, using a table of random numbers.

A total of 1,062 people consented 'yes' they would like to take part in the research, this represented 44% of the young people initially contacted. A further 8% requested not to take part in the research, and 7% were returned undelivered or too late to be included in the sample. The response to the consent process is detailed below (Table 5.2):

Table 5.2: Response Rate for Consent Process

| | Young People 2,400 |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Yes | 44% (1062) |
| No | 8% (193) |
| Returned Undelivered | 7% (163) |
| Returned Late | <1 (6) |
| No Response | 41% (976) |

Of the 1062 young people who consented to participate, 214 claimed to be current smokers and 825 claimed to be non-smokers. The smoking status of the remaining 23 young people could not be readily ascertained. Other studies have shown that around one in five fifteen year olds smoke regularly (eg. Higgins 1999) and in this sample 20% were regular smokers, 78% were not regular smokers and 2% did not state their smoking status.

Of the 825 non-smoking young people, 373 were randomly deselected using random numbers to obtain a final sample of 452 non-smokers. A further 3 were excluded because it was decided that evidence of parental consent having been given was ambiguous. The final sample allocated to the interviewers follows (Table 5.3):

Table 5.3: Final Allocated Sample

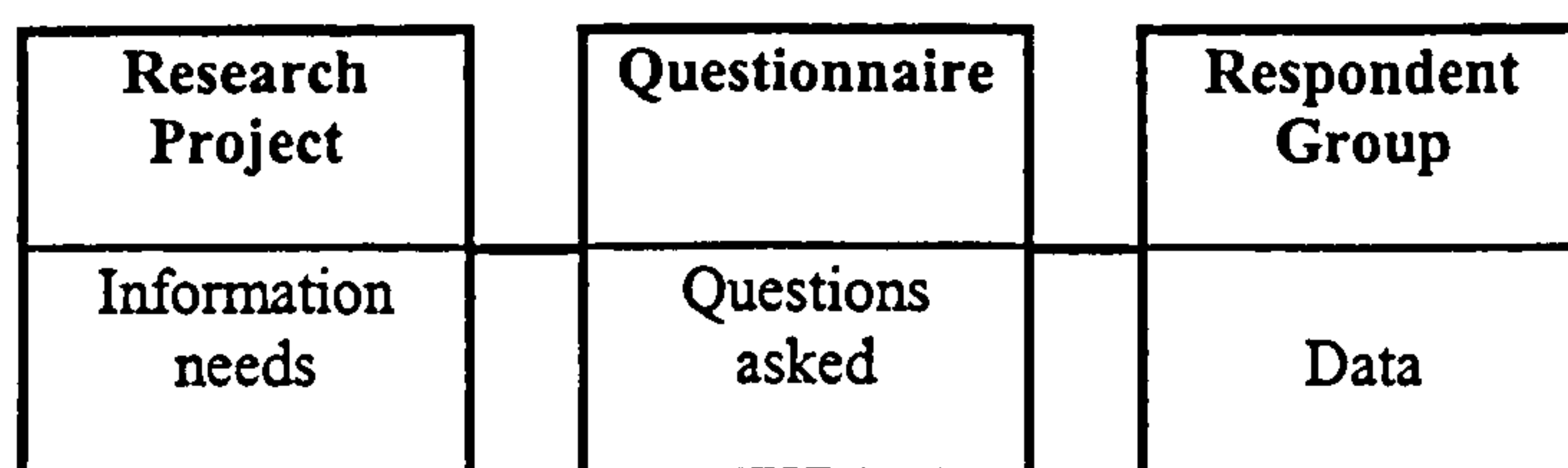
| | Young People | | | Total Young People |
|--------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| | Smoking Status | | | |
| | <i>Smoker</i> | <i>Non-smoker</i> | <i>Don't Know</i> | |
| Female | 139 | 256 | 9 | 404 |
| Male | 75 | 196 | 11 | 282 |
| Total | 214 | 452 | 20 | 686 |

5.6.3 Questionnaire Development

A questionnaire has been defined as, “a formalised schedule for collecting data from respondents” (Kinnear and Taylor 1991, p336). Questionnaires are used to measure respondents’ knowledge, attitudes, opinions, behaviours and characteristics. However, there are numerous alternative methods of measuring these features, of which some are more accurate and reliable than others, according to the needs of the data and characteristics of the respondents (Hartman and Hedbloom 1979). Error that occurs as a result of questionnaire design (‘measurement error’) is a significant hurdle in quantitative research (Kinnear and Taylor 1991). However, measurement error can be reduced through careful attention to the types of questions and scales included in questionnaires. Furthermore, questionnaire design can be tested and improved through pilot work. This section provides a brief overview of the development of the quantitative measures, including the selection of question types and the process of developing and refining these.

The development of the questions should be driven by the information needs of the research (Fink and Kosecoff 1998, Kinnear and Taylor 1991). Kinnear and Taylor (1991) summarise the way in which information needs should drive the data collection process, see Figure 5.5:

Figure 5.5: Information Needs - Data Linkage



Source: Kinnear TC, Taylor JR (1991). *Marketing Research: An Applied Approach*, 4th Edition. New York: McGraw Hill, pp340.

Kinnear and Taylor’s model emphasises the importance of developing a questionnaire driven by the precise needs of the research. The research aims and objectives should be used to develop a series of information needs, and questions are specifically designed to

meet these needs. This avoids the temptation to write interesting, but irrelevant or poorly conceived questions.

The research aims (see Section 5.2) and null hypotheses (see Section 5.6.1) were used to develop a list of information needs, summarised below:

- Awareness of tobacco related marketing communications.
- Appreciation and involvement with tobacco related marketing communications.
- Awareness, appreciation and perceptions of key cigarette brands.
- Smoking related attitudes, behaviour and future intentions.
- Other influences on smoking, eg. peer smoking behaviour, sibling and parent smoking behaviour, and socio-demographics.

The information needs were then used to divide the questionnaire into six main sections (the interviewer administered and self-completion questionnaires are included in Appendices 5 and 6 respectively):

- *'Marketing in General'*: This section concerned awareness, appreciation and involvement with marketing in general. This was used as an introduction, and provided important background information on the accessibility of various forms of marketing to young people.
- *'Tobacco Marketing'*: This section collected data concerning awareness, appreciation and involvement, with tobacco marketing. Key questions were developed to measure respondents awareness, appreciation, and involvement (where physical action on the part of the consumers is required) of tobacco marketing.
- *'Packaging and Branding'*: Concerned responses to four key cigarette brands and collected data on brand imagery, perceptions of packaging and awareness/appreciation of advertising for these four key brands. The four key brands included a premium brand known to be popular with youth people, a mid-price brand known to be popular with young people, an economy brand and a

premium brand unknown to the young people. This section also included measures of spontaneous brand awareness.

- *'Smoking'*: This involved measures of smoking attitudes and beliefs for young people.
- *'Demographics'*: This involved measures for demographic characteristics and was used in analysis to help interpret results.
- *'Self-Completion'*: This was used to collect data on the young people's smoking behaviour and intentions. This included measures of smoking prevalence, consumption, future smoking intentions, the smoking behaviour of significant others and cigarette brand preferences.

Having identified the key information needs required from the questionnaire, the appropriateness of different question styles and scales to meet these needs was assessed. This was done through questionnaire piloting. Questionnaire design should be an iterative process, where checks and revisions are continually made to the design before the questionnaire is finalised (Parasuraman 1991). A questionnaire pilot is used to assess the relevance, appropriateness, reliability and validity of the questions, and the ease of administering the survey (Fink and Kosecoff 1998). Pilot work is done by trial administration of the questionnaire with respondents who are most like those who will ultimately complete the survey (Fink and Kosecoff 1998).

Further qualitative research was conducted to develop, pilot and refine the quantitative measures. Initially, six focus groups were conducted to explore young people's ability to answer particular questioning styles and to develop scales and items for questions (see Table 5.4). After this qualitative work, a draft version of the questionnaire was constructed which underwent further testing and refining. Ten 'observational depth interviews' were conducted. This initially involved the researcher observing a series of the interviews led by professional market research interviewers. These were used to assess the respondents' comprehension of and interest in the interview and to understand the interviewers' approach to the survey. At the end of each observation, a depth interview was conducted with the respondent, to further explore their comprehension of

each question. The overall approach permitted assessment of comprehension, flow, balance and length of the interview and were important in 'fine-tuning' the questionnaire.

Table 5.4 Breakdown of Focus Group Sample for Quantitative Pilot

| No | Gender | Age | Socio-economic group | Smoking status |
|----|--------|-----|----------------------|----------------|
| 1 | Female | 15 | C2DE | Smoker |
| 2 | Female | 15 | ABC1 | Smoker |
| 3 | Female | 15 | C2DE | Non-smoker |
| 4 | Male | 15 | ABC1 | Smoker |
| 5 | Male | 15 | C2DE | Smoker |
| 6 | Male | 15 | ABC1 | Non-smoker |

The findings from the pilot focus groups and observations were used to select and refine the question styles. This is discussed below:

Questions can be either open or closed. Open questions invite respondents to answer in their own words, while closed questions provide a series of alternative answers. Open questions offer the opportunity for the interviewer to probe and obtain more in-depth responses, but then require coding before they can be analysed (Fink and Kosecoff 1998, Parasuraman 1991). The number of open-ended questions was limited to those situations where it was difficult or undesirable to offer the young people a finite list of potential responses. Therefore, open-ended questions were found to be essential when asking questions on awareness of advertising, other forms of tobacco-related marketing communications or cigarette brands (see, questions 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 16 part 2, 18). In other cases, closed question styles were used.

Closed questions involve offering a question, statement or proposition, followed by a series of alternative answers (Fink and Kosecoff 1998). Therefore, it is essential that they are designed in a way that is meaningful and offers the relevant alternative answers (Fink and Kosecoff 1998). Closed questions are of two main forms: dichotomous questions that offer 2 alternatives, eg. 'yes' or 'no'; or, multiple category questions which offer more than two alternative answers (Sapsford and Jupp 1996, Parasuraman 1991). Dichotomous questions were used when asking young people about their contact with tobacco related marketing communications. It was found that young people find it difficult to distinguish between the different types of marketing and so great effort was

taken to find descriptions of marketing that the young people could understand. They were then asked about each form of tobacco marketing individually, as this was the best method to avoid confusion or repetition.

However, in most cases the questions required more complex responses than simple 'yes' or 'no', and it was found that in most questions, a multiple-response style was appropriate. As a number of questions were required to explore attitudes, beliefs and perceptions (eg. of brands), young people's ability to answer various attitude scales were explored. Likert scales and semantic differentials scales were found to be the most appropriate methods for these questions.

In the case of Likert scales, categories of items were developed from the qualitative research and refined in the pilot. Respondents were then asked to respond to these items according to response categorisations, such as strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree. The items included a range of positive and negative items to avoid suggesting the appropriate response. The Likert scale was used to examine awareness and involvement with tobacco related marketing communications in general (eg. Q4 and 5).

Semantic differential scales explore responses to pairs of bipolar adjectives (Sommer and Sommer 1992). Each item presents two opposite expressions (eg. looks boring, looks interesting), and as such, do not suggest the expected response. They can also provide clear summaries of the dimensions of attitudes and brand preferences, and were used widely in the questionnaire to measure attitudes towards advertising (Q2), attitudes towards cigarette advertising (Q7, Q22), attitudes towards cigarette sponsorship (Q10), attitudes towards cigarette coupon schemes (Q15), perceptions of packaging (Q20), perceptions of branding (Q21), smoking attitudes and beliefs (Q23, 30).

The pilot work was an essential stage in developing and refining measures of smoking beliefs and brand perceptions used in the research framework. As there is no standard measure for each of these, key themes regarding each were identified in the initial qualitative phase (and are reported in Chapter 6), and these themes were developed into questions as a result of the pilot work. Alternative statements were presented to young people in the pilot focus groups and their responses to each sought, following open

discussion about both smoking beliefs and brand perceptions. This was conducted to ensure that the questionnaire covered all the relevant aspects of smoking beliefs and brand perceptions, and was presented to the young people in a way that was both meaningful and relevant.

The pilot work also identified the respondents' concerns about answering questions that might suggest to parents that they smoked. These fears had important implications for the design of the questionnaire, as they could potentially produce underestimates of awareness and involvement in tobacco marketing communications. To reduce this effect, 'showcards' with key statements and corresponding numbers were used. In this way, neither the interviewer nor the respondent needed to say aloud anything that might make the young person feel that their confidentiality was being compromised. For example, instead of answering "I have collected cigarette coupons", the respondents were asked to look at a showcard and give the number which best described them. In this way, the respondent simply said, "No 3", if they had collected cigarette coupons.

To collect essential data on their involvement with tobacco marketing, further precautions were taken. Young people were given a number of cards in a folder. Each of these presented a statement, eg. "Received free trial cigarettes" and a corresponding number, eg. "1". They were invited to have a look at the cards and give the number/s that applied to them. In the piloting exercise, young people were found to feel more confident about claiming to have been involved with tobacco marketing with this method, and believed that they would be able to answer honestly, even if their parents were present.

To collect data on actual smoking behaviour, the young people were given a short self-completion questionnaire and envelope. While they were completing this, the parents were asked about their occupation and smoking status. The sealed questionnaires were collected and not opened until they were received at the University. The interviewers remain unaware of the respondents' smoking status.

During most of the interview the parents had no role, but may have been present in the room (in 44% of interviews, parents were present). The parents' ability to see answers or

influence responses was recorded by the interviewer, and the findings suggest that parental presence did not significantly affect the young people's responses.

Copies of the interviewer administered and self-completion questionnaires are included in Appendices 5 and 6 respectively.

5.6.4 Survey Procedure

The survey was administered during October and November 1999 by professional market research interviewers. A telephone appointment was made with respondents, where this information had been provided on the consent form. The interviewers were fully briefed and instructed to do their utmost to contact each respondent on their allocation sheets. At least four attempts were made at different times of the day, at each contact address to obtain an interview. The interviewers recorded non-response.

Parental permission was again obtained from the parent/guardian for respondents prior to the interview. Each respondent received a £5 gift token upon completion of the interview.

5.6.5 Analysis

The analyses were conducted in two stages. First, bivariate analysis was performed to explore and describe the data. Comparisons were made between young people who were non-smokers, had tried smoking and who were current smokers. Secondly, multivariate analysis was conducted to test the hypothesised relationships between tobacco marketing communications and opinions of brands, opinions of smoking, and smoking behaviour.

The following section justifies and describes the selection of statistical techniques:

Bivariate Analysis:

The choice of analytical techniques depends on a number of factors, including (Diamantopoulos and Schlegelmilch 1997, Kinnear and Gray 1996):

1. Nature of measures: whether the same measures are taken from different groups, or different measures are taken from same groups.
2. Number of groups for comparison: two or three or more.
3. Level of measurement: whether the data is nominal, ordinal or interval.

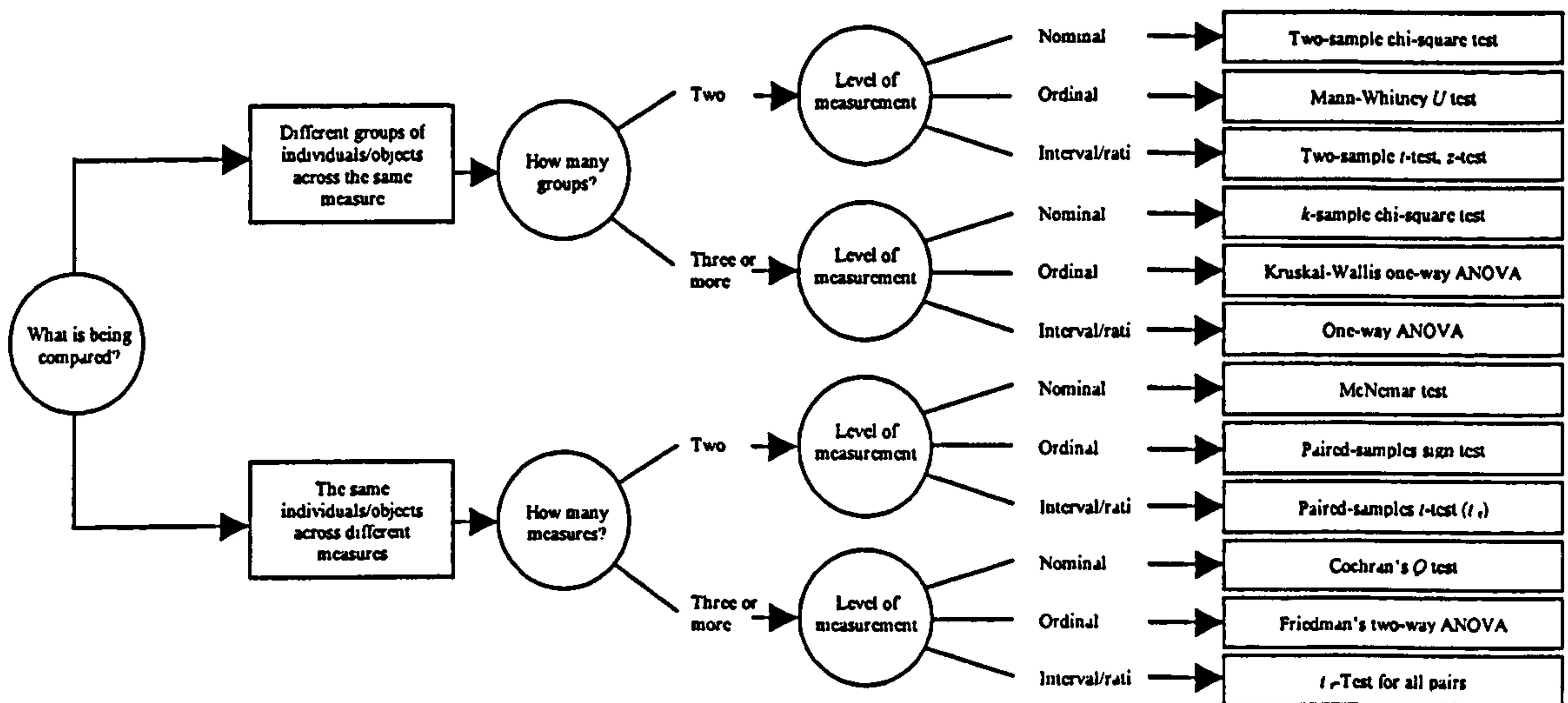
This is shown in Figure 5.6.

The nature of measures taken is an important consideration. Whether the groups for comparison are 'related', (ie. two or more different measures from the same sample), or 'independent' (ie. the same measures from two or more samples), has important implications for the choice of statistical test. Similarly, the number of groups for comparison has implications. Finally, the level of measurement is an important consideration¹.

Diamantopoulos and Schlegelmilch (1997) summarise the statistical tests for making comparisons according to the nature of measures, number of groups for comparison and level of measurement.

¹ Data can be either 'nominal', 'ordinal' or 'interval' and different statistical tests are appropriate for different levels of measurement. Nominal scales involve the assignment of numbers to qualitative categories, eg. students' faculty membership: 1= Business School, 2= Social Sciences, etc. There is no meaningful interval or order. On the other hand, 'ordinal' scales suggest an ordered relationship where there is a meaningful order, eg. Students' appreciation of university: 5 = like a lot, 4 = like a little, 3 = neither like nor dislike etc. An interval scale also has a meaningful order, but the distance between the intervals is equal, eg. students average marks = 50%, 60%.

Figure 5.6 Decision Sequence for Bivariate Statistical Tests – Making Comparisons



Source: Diamantious A and Schlegelmilch BB (1997). *Taking The Fear Out of Data Analysis. A Step-by-step Approach*. London: The Dryden Press, p174

In this analysis, there were three groups for comparison (non-smokers, tried smokers and current smokers) and these groups were independent. Therefore, appropriate tests for nominal (k-sample chi-squared test), ordinal (Kruskal-Wallis one-way Anova), and interval data (One-way Anova) were used as appropriate. Analysis was conducted to examine differences in awareness, appreciation and involvement with tobacco marketing and cigarettes brands and in smoking attitudes and beliefs. Chi-squared tests for trend (linear-by-linear association) and non-parametric analysis of variance (Kruskal-Wallis tests) were conducted to examine differences in response by increases in smoking status. Furthermore, one-way analysis of variance was conducted to examine the response of young people by smoking status, where a number of adverts, products or brands were concerned.

This stage of data analysis was essential in understanding the data set, determining the key significant relationships and in helping to inform the multivariate analysis.

Multivariate Analysis:

The multivariate analysis was central to testing the hypotheses. Multivariate analysis examines several independent variables and one or more dependent variables (Tabanick and Fidell 1982). A dependent variable is the outcome variable, or that which we are trying to explain (eg. smoking status), in terms of other variable(s) on which it is dependent (Tabachnick and Fidell 1982). On the other hand, independent variables are those variables which are independent of each other, but which help to explain or produce variance in the dependent variable (eg. liking tobacco marketing communications, having friends who smoke or being female).

Multivariate analysis methods were appropriate as marketing problems are not usually explained by one or two variables (Kinnear and Taylor 1991). In this case, it is unlikely that smoking status is entirely explained by awareness or liking of tobacco marketing communications. Peer's smoking behaviour, familial smoking, and demographic characteristics such as gender, socio-economic group are also known to be associated with smoking behaviour (see discussion of influences on smoking in Chapter 2). Therefore, multivariate methods are a more powerful tool for understanding the relationships between tobacco marketing communications, young people's smoking and the other factors known to influence smoking.

Kinnear and Taylor (1991) distinguish two main types of multivariate methods: 'dependence' and 'interdependence' multivariate methods. These two groups make different assumptions about the variables for analysis. In dependence methods, one or more variables are designated to be dependent on each other, (eg. regression methods). On the other hand, with interdependence methods, no variables are designated as being dependant on others, but focus is on understanding the interrelationship between all the variables taken together, (eg. factor analysis, multi-dimensional scaling or cluster analysis). As the hypothesised model determines the relationships between a number of independent variables (eg. awareness of tobacco marketing communications, perceptions of brands, perceptions of smoking) and a dependent variable (smoking status), dependence multivariate methods are appropriate here.

Regression analysis methods (an example of dependence techniques) can assess the relationship between a dependent variable and a set of independent variables, it can also assess the importance of the various independent variables to the relationship (Tabachnik and Fidell 1982). Therefore, regression analysis could examine the impact of tobacco related marketing communications on young people's smoking behaviour, when allowing for the impact of other independent variables known to be important for smoking behaviour (eg. peers smoking, family smoking, socio-economic group, gender, educational aspirations). It is a powerful technique and one of the most widely applied statistical methods for examining the relationship between a dependent and a set of 'explanatory' or independent variables (Wetherill 1986, Dillon and Goldstein 1984).

Regression methods were used to test the hypothesised model. Regression allows the prediction of variance in an intervally scaled dependent variable according to one or more intervally scaled independent variables (Kinnear and Gray 1997, Kinnear and Taylor 1991, Tabachnik and Fidell 1982). It estimates the association between variables and predict the values of one (dependent variable) from one or more others (independent variable/s).

There are a number of types of regression including simple linear regression, multiple regression and binary logistic regression.

Simple regression estimates the values of one dependant from one independent variable in the form of a linear equation (Kinnear and Gray 1997):

$$y' = b_1 (x) + b_0$$

Where: y' is the estimated value of the dependent variable (eg.cigarette consumption), b_1 is the slope (Regression Co-efficient), x is the independent variable (eg. seen tobacco marketing communications) and b_0 is the intercept (regression constant).

Multiple regression estimates the values of one dependent from two or more independent variables, in the form of a linear equation (Kinnear and Gray 1997):

$$y' = b_1 (x_1) + b_2 (x_2) + b_3 (x_3) \dots + b_0$$

Where: y' is the estimated value of the dependent variable (eg. cigarette consumption), b_a is the slope (Regression Co-efficient), x_b are the independent variables (eg. seen tobacco marketing communications, have friends who smoke, have brothers/sisters who smoke etc..) and b_0 is the intercept (regression constant).

Logistic regression is used when the dependent variable is dichotomous (Grimm and Yarnold 1995), eg. whether or not a current smoker. Logistic regression estimates the probability that a particular event will occur (eg. being a current smoker or not) and calculates changes in the log odds of the dependent.

$$y' = b_1 (x_1) + b_2 (x_2) + b_3 (x_3) \dots + b_0$$

Where: y' is the estimated value of the dependent variable (eg. whether or not a current smoker), b_a is the slope (Regression Co-efficient), x_b are the independent variables (eg. seen tobacco marketing communications, have friends who smoke, have brothers/sisters who smoke etc..) and b_0 is the intercept (regression constant). The probability of $y=1$ (eg. being a current smoker), is the natural logarithm e to the power of a term which is the logistic regression equation.

Logistic regression can be used when the following assumptions are met (Grimm and Yarnold 1995):

- The dependent variable is dichotomous;
- A single case is represented in the data only once;
- The model is correctly specified and contains all relevant predictors and no irrelevant predictors;
- A single case cannot be represented in the data more than once, and every case must be a member of one or more categories (ie. mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive).

As the dependent variable in this case was dichotomous (whether or not a current smoker), the outcomes were statistically independent, the model was believed to be correctly specified and the categories were mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive, logistic regression was used. The regression model estimated the extent to which observations belong to one of two groups: current smokers (1) or not current smokers (0). The odds ratio of membership to either group was estimated from the following independent variables: awareness of tobacco marketing communications, smoking beliefs and brand perceptions. The model included a number of controls including: gender, socio-demographic group, peer's smoking, sibling's smoking and parent's smoking.

Evidence was sought from the literature to ensure that the model was correctly specified and contained all relevant independent variables and no irrelevant independent variables. However, the number of independent variables had to be reduced because hypothesis testing in logistic regression requires large sample sizes to improve accuracy. It is generally recommended that there should be no more than 1 independent for every ten cases in the sample (Tabachnick and Fidell 1983).

Therefore, Principal Component Analysis was first conducted to examine the degree to which the 14-item, 'smoking beliefs' and the 7-item, 'brand perceptions' questions could be reduced to a smaller sub-set of variables. Principle Component Analysis is a method of aggregating variables, which assesses the degree to which items contribute towards the same concept (Bryman and Cramer 1997). It is used to determine the minimum number of items (principle components) that explain the maximum amount of variance as possible (Dillon and Goldstein 1984). The principal component ('eigenvector') that explains the most variance ('eigenvalue') is extracted first, then the second principle component, that is uncorrelated with the first, and that explains the next greatest variance is extracted, and so on (Grimm and Yarnold 1995). This process could be repeated until 100% of the variance had been explained, but in practice researchers stop, to ensure that the minimum number of components are extracted (Grimm and Yarnold 1995, Dillon and Goldstein 1984).

Therefore, the researcher needs to decide how many principal components to extract. There are two main methods of doing this (Bryman and Cramer 1997). First, 'Kaiser's

criterion' states that all those principal components with eigenvalues greater than 1 should be extracted. Or in other words, any component that explains less variance than a single variable is excluded (Bryman and Cramer 1997). The other method is Cattell's 'Scree test'. This test can be requested as part of the SPSS output, and graphs the principal components extracted, against their eigenvalues. As the eigenvalues decrease, the graph looks like a steep slope, with a clear levelling off point, or elbow. All the principal components that appear before the elbow are selected (Bryman and Cramer 1997, Dillon and Goldstein 1984). Both these methods were used in the principal component analysis. To further enhance interpretation, the principal components were extracted using varimax rotation.

The results of Principal Component Analysis are presented in Section 8.4.1. The rotated component analysis and component loading based on the rotated component analysis is shown and described.

The principal component analysis was used to inform the creation of five new smoking belief and 2 new brand perception variables. The items included in each principal component were summed to create variables. In each case, there was a relatively clear theme to the new variable identified, and so, these were renamed to reflect this. For example, one of the smoking belief components extracted included the belief that smoking helped to relieve stress and helped smokers to relax and control weight. As this seemed to refer to the actual, physical effects of smoking, the new variable was named, 'Physical Benefits'.

Having identified a good sub-set of independent variables, two binary logistic regression analyses were conducted. These tested the research framework described in Chapter 7. This hypothesises that current smoking is independently influenced by: awareness of tobacco marketing, having beliefs about the positive benefits of smoking and having positive perceptions of the 'key youth cigarette brand' (in this case Lambert & Butler).

Therefore, the independent variables included measures of awareness of tobacco marketing communications, five smoking beliefs and two brand perceptions variables calculated as a result of the principal component analysis. The two models differed only in the way in which awareness of tobacco marketing was specified. The first examined

young people's cumulative awareness of tobacco marketing and included a measure of the number of tobacco marketing techniques that young people were aware of. The second, examined young people's awareness of tobacco marketing communications according to their level of effect (see Table 7.1) and were specified as categorical variables. In both instances, the direct method of logistic regression, where all the independent variables are entered together, was used.

The dependent variable was dichotomous. The analysis estimated the simultaneous relationship between the independent variables and the probability of being a current smoker (1) or not a current smoker (0). A current smoker included both those who smoke regularly and those who smoke occasionally.

The logistic regression analysis also included a number of control variables. These were variables known to influence smoking: gender, socio-economic status, parental smoking, sibling smoking and peer smoking.

Most of the independent variables were continuous. However, where the independents were specified as categorical variables, the 'indicator' contrast was used. This indicates the absence or presence of category membership. The reference category (the category against which others are compared) was selected as either the last, lowest or 'not' category. For example, awareness of tobacco marketing was compared against 'not being aware of tobacco marketing'. Similarly, having siblings who smoke or being unsure if siblings smoke, was compared against 'not having siblings who smoke'.

The results of the binary logistic regression are shown in Section 8.4.2.2. In the results tables, the reference category against which the others were compared is shown. The tables also display the odds ratio (OR), 95% confidence intervals (95% CI) and significance levels (P value).

5.7 Limitations of Chosen Research Design

The main limitation of the chosen research design is that it is based on cross-sectional, rather than longitudinal data. If longitudinal data had been available the temporal effects

of tobacco marketing communications on young people's smoking and brand related attitudes and behaviours could have been determined. However, cross-sectional data allows the reinforcing effects of tobacco related marketing communications on young people's smoking and brand related attitudes and behaviour to be assessed, and is therefore, still of value.

The second limitation of the research design was the necessity to conduct an opt-in method of generating the sampling frame. An element of bias may have been introduced into the sample as a result of the consent process. The young people who consented to participate may have been more likely than those who did not to be either non-smokers, or have parents who knew that they smoked. However, the initial sample was randomly generated, and efforts were made to reduce this effect by reassuring young people in the initial invitation that they had not been selected for any special reason and that they would not be asked aloud if they smoked. The questionnaire was carefully designed to assure them confidentiality.

5.8 Summary

This chapter has justified and described the selection of the research methodology. Given the needs of the research (to explore if and how tobacco marketing communications engages young smokers), this chapter has demonstrated the importance of conducting both qualitative and quantitative research. It concludes that qualitative research is important to understand, explore and define the problem, and to develop a research framework and key hypotheses. The quantitative phase can then be used to test the hypotheses and refine the theory.

The qualitative research is an important first step in exploring and understanding how young people engage with commercial material from tobacco companies. While, it should be seen as an important stage of research in its own right, it was also used to inform the design of the quantitative research. The qualitative findings are described in Chapter 6.

The findings of the qualitative research were instrumental in developing a research framework for the quantitative phase and in identifying hypotheses. The development of the research framework is described in Chapter 7.

Finally, the quantitative research findings are presented in Chapter 8.

PART THREE: FINDINGS

The research findings are presented in the next three chapters. The next chapter (Chapter 6) presents the findings from the qualitative stage of the research. As a result of both the qualitative research and the literature review, a theoretical framework for the quantitative study was formed. This model is explained and justified in Chapter 7. This was used to inform the design and analysis of the quantitative study presented in Chapter 8.

6.0 QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings from the focus group discussions with young people. The findings are presented in four sections. The first examines awareness, appreciation and involvement with (non-tobacco) marketing communications in general and provides some background to how young people think, talk and interact with commercial material. The second section examines their smoking attitudes and behaviour. It found that there were four broad types of young people, classified by their smoking attitudes and behaviour (two non-smoking types and two smoking types). These typologies help to explain some of the differences in attitudes and smoking behaviour within the 'smoking' and 'non-smoking' groups. The third section examines young people's use of each form of tobacco related marketing communication, and explores how the four different types of young people engage with these. The fourth section explores tobacco brands and examines the importance of branding in cigarette consumption, the relevance of tobacco brands for the four different types of young people, and the commonly held perceptions of key tobacco brands.

6.2 Responses to Marketing Communications in General

This section examines young people's responses to (non-tobacco) marketing communications, providing a general overview of how they respond to commercial marketing material. It presents the findings from the initial discussions in the groups including discussion of marketing and brand mapping exercises.

Most young people had a general interest in the way companies marketed their products, and could talk quite easily and skilfully about their experiences of advertising and marketing. Advertising and marketing terminology had clearly become part of their

everyday vocabulary. Most respondents used the words '*targeting*', '*advertising*', '*sponsorship*' and '*promotions*' and had at least a rudimentary, if imprecise, understanding of them.

The 14 and 15 year olds had a sophisticated understanding of marketing and were quite cynical about marketers' motives and abilities to influence their behaviour. The youngest groups also displayed a relatively developed understanding of marketing, but seemed to have a more childish, naive appreciation of marketing and marketing communications.

When asked to think about the way in which companies sold their products or tried to encourage people to buy them, advertising and sponsorship were most frequently mentioned. It was clear that adolescents had more appreciation for and involvement with advertising than any other form of marketing communication. However, the respondents, particularly the male respondents, were also very aware of sponsorship. In most of the groups, a lot of probing was required to move the discussion away from direct advertising to the other forms of marketing communications. It was clear that most did not clearly distinguish the other marketing communications, eg. direct marketing, sales promotions, loyalty schemes, from advertising. On the whole, other forms of marketing communications were undistinguished from 'advertising'.

Responses to advertising and sponsorship, and then other forms of marketing communications are discussed below.

6.2.1 Advertising and Sponsorship

Adolescents were most aware of and interested in advertising, and particularly television advertising. Most could describe and discuss advertising which they had enjoyed and which they disliked.

“Do you know what advert I like, it is an advert for drink, it is also an advert for drugs and there is a guy that is taking all sorts of stuff...and all his pals are sitting there laughing at him and then he dies.”

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

“It is the ones with the Weatabix or like the vet and the people who are driving instructors. I sit there when this advert comes on, and I know it off by heart.”

(Female, 12, ABC1, Non-smokers)

“That new Brazil one, the football one in the airport.”

(Male, 15, ABC1, Non-smokers)

“The one where they have three wifies on them ...I can't remember what one it is, Frasers or something, and one of them has got no clothes on!”

(Male, 15, ABC1, Non-smokers)

Interest and appreciation was heightened for products perceived as personally relevant. These included foodstuffs, soft drinks, sports equipment, sports shoes, videos, CDs and computer games. They were also interested in advertising for other products that were not personally relevant, but had been produced in a way that was innovative or interesting, eg. advertising for cars, alcohol or financial services.

Respondents became 'involved' with advertising when they appreciated it and felt some pleasure from watching it. Some described how they had looked forward to particular adverts being shown, discussed them with their friends or sang along with adverts they liked. This level of involvement seemed to strengthen their perceptions of the product or company being advertised. Even for products that were not perceived as personally

relevant, or of which they knew very little, good advertising was seen as an indicator of a 'good' product or a 'big name'.

Advertisements were appreciated for different reasons, eg. because they were humorous, contained good music, were clever or attention grabbing, or because they had been executed in a particularly unusual or pleasing way.

"I like funny ones."

(Male, 14, ABC1, Non-smokers)

"I like with one with the song, 'I will survive'."

(Female, 12, ABC1, Non-smokers)

It was clear that respondents appreciated advertising and became involved with it because it offered them some benefits, including:

- **Information:** Advertising was sometimes used on a purely information basis to, for example, learn about new brands of sports wear, new CDs or computer games that were on the market.
- **Distraction:** Advertising was also enjoyed for entertainment. Catchy music, an entertaining story line or witty copy were cited as reasons for enjoying the distraction of advertising.
- **Emotional:** On a deeper level, advertising sometimes also offered some emotional benefits, including pleasure, reassurance, comfort or optimism. It seemed to do this through the use of music, symbols and admirable people/celebrities.

Respondents were also aware and appreciative of advertising in other media, particularly outdoor billboards, transport, magazines and cinema advertising. There was not a high level of awareness for advertising in the press, perhaps reflecting a lack of use of newspapers amongst adolescents. Cigarette advertising was often mentioned unprompted during the discussion of outdoor and transport advertising. Responses to advertising in these other media were not as strong as television advertising. This perhaps reveals the potential for broadcast media to elicit deeper or more emotional responses.

Most were uncomfortable with the idea that advertising influenced their attitudes or their behaviour. The older groups, in particular, rejected the notion that advertising had influenced their purchase decisions. The 12 year olds were most likely to feel that advertising had made them think about a new product or brand and may have helped them decide to purchase it.

There was also a high level of awareness and understanding of sponsorship and in particular, sports sponsorship. They seemed to understand the nature and purpose of commercial sponsorship of sporting competitions and teams. Those most interested in sport were most appreciative of commercial sponsorship. It was described as being a positive benefit for sport, bringing financial strength to favourite teams or sports.

“It can be good for your team...it just helps them with their money and that.”

(Male, 15, ABC1, Non-smoker)

There was also believed to be an important two-way relationship between the image of the sponsoring company and the reputation of the sporting team or competition. It was felt to be best to have a ‘big name’, successful company sponsor your favourite team, as this was perceived to infer success upon the reputation of the team. Boys especially, had

a big emotional investment in their favourite sports teams and this emotional investment also extended to the sponsoring company.

“If it is the wrong one [company] it would be embarrassing...I think if you have a big company sponsor your team then that’s good...you get small companies sponsoring teams that no one has heard of.”

(Male, 15, ABC1, Non-smoker)

6.2.2 Other Marketing Communications

As discussed, respondents did not tend to distinguish other forms of marketing communications from advertising and they were often discussed interchangeably. As a result, the moderator had to check and probe throughout the group to keep the discussion on the relevant marketing communication.

The different forms of marketing communications could be grouped into five types according to how they were perceived by the young people and the language they used to describe them:

“Advertising”: This term was used to encompass broadcast, print, cinema, outdoor and transport advertising. Along with “sponsorship”, it was also used to describe the commercial sponsorship of sports events. In addition, point of sale material, such as advertising posters, stickers or other communications were often described as advertising.

“Promotions”: Sales promotions, competitions, money-off coupons or tokens, free samples/trials, free on-pack/in-pack gifts, and to a certain extent direct marketing, tended to be described as promotions.

“Cards/Schemes”: Loyalty schemes where customers are encouraged to collect points or coupons on a card or in a book, to be redeemed later for money or products were typically described as ‘card schemes’ or sometimes ‘loyalty schemes’.

“Packaging”: In general, product packaging was not perceived to be a communication tool, unless it was used to promote a particular new feature or sales promotion.

“Internet”: Like packaging, the internet was not perceived to be an important communication tool in the same way as main media advertising or sponsorship.

Most respondents had some experience with ‘promotions’. They became aware of promotions through reading magazines, watching television, shopping with their parents and buying their own food, soft-drinks and clothes. Most were less interested in ‘promotions’ than main media advertising, but were appreciative of and involved with those that were either interesting or relevant.

There was a group of respondents who were particularly interested in advertising and ‘promotions’, and for whom interesting ‘promotions’ were important decision criteria when choosing certain products. For example, one respondent described trying to get her name included on as many mailing lists as possible, by sending off coupons or questionnaires and requesting additional information. Another would choose those products such as crisps or confectionery that offered the most enticing competition or free offer.

However, there was also a small sub-group who had little interaction with promotions, marketing and the media - they read few magazines, watched less television and seemed less interested in marketing. This group was most likely to be younger and male. Their

primary interests were school, computers and computer games, sport and other outdoor activities.

Most respondents were quite cynical about 'promotions'. They were typically perceived as cheap and gimmicky alternatives to advertising. The older respondents (14 and 15 years) were most inclined to question the honesty and credibility of competitions, prize draws and free gift offers. They doubted the quality of prizes on offer and the genuineness of competitions or free offers.

"You can get free gifts and you can win £50,000, but when you send it away you never get anything back. It is just a waste of time."

(Male, 14, ABC1, Non-smokers)

"There is no point...you never win nout if you send it away. Nothing ever happens."

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

"You never win with them, they are just trying to make you buy it."

(Male, 15, C2DE, Non-smokers)

"It is just like bits of paper, like advertisers and that, they don't really give you anything."

(Male, 14, ABC1, Non-smokers)

They were most likely to get involved with 'promotions' if they offered them some benefits and the costs of involvement were low. The costs of involvement with 'promotions' included time, effort, or money (eg. stamp or telephone bill).

“The phoning up ones are good, they are easier to do but sometimes it takes ages to get through.”

(Male, 14, ABC1, Non-smokers)

“And with Pepsi, I went and got a ‘Coolio’ CD, I sent off for it...I wouldn’t save up for them again, it takes too long and I kept losing it.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Non-smokers)

The benefits of involvement included:

- **Material benefits:** These included money, free gifts, free products.

“When you open it you see if you have cash in it or there is a little letter saying that you have won a packet of crisps.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

- **Fun/Sociability:** Involvement in some ‘promotions’ was a social affair. For example, friends saved for free gifts together or competed against each other in collecting points/coupons/tokens. In this way, ‘promotions’ fit into the context of playground crazes and games.

“They have these stickers and my friends and I saved them up and got this £20 HMV voucher.”

(Female, 12, ABC1, Non-smokers)

- **Distraction:** Sometimes entertainment or the relief of boredom was the main motive for involvement in ‘promotions’. The competitions that demanded most interaction, eg. game cards, or other innovative promotions, were enjoyed most.

“I fill out the forms, but I have never sent anything away...just stupid stuff out of magazines, I fill them out when I am bored and I have nout to do.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

- **Adult activities:** ‘Promotions’ were often perceived as part of the adult world of consumerism and financial independence. Some were intrigued by ‘promotions’ for this reason. They seemed to use their interactions with ‘promotions’ as a rehearsal for more adult participation in the consumer society. For example, a group of 12 year old respondents were impressed with a free card they had received with a promotion and kept because it looked and felt like a credit card.

“My friend and I did that as we got a card through the post...you just feel older and you get a diet coke card just for the card.”

(Female, 12 ABC1, Non-smokers)

Most of the young people had very little personal experience of direct mail. Most, especially the youngest respondents, did not receive any mail at all. Only a few of the respondents had some experience of unsolicited mail. However, they were all very aware of direct mail and described their parents receiving ‘junk mail’. There was a feeling amongst some of the respondents that they would like to receive more mail including direct mail. Receiving mail in this way was believed to be an indication of their adulthood.

Most respondents were aware of and understood loyalty schemes. Most were familiar with loyalty schemes through their parents’ participation in supermarkets’ loyalty schemes. Some had more direct personal experience of loyalty card schemes offered by other retailers including Boots, John Menzies and Sports shops. These were perceived as being more credible than many of the other ‘promotions’.

“I got a Boots advantage card, I just got it a couple of days ago...it’s just to, every time you buy something from Boots you get a point and you can save up and spend the money.”

(Female, 12, ABC1, Non-smokers)

Packaging was not perceived to be an important marketing communication tool. Despite this lack of appreciation of the role of packaging, they revealed an appreciation for attractive or well-designed packaging. In addition, packaging was used to help young people decide if a product was targeted at them. For example, in the brand mapping exercise, they used colours, design and font styles of the packaging to give them clues about the intended target, use, quality and price of the product.

The internet was least likely to be raised by the respondents in the discussion of advertising and marketing. There were a variety of experiences with the internet. Most who had used it, had done so at school, under the supervision of teachers. A smaller number had access at home or a friend’s or family members’ home. They typically used the internet for school work, to send email, to research hobbies or interests and to chat. Few recalled advertising or internet sites or pages dedicated to any companies or brands.

6.2.3 Branding

The young people were shown a number of brand names and logos and were asked to think about them and to place them on a 4 dimensional grid, according to their preference (like ↔ dislike) and their perceptions of the perceived target (for someone like me ↔ not for someone like me). The discussion that followed focused on brand preferences and attributes of popular brands and was used to explore how young people think about and rate brands.

On the whole, the young people tended to group the brands into 2 distinct poles with a neutral position in between, rather than using the 4 dimensions to rate the brands. They only distinguished between the brands on the like ↔ dislike scale, as they tended to like those brands they believed were intended for them and disliked those they believed were intended for others. They neutral position was used for those brands they could not reach a consensus on, or when they agreed that branding was unimportant for that product category.

The most popular brands tended to be: sports brands, eg. Adidas, Reebok or Nike; designer clothes, eg. CAT Boots, Firetrap or Versace; some cosmetics companies, eg. L'Oreal or the Body Shop; and, some cigarette brands especially Regal and Lambert & Butler. Unpopular brands included: Dr Martins, Barbour, Hushpuppies; and some cigarette brands, especially Sovereign and Embassy. Neutral brands tended to be those for food, soft drinks or alcohol including Pepsi, Kelloggs, Strathmore, Tesco and Budweiser (see Appendix 3 for list of brands used in this exercise).

When rating the brands, it was clear that the young people based their judgement of the brands on certain criteria. Brands which were popular amongst young people were described as those which were *'in fashion'*, *'a top make'*, *'a big name'*, or *'popular'*.

Q. "What is good about Adidas then?"

"Well it's popular."

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

Q. "What do you like about Nike?"

"It is a popular make."

"Everyone wears it."

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

“Cos they are bigger brands, they are bigger companies.”

(Female, 12, ABC1, Non-smokers)

Brands that were in vogue tended to be those which were:

- **Expensive:** Young people tended to favour brands that were expensive. The price was believed to indicate the quality, prestige and potential status of the brand. Indeed, some used the price tag alone to help them decide if a brand was attractive or unattractive. Most believed that owning expensive, branded clothes was highly desirable and would help them win the respect and admiration of their peers.

“The price is like the main part...it means you can boast.”

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

“You would think it was a really good name if it was like a hundred pounds.”

(Male, 15, ABC1, Non-smokers)

- **Distributed in key outlets:** They tended to prefer brands which were distributed through key outlets which they ‘trusted’, eg. certain catalogues, sports shops or retailers.

“It is in good shops, so it is okay.”

(Male, 15, ABC1, Non-smokers)

“You would go into a sports shop and look for them and if they were not there, then you would know that they were bad eh?”

(Male, 14, ABC1, Non-smokers)

- **Acceptable target:** Popular brands also tended to be those which were perceived to be targeted at an acceptable age group. The respondents seemed to aspire to be 3 or 4 years older than themselves. They found brands targeted too young or adult unacceptable. In this way, perceptions of brands were often learned on the street – seeing an attractive person wearing a brand was a good way of learning of the brand’s likely status and image. This seems particularly the case at school, where groups of pupils follow the lead of other popular groups.

“Like the first group of people who were wearing them...because like one person starts wearing them and then like other people start wearing them and it all depends who the first group of people were.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Non-smokers)

- **Well advertised:** The popular brands tended to be those which were more heavily advertised. The young people quite clearly understood that they preferred brands that were advertised more as this implied something of their success and popularity.

“It is all designer, and there are lots of adverts for it...they are popular.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

It was clear that branding was very important to young people. It was important for them to understand which brands were acceptable or unacceptable and to be seen to consume popular, expensive brands.

Wearing 'popular' brands had a number of benefits for the young people. First, owning a 'big name brand' helped the young people to realise their ideal self-image. The young people, especially those in the 14 and 15 year old groups, were trying to establish their own, adult identity. Many described how they fitted into one of a number of 'styles' or 'fashions' at school, characterised by the music they listened to, the type of clothes they wore, their leisure activities and their approach to school. For example, in one female group the respondents described how girls at their school were either – a) 'sporty': wore brand name sports clothes, including trainers and tracksuits; b) 'smart': wore fashionable shoes, skirts, dresses; or c) 'scruffy': wore unfashionable clothes or unbranded clothes. In all cases, the different styles or fashions they had described could be reduced to those who wear big brand names (very acceptable) and those who did not wear big brand names (very unacceptable).

It was believed to be important to have your own sense of identity and to reflect your own individuality through your style, clothes etc. But, most young people seemed to interpret 'individuality' not as being different from their peers, but as having an identity within a social group. In this way 'individuality' implied conformity with peers. Wearing popular brands was an easy way to demonstrate solidarity with your peers.

“Well it is your image isn't it...you want to have a good reputation don't you?...like people who are known as smartly dressed.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Non-smokers)

“You want to look good...like what everyone else wears, you want to be the same as them.”

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

The most popular brands were also those which were perceived to be the most expensive and exclusive. The use of popular brands inferred personal/family success.

“You don’t want to be known as a ‘ragga’¹ do you? ...scruffy, not wearing good clothes.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Non-smokers)

Young people were rewarded and praised by their peers for buying popular brands. Similarly, they were likely to be teased and bullied at school for wearing unacceptable, unpopular brands.

“You wouldnae buy those shoes, so you wouldnae get slagged².”

(Male, 14, ABC1, Non-smokers)

“Get the mickey taken out of you³ by your pals if you wear crap stuff.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Non-smokers)

Brand image was more important for the use of some product categories than others. Young people were most sensitive to brand imagery for those products which were most visible or which tended to be used in the company of others. Often the main benefit for the young people of consuming expensive brands was to have others know they could

¹ An unkempt, dishevelled person.

² Teased

³ Teased

afford them. Therefore, young people were very sensitive to branding for visible clothing items.

Brand imagery was least important for products that were known to have many objective differences, eg. food stuffs or alcoholic drinks. The tangible, rational differences in terms of taste or alcohol content were believed to be more important than the image of the brand.

Brand image was important for cigarettes, but not essential. Cigarette brands were consumed publicly and within the social context of the young peoples' peer group. But their feelings about cigarette brands were not as strong or conscious as their feelings about say, the brand image of trainers. The product category (cigarettes) itself was a powerful image – that of danger, risk and excitement which precludes, at least in part, the image of individual cigarette brands.

Therefore brand image:

- was **essential** for clothing, especially jackets, trainers and boots.
- was **important** for cigarettes and cosmetics.
- was **relatively unimportant** for snacks, soft drinks and alcohol.

6.3 Smoking Attitudes and Behaviours

Young people's smoking beliefs and behaviours have obvious relevance for their responses to tobacco related marketing communications. Their smoking habits might influence their opportunities to see tobacco related marketing communications and mediate the way in which they respond to them. It is also likely that tobacco related marketing communications might influence young people's smoking related beliefs and

behaviours. This section examines this, and explores the smoking beliefs and behaviours of young smokers, and then examines types of smokers and non-smokers.

6.3.1 First Smoking Experiences

The young smokers in the research typically had their first smoking experiences between the ages of eight and twelve, although one respondent claimed to have first tried a cigarette as young as three or four. It was clearly a memorable experience, as most could easily recall and describe the events leading up to and after their first cigarette. Most often respondents recalled being with groups of friends who were already smokers or who were experimenting with cigarettes, and were conscious of the social influences surrounding their decision to start smoking:

“When I moved...I started smoking because all my pals were smoking and I was the only one out of them that wasn't smoking and they were all going 'start smoking, start smoking'.”

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

“You are always going to do it because of your pals...I don't like it, but I still do it because of my pals.”

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

The first smoking experience was generally recalled as being physically unpleasant - respondents remembered feeling nauseous and dizzy. Despite this, it was something that was recalled almost with a sense of pride and affection. It was a difficult as well as significant event that was viewed as an important rite of passage and was rewarded by support from peers. These feelings of accomplishment seemed to counter the unpleasantness of the first cigarette.

6.3.2 Current Smoking Patterns

The young smokers' actual smoking consumption was very much restricted by opportunities to smoke. Young people could only smoke in those situations and places where they ran no risk of being found out by adults - as such their smoking patterns were more irregular and sporadic. During the week, they found secluded times and places to smoke on the way to and from school or during breaks. At weekends, they tended to smoke substantially more, even binge smoking packs of cigarettes at a time.

"I smoke about ten every weekday and then about twenty at weekends."

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

"On a Friday [night] I would smoke about ten, but on a weekday, just like one or two."

(Male, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

For most of the young people in this research, smoking was very much a social activity. Few young people smoked whilst on their own. Groups of friends smoked, bought cigarettes together or from each other and even shared cigarettes with each other. Within this context, smoking had its own rituals and language. Furthermore, there were even playground economies in cigarettes as enterprising young people bought packs of cigarettes and sold cigarettes singly for profits.

This was particularly the case for those young people whose parents did not know or approve of their smoking. In a few cases, parents tolerated and even seemed to support their children's smoking, by allowing them to smoke in the house or by giving them cigarettes. These young people had a view of smoking that was less hidden or forbidden than the other respondents. Their parents' response seemed to support and reinforce their smoking:

“I have one in the morning before I go out...I wake up and mum gives me one, and then I get washed and have another one...”

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

However, most respondents did not report their parents having such lenient attitudes towards their smoking. Most respondents obtained their cigarettes from small CTNs (Confectioners, Newsagents and Tobacconists) or other retailers known to be accessible, eg. ice-cream vans or chip shops. Shops where young people can buy cigarettes are identified through trial and error and through word-of-mouth. In virtually all of the groups, the young people reported shops they knew that they could purchase cigarettes relatively easily from.

“To go the van.”

“Corner shops....they don't care.”

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

“You just go into the shop and say ten Lambert & Butler...it is easy.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“....shops, because they are easy!! They serve you, they sell lighters and that to kids!”

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

“It is easy...if you go into one shop and then you know you are going to get served them there again.”

“Some of them don't really care if they sell you them...they just want to make a sale.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

Certain shops, particularly large chains or supermarkets are avoided as these are understood to be particularly difficult to access cigarettes from. Where young people find it difficult to purchase cigarettes on their own, they buy cigarettes from friends or ask older friends to purchase cigarettes on their behalf.

There was some suggestion in some of the groups that young people were aware of the black market in cigarettes and may have some access to smuggled cigarettes:

Q. "Where is the cheapest place to buy cigarettes?"

"Some local shop...where they have got them cheap from France."

"I know someone that sells all kinds, like Lambert & Regals and Superkings."

"People can make a living from it round here."

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

6.3.3 Benefits of Smoking

The respondents also discussed the benefits they derived from smoking. There were three broad groups of benefits: emotional benefits, physical benefits and image benefits. These are now discussed in turn:

- **Emotional Benefits:** Young people described using cigarettes to help them deal with stress, worry and anger. They believed that smoking helped them to calm down or relax.

"You find that it calms you when you are stressed or worried."

(Female, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“It is because it calms you down...If I am nervous, I don't know what to do with my hands, or when I am ratty or something.”

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

- **Physical Benefits:** Others reported that they enjoyed smoking and found its effects pleasurable.

“I like smoking...I like the way I feel after.”

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

- **Image Benefits:** An important benefit was the way smoking helped young people to feel about themselves. Smoking helped them to realise attractive imagery of themselves as independent, risk-taking, adventurous and a rule-breaker. However, there were different images of smoking. Smoking could be attractive, youthful and upmarket, but could also be perceived as down-market and associated with poverty. Therefore, to derive image benefits young people had to be seen to smoke in relative moderation and to be smoking the right brands

6.3.4 Concerns About Smoking

The young people also discussed some of their concerns about smoking including addiction, health concerns, and the financial cost.

Addiction was widely understood as an important cost of their experimentation with cigarettes. Addiction was believed to be a compulsion to smoke and an inability of smokers to give up smoking when they wanted to. It was most often associated with chain smokers and adult smokers, but a few of the respondents cited addiction as one of

the reasons why they continued to smoke. Many of the smoking respondents agreed that they felt that they were addicted because they often needed to have cigarettes, even if they didn't really want to have one, and felt anxious and stressed if they could not smoke when they wanted to.

"Cos you are addicted."

"It's a habit."

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

"I am addicted, I couldn't give up."

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

"I am addicted...I can't even last a day [without a cigarette]."

(Female, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

"Aye, I am addicted...I wouldnae be able to stop."

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

"You just get choking for a tab."

"I don't like need one, I just want one."

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

However, a smaller number of smokers felt that they were not addicted to cigarettes and that they could give up at any point - if they wanted to. They believed that they smoked through choice rather than compulsion, only smoked irregularly on certain occasions and/or did not tend to report any physiological effects if they went for periods of time without cigarettes.

“I think it would be quite easy to give up.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“I am not [addicted]. I could stop smoking at any time.”

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

“I don’t think I am addicted, I only smoke at weekends...nah, I could stop easily.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

Health concerns were not a prominent issue for the smokers. Most seemed to know and understand the potential risks of smoking and cited cancer and heart problems as associated with smoking. However, it was not something which they had seriously considered and certainly did not identify these risks with their own smoking behaviour. This was even the case when the young people had lost family members to smoking related illnesses:

“I hear all the time about people dying from smoking, but it still doesn’t put me off.”

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

Of more concern to the smokers were the immediate effects of smoking on their health and appearance, eg. smell, effects on fingers, hands and breathe:

“...and your hands a pure stinking and go all yella.”

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

The financial cost of smoking was one of the most relevant disadvantages of smoking for the young people. The high cost of cigarettes was an important barrier towards smoking

regularly or consuming cigarettes in quantity. They expressed anger towards government policy that raised the price of cigarettes, as this made cigarettes increasingly unaffordable. Despite this however, young people had various strategies for accessing affordable cigarettes including buying single cigarettes, selling single cigarettes for profit, stealing money, spending their lunch money on cigarettes, and in some cases buying rolling tobacco or black-market/duty-free cigarettes.

“[To get a hold of cigarettes, I would]...nick money out my mam’s purse.”

“If you don’t have much money, then buy baccy from the ‘baccy bandits’.”

“Some shops sell them [cigarettes] one at a time for like 16 pence.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“I get them and sell them, that is where I get most of my money from...I get them off my brother or my mum and just sell them...for about 20 pence each”

“we get them ‘abroad fags’.”

“I have just been abroad, my brother got 800, I got 600 and my mum got a 1000 or something and we just sell them all.”

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

“I have to spend my dinner money.”

“So do I.”

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

The young people’s smoking behaviour seemed to be very closely related to the smoking behaviour of their friends, and the way in which groups of friends socialised and

identified themselves. In the smoking groups, the majority of respondents claimed also to have friends that smoked:

“Hundreds of my friends smoke.”

“Only one of my friends doesn’t smoke.”

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

“All of my friends smoke.”

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

Smoking was very much a social activity, and friends were an important source of approval for their smoking. There is almost a sub-culture of smoking within groups of friends who share the same rituals and language, and which other non-smoking young people are not privy. This extends to sharing of cigarette packs and sticks (this has its own language and rules, eg. the terms ‘firsts’, ‘seconds’ or ‘lasts’ are used to explain and determine who gets to smoke the cigarette in which order), the knowledge of safe places to smoke in secret, shops who surreptitiously sell cigarettes or affectionate names for favoured cigarette brands.

“We like the sound of Regal!”

“So you can call them Reggie!”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“We call them Lambert & Skutlers...sounds funny!”

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

6.3.5 Typologies of Smokers and Non-smokers

The young people's smoking attitudes and behaviours were not uniform. There were obviously differences in smoking attitudes and behaviour between the smokers and the non-smokers, but even within these two samples there were differing attitudes and opinions. Four broad typologies of young people emerged according to their smoking attitudes and behaviours. Typologies are a useful way of summarising qualitative differences between respondents according to their attitudes, values and behaviours and add an extra level of understanding to the analysis of young people's smoking related characteristics. There were two broad groups of smokers and two broad groups of non-smokers:

Smokers: 1) 'Resigned Addicts'
 2) 'Thrill seekers'

Non-smokers: 3) 'Puritanical anti-smokers'
 4) 'Rational non-smokers'

This section describes their general characteristics, smoking behaviour and the key elements of their smoking beliefs:

1) 'Resigned Addicts'

Characteristics:

This group was comprised of committed and regular smokers. They would describe themselves as 'smokers', and to them, being a smoker was an integral part of their self-image. Unlike the following group of smokers, the 'resigned addicts', they seemed more down-market in their socio-demographic characteristics and in their attitudes and beliefs. They were more likely to occur in the C2DE smokers groups, were less self-confident

about their school lives and future aspirations. In general, they were more likely to describe the respondents of the older groups, but most members of the 'Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers' group could be defined as resigned addicts.

Smoking Behaviour:

The resigned addicts tended to smoke more than the other smoking group. The resigned addicts were more likely to have had their first smoking experiences at a younger age than the other smokers. This group's smoking behaviour was more like that of established adult smokers - they tended to smoke daily, had developed habituated patterns of smoking, eg. after meals or first thing in the morning. They were also more likely to have their own cigarette packs and to smoke these packs on their own. They were also most likely to consume more cigarettes and to smoke daily:

Q. "How many would you smoke a day?"

"About ten."

"More than ten like."

"Ten or fifteen for me."

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

"[I have] one [cigarette] at lunchtime, one at break and one in the morning."

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

"[I have] one [cigarette] standing at the bus stop...one at break, two at lunchtime and two when I go home and stand in my close and have one."

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

The key defining feature of the resigned addicts was that they perceived themselves as addicted to the nicotine in cigarettes. They talked about smoking in relatively negative

terms and felt themselves to be in the grips of an addiction. Being an addicted smoker was an integral part of their self-image. However, there seemed to be some ambivalence about the relative attractiveness of this image. Some were obviously uncomfortable with this and found the notion of being an addicted smoker unattractive. However, others seemed to be attracted to the notion of having an addiction, and seemed to believe that this and other negative life experiences were an important part of being 'an adult'.

Unlike the 'thrill-seekers', the resigned addicts were more likely to smoke cheaper brands and to have had more experience with different cigarette brands.

"I buy Lambert & Butler because they are cheap."

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

Smoking Attitudes/Beliefs:

Smoking attitudes and beliefs reflected three levels of interest - individual factors, immediate factors and wider factors:

Individual factors: Perceptions of addiction were an important element of smoking attitudes. The 'reluctant addicts' believed there was a physiological compulsion that drove them to smoke and made it very difficult for them to quit. Unlike the following group of smokers, they had a more realistic appreciation of the intensity of nicotine addiction. Many had experienced withdrawal symptoms and because of this, they were inclined to believe that they would continue to smoke for some time.

"I couldn't give up."

"I would love to give up."

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

"I don't really like smoking, it is just a habit...you can't get out of it."

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

"I wouldnae be able to stop."

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

The reluctant addicts identified some important benefits of smoking for them. In particular, smoking was appreciated as an important means of managing feelings of stress and anger. Common sources of stress were cited as school, exams, parents and relationships.

"I started smoking when my grandad died."

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

"Like if you are getting bullied or something."

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

"It calms you down...If I am nervous...or I am getting ratty or something."

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

Smoking had an attractive image for the reluctant addicts, but its image and meaning was slightly different to that shared by the 'thrill-seekers'. Unlike the 'thrill-seekers', the 'reluctant addicts' were more able to relate images of stress, anger, depression and addiction with cigarette smoking.

This group was the most likely of all the smokers to have smoking related health concerns and to have noticed effects of smoking on

their health, eg. shortness of breath, catarrh and fitness. However, even within this group, the major smoking related illnesses were not of concern and were not appreciated as real threats on their health. They were more concerned with the effects of smoking on their appearance, smell, teeth and taste. Some may have had some experience of cessation, and indeed were the only group who had any real concept of 'smoking cessation'. Some reported trying to quit in the past and having had found it difficult because of triggers from friends to return to smoking and withdrawal symptoms.

"I have tried to stop...but when you are at school, you can't really stop. Everytime, you go 'just one more draw', you finish it."

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

"It is dead hard...when I have stopped for a few days and think I have done well, and then you see people smoking all around you...aaaggh."

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

'I tried, but when I see other people smoking, it just makes me want to smoke more.'

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

Immediate factors: Smoking behaviour had a strong social element for this group. They tended to smoke more with friends than when they were on their own. This was particularly the case at weekends, when there was a strong relationship between their tobacco and alcohol use. Furthermore, they were very likely to smoke the same cigarette brands as their friends. In general, smoking a different cigarette

brand from their friends was unusual and unacceptable. However, unlike the ‘thrill-seekers’, the ‘reluctant addicts’ were more inclined to try cheaper brands to save money and to find mid-price cigarette brands more acceptable. While, they preferred to smoke with friends, they also were able to smoke on their own.

“I smoke on my own.”

“I can smoke in my room.”

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

In some cases, siblings were involved in their first smoking experiences. The ‘reluctant addicts’ were most likely of all the respondents to have family members who smoked, and/or who were aware of or even tolerant of their smoking behaviour.

“I don’t think I’ll stop, because I have been brought up in a house where everyone smokes.”

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

“Nobody smells it off me, because like everyone smokes.”

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

“My mam lets me smoke in my room.”

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

Wider factors: They tended to believe that smoking was a relatively common behaviour, particularly ‘for people like them’ in ‘places like this’. Furthermore, they tended not to be in favour of controls on tobacco

use or its promotion and objected to increased cigarette taxes or bans on cigarette advertising and promotion.

2) 'Thrill-Seekers'

Characteristics:

This group of smokers, smoked relatively often but were less committed to smoking than the 'reluctant addicts'. They were less likely to describe themselves as smokers, and tended to define themselves as 'social smokers' or 'part-time smokers'. The 'thrill-seekers' tended to be found in the younger smoking groups or in the ABC1 groups. In general, they were more confident and articulate, and were more positive about their school careers and future prospects. However, the 'thrill-seekers' were rebellious, popular, risky, seemed quite immature and liked to push limits and demonstrate that they didn't take life (or themselves) too seriously. Their smoking behaviour was part of their thrill seeking motivation.

Smoking Behaviour:

The 'thrill-smokers' smoked less regularly and consumed fewer cigarettes than the 'reluctant addicts'. They tended to smoke irregularly, smoking few cigarettes during the week and then binge smoking at weekends when they socialised with friends. They did not tend to always own a packet of cigarettes, and tended to source cigarettes from their friends. Alternatively, groups of 'thrill-seekers' would pool their resources and buy packets of cigarettes to share between them. This was similar to the way they would buy alcohol at the weekends, and often cigarettes and alcohol would be bought at the same time.

“At weekends.”

“At parties.”

“I smoke when I am drinking.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“I don’t smoke every day, it is just that if I was out with my pals and we had money, we would just go out and buy a packet.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

Smoking Attitudes/Beliefs:

As before, smoking attitudes and beliefs reflected three levels of interest – individual, immediate and wider factors:

Individual factors: The ‘thrill-seekers’ did not tend to perceive themselves as addicted to cigarettes. They understood an addiction to cigarettes to mean smoking daily and probably smoking heavily and therefore, the irregularity of their smoking behaviour suggested to them that they were not addicted.

“I don’t think I am addicted, I only smoke at weekends.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

“I don’t need one [a cigarette], I just want one.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

This group found it more difficult to identify the benefits of smoking for them. A few mentioned stress and relaxation, although these feelings did not seem to feature in the situations when they reported

smoking - ie. when socialising with friends. It is more likely that sociability and self-image benefits were the principle gains from their smoking. They seemed to value rebelliousness, sociability and anti-authoritarian behaviours and attitudes.

“To make you look smart and hard.”

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

The thrill-seekers tended to distinguish between two images of smoking: youthful experimentation (attractive) and adult addiction (unattractive). The image with which they identified with was that of youthful experimentation. This had none of the negative imagery of addiction, ill-health, poverty and failure that they associated with adult addiction. As a result, they did not identify with the usual smoking imagery, with the health consequences of smoking and had no real concept of smoking cessation.

“I could give up...I don't really smoke, just if I was going to a party or something.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“I think it would be quite easy to give up.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

Immediate factors: The social dimension of smoking behaviour was crucial for the ‘thrill-seekers’. The ‘thrill-seekers’ were very unlikely to smoke on their own - this would have suggested to them that they were heavy or addicted smokers. They were only likely to smoke when with friends, and shared packs of cigarettes, and actual sticks with each other.

“All my pals were doing it, so when I see them at school I just started doing it.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

The choice of which brand to smoke was also a ‘group decision’ with entire peer groups being committed to particular cigarette brands. Brand choice reflected the group’s identity and may even be a display of solidarity to a particular group.

“You just smoke the same kinds as your friends do.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

Q. “Why do you smoke Lambert & Butler?”

“Because all our friends smoke Lambert!”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

“It is like you start smoking, and your pal is smoking a brand and you don’t really want to change.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

Wider factors: As before, the ‘thrill-seekers’ were likely to believe that smoking was a behaviour that was acceptable for young people to be involved in. However, they tended to believe that other young people (and not the adult world) tolerated their smoking.

They were vaguely more appreciative of controls on tobacco and its marketing than the reluctant addicts. They suggested support for

controls on tobacco promotion to protect young children, but believed that this would have no bearing on their smoking behaviour.

“They shouldn’t be allowed to do it [advertise].”

“They have already banned it from the telly, they shouldn’t be allowed to do anything else.”

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

3) ‘Puritanical anti-smokers’

Characteristics:

This group of non-smokers was most likely to be found in the youngest focus groups (12 or 13 years). They were committed non-smokers with strong feelings about the undesirability of smoking and unattractiveness of smokers. They tended to be quite confident, able, sociable and sporty. On the whole they seemed to have a more naive and childish manner and were less cynical or street-wise. They were unlikely to have ever tried smoking, have friends who smoked, or to come from families where smoking was tolerated.

Smoking Attitudes/Beliefs:

Individual factors: This group of non-smokers was strongly opposed to smoking and had a very negative image of smoking and smokers. Smokers are associated with people they dislike at school, smugness and superiority, unattractiveness, harshness, being ‘hard’, un-healthiness and bullies.

“They [smokers] act smart and don’t care about their school work.”

“They think they are really hard.”

(Female, 12, ABC1, Non-Smokers)

“They need a wash...they don’t do well at school.”

(Male, 14, ABC1, Non-Smokers)

They did not want to be associated with smoking and tended to believe that smoking looked unattractive.

“It really puts me off when I see someone smoking.”

(Female, 12, ABC1, Non-Smokers)

They were very concerned about the health effects of smoking and mentioned cancer, heart disease and other fatal diseases, as reasons not to smoke.

Immediate factors: They appreciated the peer driven nature of smoking behaviour. However, most of their friends did not smoke and they suspected it would be problematic for them to smoke in the context of their current friendship group.

Wider factors: In general, they displayed strong opinions that more should be done to control tobacco use, protect people from passive smoking, and to reduce tobacco advertising and promotion.

4) 'Rational non-smokers'

Characteristics:

This group of non-smokers was most likely to be found in the older groups of non-smokers (14-15 year olds). They tended to be confident and sociable. Their social life involved experimentation with alcohol, but this was not a predominant feature of their socialising. They were confirmed non-smokers, but unlike the previous group of non-smokers they were more likely to have some smoking friends and to have tried smoking in the past.

"I have tried it before and I didn't like it."

"it will like stop you if you want to be successful at sport."

(Male, 15, ABC1, Non-Smokers)

Smoking Attitudes/Beliefs:

Individual factors: As before, this group had negative attitudes towards smoking and smokers in general, however the rational non-smokers had a less dogmatic view of smokers. They were more tolerant towards smoking, and critically, perceived smokers to have simply made a choice about themselves of which they had at least some sympathy and respect.

"Well it is their choice eh? You can't tell them what to do."

(Male, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

Immediate factors: On the whole, they perceived smoking as an unsociable activity and they may have placed some pressure on friends or girl/boy friends to quit. However, they were more cautious about seeming strongly anti-

smoking than the previous group - this would be seen as quite 'uncool'. While most of their friends were likely to be non-smokers, they would not disassociate themselves from smokers in quite the same way as the puritanical anti-smokers.

"It doesn't bother me [friends who smoke]...they dinnae dae it near me, or I would just tell them to go away."

(Male, 15, ABC1, Non-Smokers)

Wider factors: This group also displayed support for controls on tobacco, especially increasing taxes and helping people to quit. However, they were less appreciative of controls on marketing, as they tended to believe that young people have made a choice to smoke.

6.4 Tobacco Marketing Communications

This section examines the young people's responses to tobacco marketing communications. It presents the findings related to the discussion of each main form of tobacco marketing communication including: advertising, sponsorship, loyalty schemes, sales promotions, point of sale communications, packaging, money-off promotions, direct mail, brand-stretching, internet sites and product placement. First, the typologies' response to tobacco marketing communications is discussed, before examining response to each form of communication in detail.

6.4.1 Typologies' Response to Tobacco Marketing Communications

As might be expected the two smoking groups (the 'reluctant addicts' and 'thrill-seekers') were more familiar with and able to engage with tobacco marketing communications, than the two non-smoking groups (the 'puritanical anti-smokers' and 'rational non-smokers').

The 'reluctant addicts' seemed most familiar with a wider range of tobacco marketing communications, and marketing communications for a wider range of tobacco brands. This greater experience and level of involvement may have stemmed from a more intense personal involvement with the product categories, as well as cues from their social and wider culture. For instance, this group was more likely to have family members who collected cigarette coupons, used money-off coupons or received promotional mail from tobacco companies. It seemed that there was a greater tolerance for and discussion of tobacco related marketing communications in their social lives.

"My Dad got loads of Gratis points off Benson and they brought out a new catalogue."

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

"You buy ten and get five pence off, you buy twenty and get ten pence off with Embassy."

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

"You just save them up and put them in your packet, and then just save them up and save them up."

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

“You collect the points and then you get a catalogue with this magazine...and if you subscribe you get this newsletter and it says you can win a car...”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

The ‘thrill-seekers’ exposure to and use of tobacco related marketing communications was different from that of the ‘resigned addicts’. They were slightly less interested in tobacco related marketing communications based on value for money, such as money-off coupons or collecting cigarette coupons or pack fronts. They were more able to relate to tobacco related marketing communications for the key premium brands (eg, Embassy Regal and Lambert & Butler), and particularly for innovative or symbolic based communications, eg. advertising, packaging, sponsorship or unusual sales promotions and competitions.

“They [Embassy Regal] have big posters up...something old, something new, something borrowed, something blue.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

“They sponsor racing cars...Marlboro races.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

“I think that looks class...like with the packaging and that.”

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

The non-smoking groups were less interested in tobacco related marketing communications. The ‘puritanical anti-smokers’, had very little awareness of any tobacco related marketing communication, in comparison to the other three groups. However most, when prompted, could recognise advertising and sponsorship initiatives

for premium brands. They had very little awareness or interest in any other forms of tobacco related marketing communications, and had very negative attitudes towards participation in these.

The ‘**rational non-smokers**’ had more awareness of and tolerance for tobacco related marketing communications. They were more aware of a wider range of tobacco marketing communications, and communications for a wider range of brands than the puritanical anti-smokers. They did not engage with tobacco marketing communications to any great degree. However, they were far more tolerant of the companies’ right to do so, than the other group of non-smokers.

6.4.2 Responses to Forms of Tobacco Related Marketing Communications

This section discusses the young people’s responses to each main form of tobacco marketing communication, including advertising, sponsorship, loyalty schemes, sales promotions, point of sale communications, packaging, money-off promotions, direct mail, tobacco brand stretching, internet sites, and product placement. For each, awareness, appreciation, and where relevant, use and/or intentions to use were discussed.

6.4.2.1 Tobacco Advertising

As discussed, the young people were more able to discuss their experiences of tobacco advertising than any other form of tobacco related marketing communication. Most of their direct experience of tobacco advertising was billboard and magazine advertising.

“The billboards and all that, advertising Regal.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

"I sometimes find cigarette advertising in magazines."

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

"Magazines are the most popular."

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

They were very familiar with the advertising of a small number of cigarette brands, particularly Lambert & Butler, Embassy Regal, and to a lesser degree, Superkings. These were also the cigarette brands that they were most likely to smoke and had the most favourable images of. Occasionally they simply attributed any brand's advertising to the brand they were most familiar with, eg. a Marlboro billboard advert was described by one respondent, but attributed to Superkings cigarettes. However, it is more likely that young people were actually more attentive to, more likely to think about and remember the advertising for the brands they liked and/or smoked.

"I like that Regal one, it is dead catchy...something old, something new, something borrowed, something blue."

(Female, 15, ABC1, Non-smokers)

"I suppose everyone likes something old, something new, something borrowed, something blue...so it is like you are always hearing it."

(Female, 15, ABC1, Non-smokers)

"We just all like the Regal one."

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

“I just like the Regal ones...something old, something new, something borrowed, something blue.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

“I like the one ...it is like New York city.. and it that has a fag dead close up and it says even longer than you thought [Superkings].”

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

The Embassy Regal advertising was particularly popular, because it offered them something to think about - a puzzle to solve. Its *‘something old, something new, something borrowed, something blue’*, copy was well known and most young people enjoyed trying to solve the link between the phrase and the images in the advertisement. Innovative adverts were enjoyed, because they were sophisticated and clever. In addition, advertising which offered a problem to be solved was more likely to be thought about, considered, and as a result, better remembered.

Lambert & Butler’s advertising was also appreciated by many young people, especially young smokers of this brand. The humour of this advertising campaign is similar to that of Embassy Regal’s ‘Reg’ campaign and featured a bald, middle-aged man who made childish and anti-establishment jokes. The Lambert & Butler campaign has a similar humour. It features two characters - a young man (Lambert) who is the straight man in the duo and the unintentionally funny Butler. Their jokes are smoking related and focus around Butler’s silly misinterpretations of Lambert’s remarks. For example, in one advert Lambert is seen asking Butler, *“Have you got a light Butler?”*, Butler is shown holding a small table light. In another, a pun is made about *“holding the price of cigarettes”* as Butler is shown holding a large pack of cigarettes. Many of the young smokers found these silly jokes struck a chord, and like Regal advertising, was similar to their own playground jokes.

“Like the sort of advertising for young people, like the jokes and that. Have you seen them big boards? It just says jokes like what kids would understand.”

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

Non-smokers were most inclined to dislike tobacco advertising. Some found it unattractive, silly, trivial or irrelevant. The youngest non-smokers were most likely to believe that tobacco advertising was unethical and potentially manipulative. Health warnings on cigarette advertising encapsulated this contradiction - they struggled to understand why such a dangerous product was advertised and why the health warning did not deter people from using the product. Because of their age and their strong moralistic opinions of smoking, they could not appreciate the complexities of a society in which smoking was tolerated and yet known to be dangerous.

“It is quite stupid really, because you get this cigarette advert, this big picture with lots of cigarettes all over it and then underneath this big, ‘please stop smoking, it is bad for your health.’”

(Female, 12, ABC1, Non-smokers)

The older and smoking respondents tended to have a more permissive and tolerant attitudes towards cigarette advertising. They believed that the decision to take up smoking was an individual, adult choice and not one influenced by advertising. They also tended to believe that controls on cigarette advertising were unnecessary and patronising.

6.4.2.2 Tobacco Sponsorship

In general, boys were more aware of and familiar with tobacco sponsorship of events than girls. This reflected their greater interest in sports than girls. Sports that were associated with tobacco sponsorship, included snooker, darts, cricket and Formula One. There was no awareness of tobacco sponsorship of non-sport related events.

Formula one was most likely to be associated with tobacco sponsorship.

“...and they sponsor Formula One too.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“They sponsor racing cars...Marlboro stuff and the races.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

The respondents were familiar with tobacco sponsored sports such as Formula One through their coverage on TV. As might be expected, the male respondents, especially the older male and smoking respondents were most aware and knowledgeable of tobacco sponsored sports.

Some respondents (especially smokers) were quite appreciative of tobacco sponsorship of sports events. It was seen to be good for the sport in which they were interested and brought opportunities, attracted better sportsmen and women and improved the reputation of the sport, event or team. Most believed that only the ‘big name’ cigarette companies, eg. Embassy, Regal and Benson & Hedges, would be involved in sports sponsorship. Other brands, especially economy brands, had a poor image amongst young people - they were believed to be too weak and unsuccessful to be able to support sport in this way.

In addition, only particular sports were believed to be appropriate to cigarette sponsorship. Some respondents had observed that the sports that were sponsored by cigarette companies were non-athletic sports, eg. darts or snooker. These sports were closest to the image of smoking and were also associated with alcohol, pubs and recreational activities.

*“Well you don’t need to be fit to play darts or snooker
or to drive a car, do you?”*

(Male, 15, ABC1, Non-smokers)

Therefore, for those respondents who approved of cigarette sponsorship of sports, there was an important reciprocity between the image of the sport and the image of the sponsoring brand. A successful brand conferred prestige upon the sport and vice versa.

However, for other respondents, the sponsorship of sports by tobacco companies was an unacceptable contradiction. The young, non-smokers especially believed that it was difficult to accept that cigarettes should endorse health and fitness. This group were most likely to believe that tobacco companies should be prevented from sponsoring sports events.

6.4.2.3 Tobacco Loyalty Schemes

After advertising and sports sponsorship, there was probably most awareness and experience of cigarette loyalty schemes, even amongst non-smokers. Almost all respondents were aware of cigarette couponing (loyalty) schemes and understood why coupons were collected and how they were redeemed. They tended to be most aware of couponing schemes for Embassy/Embassy Regal and Benson & Hedges.

“You get Gratis points and that... my friend smokes them and you get Gratis points and there is a catalogue and you can get a hairdryer or something.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Non-smokers)

“Oh yeah, cos you get little cards, points and you save them up.”

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

“I have seen it with Benson & Hedges and I have seen it with Regal...if you buy 20 then you get one point and if you get ten then you get half and it is like 600 points for a drill or something.”

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

“Well you collect all the points and then you get a catalogue and you get his magazine...It is like if you subscribe then you get this newsletter.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

Most were quite appreciative of cigarette couponing schemes. They were generally perceived to be credible and worthwhile initiatives, which added value to smoking cigarettes. On the whole, most felt that the quality of gifts that you could receive was high and comparable to those that could otherwise be bought. It was believed that only the ‘big name’ cigarette brands would be involved in cigarette couponing, and this perhaps added to the reputation of these schemes. In addition, many young peoples’ families collected coupons and this also enhanced their credibility.

“Like Focus points, when you save them up and you can get something...cos my Grandad got them because he smokes.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

“My mam collects them.”

“My Auntie is collecting them.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Non-smokers)

“My mum used to cut the fronts off and send them off. She used to get a lighter for it.”

(Male, 13, ABC1, Non-smokers)

While many did not have direct personal experience of collecting coupons, many had indirect experience of couponing schemes through their parents' involvement. Family members often collected together and young people often received gifts from the catalogue in this way. Young people whose families collected coupons in this way, were those who were most tolerant and appreciative of cigarette coupon schemes. Having parents that collected coupons, and who allowed their children to be involved in the collection of coupons or choice of gift, legitimised the loyalty schemes. It also provided a means of strengthening young people's affiliation to particular cigarette brands. Those respondents whose parents did not smoke or who did not permit their involvement with loyalty schemes were, on the whole, more likely to believe that these schemes were inaccessible and inappropriate activities for them.

A small number of respondents collected cigarette coupons themselves with the intention of redeeming them for products from the catalogue. Those who smoked regularly and heavily, were also those most likely to collect cigarette coupons. Those who collected coupons were also those most likely to describe themselves as “a smoker” and were most comfortable with this identity of themselves.

“I collect them up.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“I save them up and put them in my packet, then I take them home and just save them up and save them up.”

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

Others collected cigarette coupons, but did not plan to redeem them. It was clear that they were getting some other benefits from collecting coupons than the promise of receiving goods. It maybe that this behaviour was a ‘dress rehearsal’ for more adult smoking patterns and self-identity, ie. the young people were using cigarette coupons to explore the self-image of an addicted, regular smoker. It may also be that the collection of coupons itself was a rewarding experience as this was a way of demonstrating their independence and maturity as an adult consumer. Whatever the personal reward for collection, the process of collection seemed to reinforce and enhance their relationship with the cigarette brands involved.

Not all of the young smokers bought cigarette brands that ran a couponing scheme (eg. Lambert & Butler does not operate a couponing scheme). On the whole, most of the young people who smoked a brand that ran a coupon scheme (Embassy Regal was the brand most popular with young people that also ran a couponing scheme), did not tend to collect and keep the coupons in the packs. The reason most often given for this was that it would be difficult to receive the catalogue or the gifts at home without their parents realising that they smoked.

The image associated with cigarette coupons also dissuaded some young smokers from collecting them. While young people and smoking often had an attractive image, there were some negative associations with ‘adult smoking’, ie. that it was desperate and out of control and that smokers were very addicted, old, often over-weight and unattractive.

Some respondents believed that cigarette coupons were only collected by adult smokers, who smoked very heavily.

“Well it would be good for people who smoke loads...chain smokers, it would be good for them.”

(Male, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

“For old ‘alcies”⁴... people who don’t have a life.”

(Male, 13, C2DE, Smokers)

Those who collected coupons were more likely to have established more regular smoking patterns, to have parents who knew or suspected that they smoked, or who were most comfortable with viewing themselves as regular smokers.

6.4.2.4 Tobacco Sales Promotions

Sales promotions included competitions, free gifts, free samples and any other offers on-pack or distributed at the point of sale.

There was not widespread awareness of tobacco related sales promotions, especially amongst non-smokers. Smokers clearly had more opportunities for exposure to sales promotions and were more interested in them. Most were aware of offers on cigarette packs and at the point of sale, eg. free lighters.

“They sometimes give things away, like you can get free lighters and that.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

⁴ Alcoholics

“I have seen one for tabs [cigarettes] where you spin the wheel or something. If you bought a packet of tabs then you had to spin the wheel and see what you won...like 10 tabs, a lighter or a box of matches.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

Like other forms of sales promotion, tobacco related sales promotions were seen as fun and could be integrated as part of current crazes or games. If innovative and correctly targeted, new types of promotion were something to talk about, share and get involved in as groups. On the whole, young smokers were more likely than young non-smokers to get involved with these types of promotion, as it was most relevant and valuable to this group. However, they did not respond to all types of sales promotion in the same way. Their responses to sales promotions were very like their responses to other types of advertising: it had to be fun, youthful, innovative, involve premium brands and be far from the negative imagery of downmarket smokers. For example, they rejected outright sales promotions for economy brands such as Mayfair or Berkeley, but were interested in sales promotions for brands such as Lambert & Butler, Embassy Regal or Marlboro.

Therefore, the reputation of the brand promoted often mediated the young people's response to the sales promotions they were shown in the groups. The young smokers were also more likely to appreciate sales promotions for those cigarette brands they liked. The promotions associated with favoured brands were perceived to be more credible and less gimmicky than the promotions for cigarette brands they did not respect.

“That is no good that - John Players - they are cheap and nasty.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“It would be a right crappy clock from Royals, like you wouldn’t expect to get anything from a tab company like that.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“You don’t see much of Marlboro round here...it is just daft, it would be stupid.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

The young smokers were most likely to get involved with sales promotions that required little additional effort and produced immediate satisfaction, ie. free gifts given at the point of sale rather than free gifts which were distributed from the company. They were very unlikely to get involved in anything that might risk their parents learning of their smoking.

Despite Marlboro’s brand image, sales promotions were received positively by some of the groups. The respondents were shown an example of Marlboro’s innovative “win a trip to Marlboro Country” competition. The campaign encourage people to apply for a competition and win a trip to the United States to participate in snow boarding, white water rafting or exploring in a jeep. Many felt that this promotion was attractive, was exciting and intended to appeal to young people of their age.

“They are trying to make you think of Marlboro as sporty and good and that...holidays doing stuff like water rafting and snow boarding.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“Adventurous...for people that like adventure.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“Nerve crunching...they are not advertising for old people there, because old people don't go snow boarding.”

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

6.4.2.5 Tobacco Point of Sale Communications

The young people were also relatively aware of point of sale communications, including posters, stickers, open and closed signs, cigarette display units and cigarette packets themselves. However, it required a lot of probing and visual aids to encourage the respondents to think about point of sale communications. Again, smokers were much more likely than non-smokers to remember having seen these communications.

“You get a big poster on the door on the way in telling you the prices of everything...and things telling you when they are open and closed.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“Yeah, like Regal clocks”

“Like on the walls in the shops, like above the counter and that.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

It is likely that the effects of these types of communication are more subtle and subconscious. Most of the respondents could recall and recognise the various forms of communication displayed at the point of sale, but these were not as ‘top of mind’ as say, advertising and sponsorship. However, point of sale was an important source of brand-related information, and was a source of reassurance that they were smoking locally popular or mainstream brands.

The local shops were very important to young smokers. Many tended to hang out with friends near or outside these shops or visited them regularly with their friends. Some had surreptitious relationships with shopkeepers who sold them cigarettes knowing that they were under 16 years old. A mutual feeling of solidarity enhanced the excitement of smoking underage.

Point of sale communications tended to be associated more with local shops than the tobacco industry. Therefore, the young people often had difficulty connecting the discussion of advertising and promotions with their experience of point of sale communications. They were more likely to connect point of sale material with the other commercial material of the local shops, eg. posters, price lists. In addition, many believed that the tobacco related point of sale material tended to look less professional than other communication material. They were often placed in unusual or cluttered positions within the shops.

Most non-smokers recognised the point of sale material and could identify brands that were promoted in this way.

It was a commonly held belief that cigarette brands promoted in this way would be those very popular in their local area. Cigarette brands with positive imagery for the young people tended to be those with strong associations with their local area.

It is likely that point of sale communications have two indirect influences on young smokers. Firstly, it is likely to enhance perceptions of smoking as an acceptable and prevalent aspect of local culture. Secondly, it is likely to enhance the image of particular cigarette brands and strengthen their association with the local area.

6.4.2.6 Tobacco Packaging

Packaging had an important role to play in communicating the imagery associated with the cigarette brands. In the mapping exercise, packaging was raised as one criterion for finding brands attractive or unattractive. Most young people could identify packaging that they found more attractive than others. They were most likely to find packaging that was already familiar to them (eg. Lambert & Butler and Embassy Regal) most attractive.

“That packet looks class (Embassy Regal).”

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

“Lambert & Butler...they look the best.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

Similarly, they found packaging that was unfamiliar to them unattractive and an indication that the cigarette brand would be unpopular and probably unsuccessful. For example, when a popular Scottish cigarette brand - Kensitas Club was shown to the young people in Newcastle they assumed that it was a poor and cheap brand.

“Where did you get them from? [laughter] they look crap.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

Furthermore, they believed they would be teased for smoking Kensitas Club:

“If you went to a party or something, people would take the piss out of you, because they would think you were a scruff or something.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

These responses demonstrate the importance of the social and cultural influences on young people's perceptions of attractive packaging and brands. It may be that, like fashion in clothing and style, the current fashion is that most familiar and socially endorsed. Old fashioned and unattractive brands are those which are least familiar and have no social/cultural meaning.

They often used product packaging - its colours, style, symbolism, name and font style to understand brands with which they were unfamiliar. They would use these cues to assess the likely target group, price range and quality.

For example, Dunhill cigarettes:

"They look like cigars...they'd be disgusting."

"For old people, people out of the war."

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

Consulate cigarettes:

"They look like chocolate things."

"I think it would just be foreigners that smoked them."

(Female, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

Lambert & Butler:

"I like the look of the box, I think it looks better than all the rest"

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

6.4.2.7 Tobacco Money-off Promotions

The young smokers were more aware of money-off promotions than non-smokers. But few young smokers had direct experience of using or receiving money-off promotions. Most smoked premium brands, eg. Embassy Regal did not offer them money-off deals. A small number of the more regular smokers smoked mid price brands, eg. Lambert & Butler or Mayfair as they were cheaper than the premium brands. However, these brands did not tend to offer additional money-off deals. Furthermore, few smokers received money-off promotions through direct mail offers.

Moreover, most of the smoking respondents were relatively insensitive to price. They often bought cigarettes from friends or school-mates at inflated prices, eg. 20 pence per stick. As discussed in Section 6.5 young smokers tended to value the image and reputation of the brand as opposed to price and value. One group discussed why they do not smoke cheaper brand of cigarettes:

“Because I don’t like the taste.”

“They are like an older brand.”

“They are like more for people that are older.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

The actual laydown price was more important than value for money. In this way, young smokers believed that a ten pack of cigarettes was ‘cheaper’ and better value for money than a twenty pack.

While premium brands of cigarettes were preferred by the respondents, Lambert & Butler and to a lesser degree Mayfair were mid-price brands that were acceptable to some of the young smokers. These brands, which are heavily marketed in the area, were perceived as an acceptable second best to preferred premium brands such as Embassy Regal. In particular, the success of Lambert & Butler seemed to offset the affects of

cigarette taxation on young smokers. Some young people who had established regular patterns of smoking had down-traded from more expensive brands to mid-price brands to save money.

Q. "What brands would people your age like?"

"Lambert"

"Lambert & Butler."

"That is what everyone smokes, because they are the cheapest."

(Female, 13, C2DE, Non-smokers)

"[Lambert & Butler] they are cheaper than Regal and better to smoke."

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

"Everyone buys Lambert because they are cheaper."

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

"If I was hungry, I would buy Mayfair, so I would have the money to buy lunch."

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

6.4.2.8 Tobacco Direct Mail

Few young people were aware of tobacco related direct mail. A small minority were aware of this form of promotion because their parents received mail from tobacco companies, including catalogues, magazines and money off coupons. This type of promotion was of limited interest to them. Unlike other forms of tobacco promotion, it offered few benefits in terms of image, fun/play or value.

Only those smokers whose parents knew that they smoked, and who were not unhappy about this, believed that they would like to receive tobacco related direct mail. But most were unwilling to risk their parents finding out about their smoking.

6.4.2.9 Tobacco Brand Stretching

Many respondents were unaware that tobacco companies made products other than cigarettes or tobacco. However, others had seen tobacco branded clothes and boots, eg. Marlboro Classics or Camel Boots. Most had seen these products in department stores and in home shopping catalogues.

“And in like the catalogues, Villeneuve makes his own jackets for Formula One.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

There were mixed feelings about the attractiveness of these brand stretched products. Many of the respondents felt that they would not like to wear clothing that had been clearly branded with cigarette company logos. Wearing the right clothing brands was very important to the young people, and most were resistant to the idea of tobacco company endorsed clothing.

“Someone had got a Marlboro jacket...and everyone takes the piss out of him.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

The image of the cigarette brands which were stretched had implications for how the stretched products were perceived. Marlboro had strong, if mostly negative imagery for the young people. Most associated it with America, cowboys and older smokers and this is reflected in their perceptions of Marlboro clothes.

“They must be American...they would be like cowboy shirts or something.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Non-smokers)

“They would be stinking because their fags are stinking.”

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

“Not for young people.”

(Male, 14, ABC1, Non-smokers)

“For a smoker.”

“For someone who doesn’t mind what they wear.”

“I think kind of older.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Non-smokers)

There was some confusion between brand stretched products and free prizes or gifts, eg. T-shirts that featured tobacco brands, which may explain some of their responses to brand-stretched products. Wearing free or promotional items was not socially acceptable, while actual use of the brands might be.

6.4.2.10 Tobacco Related Internet-Sites

None of the respondents in the research had encountered any tobacco related internet sites or pages or found any tobacco related advertising on the internet. Only around half of the young people in the study had used the internet at all. Those who had tended to use the internet to chat and to look up sites related to hobbies and interests (eg. football or shopping).

6.4.2.11 Tobacco Product Placement

Most young people were not aware of the concept of product placement, although they were very aware of smoking by actors on television and in films. Most believed that there was a lot of smoking in television and films, and certain genre of production were more likely than others to contain smoking. For example, old black and white films, thrillers, gangster films, dramas and some soap operas were associated more with smoking than others including comedies or romantic films.

“Black and white films.”

“Like Eastenders and stuff.”

“Leonardo Di Caprio smoked in Titanic.”

(Female, 12, ABC1, Smokers)

6.4.3 Different Levels of Effect

It was also clear from this that the different forms of marketing communications engaged the young people at different levels. For example, some of the techniques involved young people directly and on their own. For instance, promotions such as free gifts or competitions. However, many of the types of communications that the young people were most animated about were those that engaged them in a group. Loyalty schemes, packaging and to a lesser degree point of sale and promotional mail seemed to work in this way. In those situations where the respondents, along with either friends or family members, could participate in the marketing device, it seemed to have made a bigger impression. Packaging was a good example of this. As discussed above, attractive packaging helped to establish and reinforce the peer-endorsed nature of particular key brands, such as Lambert & Butler. Other forms of marketing communications seemed to impact upon the young people’s smoking and brand-related preferences in a more

indirect way. Communications devices such as advertising and sponsorship seem to help young people come to some conclusions about the relative attractiveness of smoking or particular brands and their symbolic meaning. It could be argued that these devices, along with others, such as product placement or even the internet, worked in a different way, by contributing to cultural meaning and symbolism of cigarettes and smoking.

6.5 Cigarette Branding

The research has demonstrated the importance of branding for young people's non-tobacco consumption behaviour, see Section 6.2.3. The qualitative research also examined the relevance of branding in young people's smoking related behaviour, as well as the attractiveness and brand-personalities of main cigarette brands. As discussed in the literature review (Section 3.3.4), brand image was an important outcome and effect of marketing communications. Marketing communications were used by companies to help differentiate their brands by helping to create particular meanings and personalities for their products. Therefore, an understanding of young people's perceptions of tobacco brands was useful in determining how they engaged with commercial material for tobacco, and helped to illuminate the relative meaning attached to tobacco brands.

To uncover the relevance and attributes of cigarette brand imagery and the personalities of key brands, two exercises were conducted. First, the young people were invited to map the cigarette brands on a two-dimensional grid according to attractiveness (like ↔ dislike) and perceived target (for someone like me ↔ not for someone like me). Secondly, the respondents were asked to project personalities onto the cigarette brands.

This section discusses the relevance of cigarette branding for the four different typologies of young people. It then describes the commonly held perceptions of key cigarette brands. Finally, it reflects on the key features of attractive cigarette brands.

6.5.1 Typologies Response to Cigarette Branding

On the whole, the two smoking types found the cigarette branding exercises easier than the two non-smoking types, as they were more familiar with the brands and had already formed steadfast perceptions of the cigarette brands' attractiveness and personalities. The two non-smoking types coped with the exercises by using their incomplete knowledge of the brands (gleaned from friends/family members who smoked or simply from cigarette packs they had seen lying around schools, parks or in shops), and from judgements made of the brand's packaging.

The 'resigned addicts' had the strongest perceptions of both attractive and unattractive brands. The image of the cigarette brand that they smoked was tremendously important to them. They had a small range of cigarette brands that were acceptable to smoke, and on the whole, would not contemplate smoking other cigarette brands. Their preferred brands had very strong images and meanings for these young smokers. They favoured Embassy Regal and Lambert & Butler, and believed that these had the most attractive, popular and youthful images. By comparison, all the remaining cigarette brands were perceived very negatively, especially those that were unfamiliar (eg. Kensitas Club) or were perceived to be cheap, poor quality brands (eg. Bennington or Superkings). However, they also disliked other premium line brands, such as Marlboro or Camel, because they were perceived to be international brands that were not grounded in local culture and language. Low tar brands (eg. Silk Cut) were perceived as weak, overly feminine or associated with ill health and even pregnancy, and so were not perceived as appropriate youth brands.

Immediate level influences on brand perceptions were very important. As with other product groups, eg. training shoes or clothes, the peer group dictated which cigarette brands were acceptable and which were not. Brands were an important way of demonstrating self-image and solidarity with the peer group, and purchasing an unfashionable brand was believed to met with considerable derision from friends:

“They are laughing at you because you are smoking them cigarettes [economy brand].”

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

“If you went to a party or something [with Kensitas Club cigarettes], people would take the piss out of you because they would think you were a scruff or something.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

The response to Lambert & Butler cigarettes was an excellent example of the dominance of social influences in shaping brand perceptions. On the whole, young people rejected mid-price cigarettes (a category of cheaper cigarettes which included brands such as Lambert & Butler, Mayfair and Superkings) because they were not perceived to have the same prestige as premium cigarettes (eg. more expensive cigarettes such as Marlboro, Benson & Hedges, Silk Cut or Embassy Regal). Despite this shared attitude towards mid-price brands, Lambert & Butler was found to be popular and to have a more attractive and acceptable image among young smokers, than other cheaper brands. All mid-price brands were heavily advertised in the area, so the influence of marketing communications alone does not explain this preference. Groups of young people seem to have sanctioned the use of this brand and shared a view that use of this brand was normal, popular and mainstream. However, it is likely that marketing communications also played an important role in this as most were aware of the Lambert & Butler advertisements and found them funny and engaging.

The ‘thrill-seekers’ held very similar brand perceptions to the ‘resigned addicts’. They held the same strong preferences for a small number of cigarette brands and rejected the use of other brands. As before, they preferred Embassy Regal and Lambert & Butler cigarettes and held more positive images of these brands’ personalities. Peer influences were very important in shaping and influencing their brand perceptions. Friends tended

to smoke the same cigarette brands, and to have put very little consideration into other cigarette brands on the market:

“It is like you start smoking and your pal is smoking a brand, then you just keep getting that brand, you don’t really want to change.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

The positively received brands were associated with youth, popularity, local culture, were perceived to be of appropriate strength and had a nice taste:

“I like Lambert...they taste all right”

“They are better, cheaper”

“they taste like, sweeter...like when you taste apples”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

On the whole, both of the non-smoking types had negative perceptions of cigarette brands and their brand images. They associated cigarette brands with the same negative imagery they associated with smoking, eg. unhealthiness, and being down-market, ‘hard’ and unglamorous. Furthermore, they found it much more difficult to distinguish different brands’ personalities or images for different cigarette brands. This was particularly the case for the **‘puritanical non-smokers’**:

Q. “What kind of person is Sovereign?”

“Just anyone who smokes”

“...just like trampy people”

(Male, 14, ABC1, Non-Smokers)

Their difficulty in distinguishing different brand personalities is probably unsurprising given that smoking was not an important part of their individual or social behaviour.

However, some of the non-smokers, and in particular, the ‘rational non-smokers’ were more familiar with cigarette brands, especially Embassy Regal and Lambert & Butler. They were also more able to project personalities onto these brands than the puritanical non-smokers. For example, many of the ‘rational non-smokers’ responded positively to Embassy Regal:

“[Indicates Embassy Regal] they look and sound dead high class.”

“Sounds like good value for money.”

“A canny good buy.”

(Male, 15, ABC1, Non-smokers)

“If I smoked, it would be Regal fags rather than Superkings or Embassy. Don’t ask me why...Regal might be the fashion for young people to smoke or something.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Non-smokers)

“[likes Regal because]...because more younger people walk about with Regal than others.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Non-smokers)

6.5.2 Responses to Key Cigarette Brands

The young people were asked to project personalities onto the key cigarette brands used in the mapping exercise: Lambert & Butler, Embassy Regal, Kensitas Club, Benson & Hedges, Marlboro, Embassy, Silk Cut, Camel, Dunhill, Consulate, Superkings and Bennington. This helped to reveal their brand preferences and to uncover their feelings

about particular brands. The following summarises the young people's perceptions of these cigarette brands:

- **Lambert & Butler:** were very popular amongst the young people in N E England. It was believed to have an acceptable taste. It had an attractive image and was affordable without bearing the negative image of economy brands. The image of Lambert & Butler was closest to the image they held of young people like themselves - popular, young, mainstream and friendly.

Q. "What sort of person would Lambert & Butler be?"

"A young person."

"Just normal...like us."

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

- **Embassy Regal:** had a very similar positive image to that of Lambert & Butler, although it was believed to be more expensive and slightly more inaccessible as a result. It was perceived as a very local brand with a youthful and down to earth images, but was perceived to be more upmarket than Lambert & Butler. Embassy Regal had the most positive image of all the cigarette brands amongst the young people, and in some cases had become an integral part of their language and culture.

"I think Regal are the best."

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

"They go for Regal if they can afford them...they are like the best out of all of them."

(Male, 15, ABC1, Non-smokers)

“We like the sound of Regal!...so you can call them ‘Reggies’.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

- **Kensitas Club⁵**: Because it was unfamiliar, the young people tended to assume that this brand was an unsuccessful or very cheap cigarette brand, and rejected it as a result.

“[laughs] I have never heard of them...they look crap!”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“If you went to a party or something with them, everyone would take the piss out of you because they would think you were a scruff or something.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

This demonstrates the importance of local, cultural influence of tobacco marketing communications in determining brand image. Marketing cues alone do not seem to create relevant and attractive brand images. Local social and cultural factors are important for interpreting and communicating brand values. In this case, the young people have determined that Kensitas Club cigarettes are not attractive because they do not feature in their social group’s smoking behaviour.

⁵ This brand is a popular cigarette among teenaged smokers in Scotland (Aitken et al 1988), however it is not widely known outside of Scotland.

- **Benson & Hedges:** these were not particularly popular cigarettes. They tended to be associated with older smokers and smokers in the south of England.

“Them Benson & Hedges are more for older people.”

(Female, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“Older people...posh people.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

- **Marlboro:** Marlboro had a strong, negative image amongst the young smokers in this study. Its strong, American image was unattractive to them. They also associated it with older, especially male smokers or students who would prefer its strong flavour and tar content.

Q. “What kind of person would smoke Marlboro then?”

“Old people, old people.”

“Old with balding heads.”

“Old guys with big beards and all that.”

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

- **Embassy:** Most young people had relatively neutral or slightly negative opinions of Embassy cigarettes. While, they benefited from the positive image associated with Embassy Regal, they were not very popular amongst many young people. Again, they tended to be rejected on the grounds that they were too old or too upmarket.

“I think posh people smoke Embassy.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

- **Silk Cut:** On the whole, Silk Cut had a negative image amongst the young people, particularly amongst the boys. They did not value ‘low tar’ cigarettes, and associated Silk Cut with women, pregnancy and cessation. There were practical as well as image related reasons to reject Silk Cut – many felt that they would be unsatisfying and that it would be difficult to “*get a hit*” from them.

Q. “What kind of person is Silk Cut?”

“Someone who has asthma and that.”

“Or who would want to cut down on smoking.”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

“Silk Cut? They have a wee hole in them, so you can’t take a proper draw.”

“It is just like smoking fresh air.”

(Female, 14, C2DE, Smokers)

- **Camel:** This brand had the most negative imagery for the young people. Most smokers believed that it was very unlikely that they would smoke Camel cigarettes, although many agreed that the packaging was attractive. It was associated with older people, students, foreign holidays and cheap cigarettes.

“The Camel ones look cheap and nasty!”

(Female, 15, C2DE, smokers)

“You know Harry Enfield – Wayne and Waynetta, they would smoke them!...I think they are crappy!”

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

- **Dunhill:** These cigarettes were rejected on the basis that they were too upmarket and associated with older smokers. The personality of Dunhill was imagined to be a businessman or a well to do middle aged woman.

“For rich, snobby people.”

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

“They look right posh.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

- **Consulate:** There was little awareness and appreciation of Consulate cigarettes and menthol cigarettes in general. Few smokers had tried them and most believed that menthol flavoured cigarettes were unpalatable. They tended to be associated with older women, illnesses and holidays abroad.

“I think it would be pure foreigners that smoke them...like Camel and that.”

(Male, 12, C2DE, Smokers)

“Them Consulates are horrible, they taste really disgusting.”

(Female, 15, ABC1, Smokers)

- **Superkings:** This brand also had a negative image for the young people. These extra long cigarettes were unattractive, as they were associated with the image of old, desperate and addicted smokers.

“Poorkings!...they are bigger than all the rest.”

(Male, 13, ABC1, Smokers)

- **Bennington:** Responses to Bennington cigarettes was typical of young people's responses to the cheapest, economy line cigarettes. These cigarettes had the most unattractive imagery, associated with the oldest and most addicted smokers. Like unbranded trainers, cigarettes which were not marketed heavily had the most negative imagery.

"That is right at the bottom...that is for grannies."

"Because they are crap...it is the way the box is and they don't get advertised."

(Male, 15, C2DE, Smokers)

6.5.3 Attributes of Attractive Brand Images

From an analysis of the brand-mapping and personification exercises, a number of conclusions can be drawn about the attributes of cigarette brands which are popular with young people

The popular cigarette brands that tended to be smoked by young people, eg. Embassy Regal and Lambert & Butler shared common characteristics. Some of these were related to objective features of the brand (eg. price, taste and strength), but the majority were determined by image, social and cultural factors:

1. **Premium or mid-price cigarette brands.** Economy line cigarettes were very unacceptable to young people. Economy brands were too down-market and were associated with unattractive images of smoking, eg. addiction and poverty. Most popular were brands that were heavily marketed and familiar, eg. Lambert & Butler or Embassy Regal. These were associated with success, popularity, youth and individuality.

2. **Acceptable taste/strength.** Acceptable brands were those which were perceived to be strong enough to be satisfying, but not too strong or harsh. It is difficult to assess the extent to which the objective features of the brands (eg. taste and strength) were real or imagined. For instance, most young people cannot explain the differences between brands in terms of their differing tar or nicotine content. However, the young smokers were consistent in their conviction that certain brands tasted more agreeable than others.
3. **Perceived to be local.** The perceived geographic profile of particular brands was important. Young people in this research were most likely to have preferences for brands associated with the North of England eg. Lambert & Butler and Embassy Regal in NE England. Similarly, they were less likely to identify with brands associated with London or abroad, eg. Camel, Marlboro or Benson & Hedges. This demonstrates the importance of self-identity and local culture in brand preferences.
4. **Attractive packaging.** Brands that tended to be preferred by young people were also perceived to have attractive packaging. There were few tangible differences in, for example, the style or use of colour in attractive or unattractive packages, but young people had strong feelings of appreciation for the packaging of those brands they preferred.
5. **Youthful image.** The image of the perceived target market of the brand was important. The most attractive imagery was youthful, eg. late teens and early 20s. Certain brands were unattractive to young smokers because they were associated with an image of smoking that was old, addicted, desperate and unhealthy. Examples of these brands included some mid-price or economy brand. Youth smoking held a different image. It was driven by experimentation rather than addiction and was associated with images of excitement, risk-taking

and individuality. Brands associated with youth, eg. Embassy Regal or Lambert & Butler, tended to have this imagery and associations of smoking.

6. **Well advertised.** Brands that were heavily advertised were preferred as they were those believed to be most successful and popular. Premium and mid-price brands tended to fall in this category. However, not all heavily advertised brands were attractive to the young people in this study, eg. Benson & Hedges or Marlboro. Local cultural and social preferences mediated the importance of advertising. Therefore, the meaning that young people derived from commercial messages was mediated by the messages encoded in local culture and society. For instance, while Benson & Hedges was a heavily advertised brand and one of the most popular brands in the country as a whole, young people in the North of England associated it with the south east, and with insincerity, arrogance and pretentiousness.

6.6 Summary of Qualitative Research

The key findings of the research can be summarised as follows:

(i) Young people are not manipulated by marketing communications

The research has demonstrated that the young people were not being manipulated by marketing communications, confirming one of the main findings of the literature review. Rather than being 'used by' marketers, the respondents 'used' marketing communications to receive particular benefits including – material benefits, fun/sociability, distraction and access to adult activities. The young people were most appreciative and involved with marketing communications that offered them symbolic or hedonistic rewards. For example, involvement with promotions that helped them feel more adult or popular. Much of the young people's social life and language was

influenced by the media and marketing. This was evident by the manner in which they discussed their interests, favoured famous personalities and their consumption habits. For instance, they used pseudo-marketing terminology in everyday language, eg. 'targeting', 'promotions', 'brands' or 'makes'.

(ii) Consumption was an important part of young people's lives and their consumption behaviour was often symbolic and involved brands

Success and failure within their social life was also determined in many ways, by marketing and the media. 'Big brand names' were the predominance of the successful and popular, as they were expensive, exclusive and well advertised. The young people tended to attach strong meaning to different brands and had extensive knowledge of different brands and their imagery. While their knowledge of brand imagery was expansive, their judgements of them were based on relatively unsophisticated criteria – for example, high price was valued for itself. The young people's sensitivity towards branding encapsulated their need for symbolic, image-laden icons. Owning 'popular brands' helped the young people realise their ideal self-image and deal with some of the feelings of self-doubt and insecurity that accompany adolescents. Cigarettes purchases are also, in part, influenced by the need to own (and be seen to own) symbolic and popular brands.

Cigarettes also had strong, clear brand images. The relevance of brand imagery to smokers was important, but not as relevant as brand imagery for visible, undifferentiated products, such as clothing. However, it was clear that cigarette branding was influential in young people's perceptions of smoking and cigarettes. Popular, well advertised and expensive brands were distant from the negative imagery of smoking, eg. poverty, ill health or unsociability. The most popular brands were also associated with the local area, were down-to-earth and youthful, which in turn supported the normal and acceptable images of smoking. The attributes of attractive brands were not just related

to the objective features of the brand, such as personal taste preference or price, but were also determined by immediate and wider environmental factors, such as perceived peer approval of the brand or the extent to which the brand was believed to be local. One of the most important roles of tobacco marketing communications (see Literature review section 3.3.4) is to create these strong and enduring tobacco brand images.

There was one brand in particular that was favoured by the smokers. The ‘key youth brand’ in this study was Lambert & Butler. Its image was youthful, down-to-earth, local, good quality but reasonably priced. Its image was similar to that of other clothing brands they liked, eg. Nike or Reebok. These are all brands that are very mainstream, popular and well-advertised.

(iii) Individual, Immediate and Wider level influences explain differences in smoker and non-smoker types

Young people’s smoking related attitudes and beliefs varied according to their experience of smoking. In general, smoking attitudes consisted of individual factors (eg. attitudes about addiction, benefits and costs of smoking), immediate factors (eg. beliefs about the sociability of smoking and peer or family influences on smoking), and wider factors (eg. beliefs about the prevalence of smoking, the cultural acceptability of smoking, and whether or not attempts should be made to control tobacco smoking or marketing).

There were found to be four broad types of young people according to their smoking related responses (see Figure 6.1 below). The four different typologies had different general characteristics, smoking behaviour, smoking attitudes, responses to tobacco marketing communications and responses to tobacco branding.

Figure 6.1: Summary of Youth Smoking Typologies

| "RESIGNED ADDICTS" | "THRILL -SEEKERS" |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Characteristics:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Committed, regular smokers ● Older, more likely to be C2DE ● Less confident or academic ● <i>Smoking Behaviour:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Daily/regular smoking ● Buy own cigarettes ● Perceive themselves addicted ● Identify with 'being a smoker' ● May down trade to mid-price ● <i>Smoking Attitudes:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Personal: Addiction; manage stress/anger; health concerns ● Social: friends and siblings approve; friends approve of brand choice. ● Wider: prevalent youth behaviour; oppose tobacco control ● <i>Tobacco Marketing Communications:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Very familiar with ● Appreciative and involved with ● Especially 'value' based communications eg. loyalty schemes, money-off, promotional mail. ● <i>Tobacco Branding:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Strong brand perceptions ● Brand image very important to smoking behaviour ● Distinguish different brand personalities ● Favour Lambert & Butler and Embassy Regal ● Social/ cultural influences important for determining brands. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Characteristics:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Irregular, 'social' smokers ● Younger, more ABC1 ● Rebellious, popular, risk-takers ● <i>Smoking Behaviour:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Weekend/social smokers ● Share cigarette packs ● Do not perceive themselves addicted ● Do not identify with 'being a smoker' ● Favour premium brands ● <i>Smoking Attitudes:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Personal: not addicted; sociability and fun; rebelliousness ● Social: friends and siblings approve; friends approve of brand choice ● Wider: prevalent youth behaviour; some support for tobacco control to protect younger children. ● <i>Tobacco Marketing Communications:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Familiar with ● Relatively appreciative and involved with. ● More interested in 'image' based promotions eg. advertising, packaging, point of sale, sponsorship. ● <i>Tobacco Branding:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Strong brand perceptions ● Brand image very important to smoking behaviour ● Distinguish different brand personalities ● Favour Lambert & Butler and Embassy Regal ● Social/ cultural influences important for determining brands. |
| "PURITANICAL ANTI-SMOKERS" | "RATIONAL NON-SMOKERS" |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Characteristics</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Young, never smokers ● Confident, able, sociable, sporty ● None/few smoking friends or family ● Intolerant of smoking ● <i>Smoking Attitudes:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Personal: strong negative image of smoking and smokers; health effects prominent ● Social: friends disapprove of smoking ● Wider: relatively prevalent behaviour; strongly support tobacco control ● <i>Tobacco Marketing Communications:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Very little awareness of ● Little appreciation/involvement ● <i>Tobacco Branding:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Limited awareness/understanding ● Brands have very negative image | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Characteristics</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Older, non-smokers ● Confident, sociable, may use alcohol ● May have tried smoking ● Tolerant of smoking ● <i>Smoking Attitudes</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Personal: smoking unattractive; respect smokers 'choice' to smoke ● Social: Unsociable, but anti-smoking uncool ● Wider: Support increased taxes and cessation, but may not support marketing controls ● <i>Tobacco Marketing Communications:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Limited awareness ● More tolerant and appreciative ● <i>Tobacco Branding:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Limited awareness/understanding ● Brands have very negative image |

Therefore, tobacco marketing communications was having the greatest influence with the smoking related attitudes and behaviour of the 'resigned addicts', 'thrill-seekers', and to a lesser degree the 'rational non-smokers'.

The 'resigned addicts' were most aware, appreciative and involved with tobacco related marketing communications and also have very strong and powerful perceptions of tobacco brands. This is to be expected, as they are the most regular and committed users of the product, and are therefore most likely to be paying attention to tobacco marketing communications for their brand. Unlike the remaining three groups, they displayed some interest in communications which may add value to their smoking, eg. money-off coupons or gift schemes. This may be posing additional barriers to any prospect of them quitting and may increase their loyalty and strength of belief in their brand.

The 'thrill-seekers' involvement with tobacco marketing communications was interesting. As less committed smokers, they looked to tobacco marketing communications for reassurance as to the image-related benefits of smoking. They needed reassurance that smoking was attractive, popular and youthful, and the types of marketing communications they engaged with (eg. advertising, sponsorship, packaging) provided this. It also provided reassurance that their brand also shared these values of attractiveness, popularity and youthfulness.

The non-smokers were less involved with tobacco related marketing communications, and indeed the 'puritanical' non-smokers did not engage with tobacco marketing communications at any real level. However, the 'rational non-smokers' were interested in some elements of tobacco marketing, at a very passive level and revealed more tolerant attitudes towards smoking and tobacco brands. It may be that the older non-smokers have more tolerant views of experimentation with tobacco because they are a little older, have friends who smoke, engage themselves in other risky behaviours, eg. use alcohol, or may be considering smoking themselves at some point in the future.

(iv) Different forms of tobacco marketing communications engage young people at different levels

The qualitative study also showed that the different forms of tobacco marketing communications engaged young people at different levels. There were certain forms of communications that involved participation in isolation from others eg. sales promotion or price promotions. On the other hand, communications devices such as loyalty schemes, point of sale, packaging and promotion mail seemed to work by targeting groups of young people or families. For example, promotional mail and loyalty schemes often reached young people via family members, while packaging and point of sale can target young people in a group of friends. Other forms of marketing communications worked at a wider level by helping to support cultural perceptions of cigarette brands or the meaning attached to smoking. Advertising and sponsorship seemed to work best in this way.

(v) Tobacco marketing communications, brand perceptions and smoking beliefs are important

The qualitative research found that young smokers were engaging with tobacco marketing communications, but this alone did not help to explain their smoking behaviours. It is also likely that their strong perceptions of certain cigarette brands and their positive attitudes towards smoking help to encourage and reinforce their smoking behaviour. These three groups of factors are further explored in the following quantitative study.

7.0 DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESES

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the development of the theoretical framework and hypotheses that informed the design and analysis of the quantitative research.

The importance of theory driven research cannot be overstated. Hartman and Hedbloom (1979) observed that data without a theoretical foundation is simply the collection of facts that can never be fully understood. They argued that data only makes sense within the theoretical context in which it is framed. Theories are models or frameworks that explain or predict particular outcomes (Black 1990). There is an important reciprocal relationship between research and theory – research is used in an inductive way to help develop theories, that are then tested deductively and used to develop and refine theory (Hartman and Hedbloom 1979). In this way, science is an ongoing process of developing and refining theories that contribute in small ways to our understanding of the world (Black 1990). Hypotheses are essential in the development of theory. They are testable propositions that are logically derived from theory and are used to help develop and refine theory (Sommer and Sommer 1991).

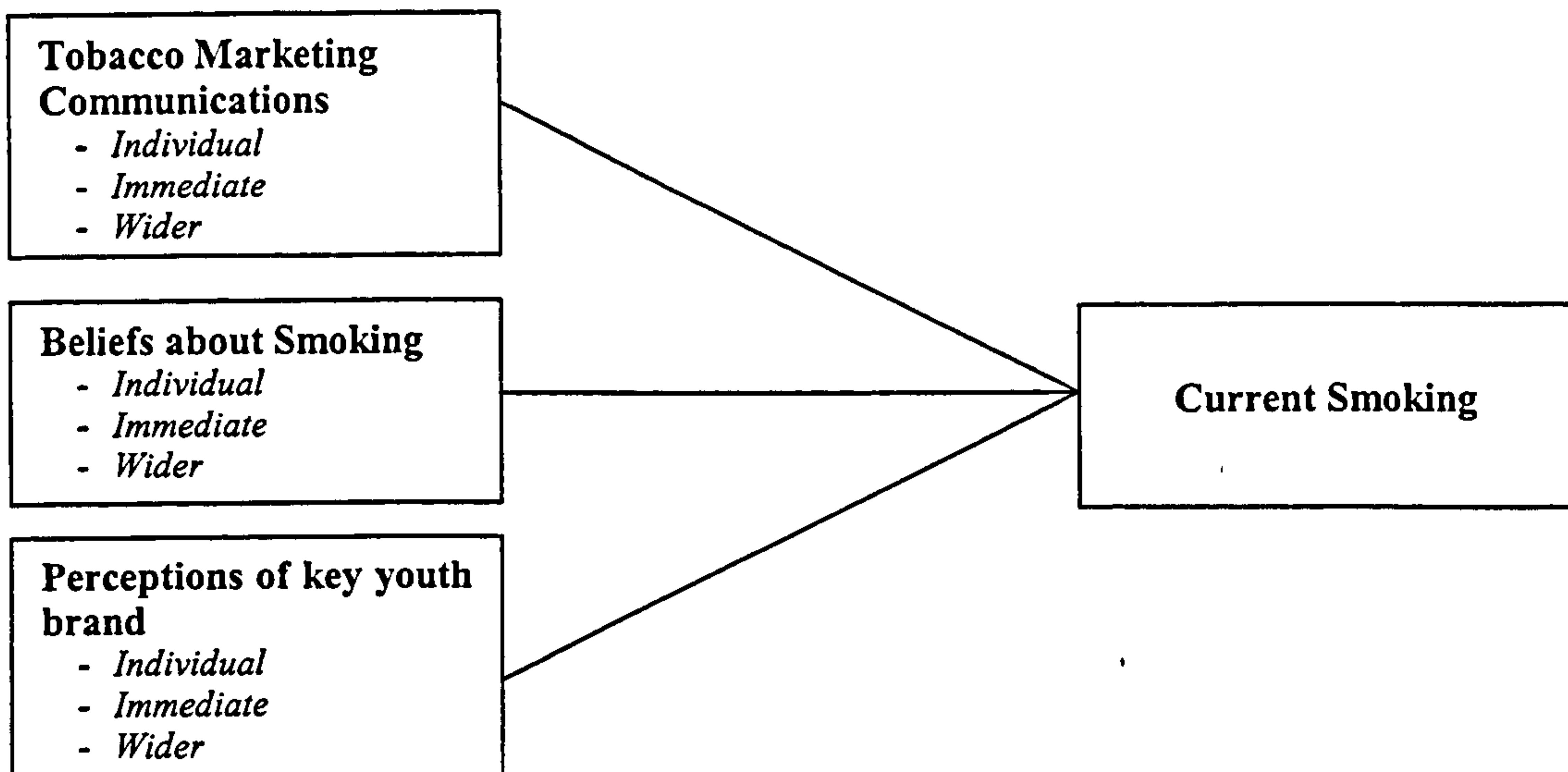
The theoretical framework discussed here explains the relationship between tobacco marketing communications and young people's smoking behaviour and is derived from the literature review (see Chapters 2-4) and the qualitative research (see Chapter 6). The framework is shown in Figure 7.1. It explains that youth smoking behaviour is related to: awareness of marketing communications, having positive beliefs about smoking, and having positive perceptions of the 'key youth brand'. These three groups of variables are hypothesised to be independently related to smoking behaviour. One of the important findings to emerge from both the literature review and qualitative research was the relevance of individual, immediate and wider level influences on behaviour. The model shows that within each of the three independent variables, these three levels are also important.

As the data that is used for this research is cross-sectional, it is not possible to determine the effect of tobacco marketing communications on smoking initiation directly. However, the framework can hypothesise the existence of a relationship between tobacco marketing communications and current smoking, which at least

demonstrates that marketing devices reinforce current smoking (Aitken and Eadie 1990).

This brief chapter explains the theoretical framework, and, using evidence from the literature and the qualitative study, justifies the inclusion of each of the independent variables. It also describes how the model will be tested. Each hypothesis (and associated null hypothesis) is outlined.

Figure 7.1: The Theoretical Framework - Correlates with Current Smoking



The model was tested using two binary logistic regression models.

7.2 Smoking Status and Correlates

The theoretical framework describes smoking status as being associated with:

- Awareness of tobacco marketing communications;
- Beliefs about benefits or acceptability of smoking;
- Positive perceptions of the ‘key youth brand’.

It is hypothesised that each of these groups of variables is independently associated with smoking status. Therefore, in the logistic regression analysis, each will be tested for its correlation with smoking status when all other variables are held constant. In the hypothesis that follow, the independent nature of these relationships is expressed as ‘all things being equal...’.

Each of these is now discussed.

7.2.1 Tobacco Marketing Communications

The literature review demonstrated that tobacco marketing communications was both correlated with, and causally determined, young people's smoking behaviour (see Chapter 4). Most of this research has focused on tobacco advertising, sponsorship and promotions.

The literature has demonstrated that young people's smoking behaviour is correlated with their awareness of tobacco advertising (Di Franza 1991, Fischer 1989, Aitken et al 1987) and their appreciation of tobacco advertising (Arnett and Terhanian 1998, Feighery et al 1998, Evans et al 1995, Unger et al 1995, Covell et al 1994, Pechmann and Rathneswar 1994, Di Franza et al 1991, Pierce et al 1991, Aitken and Eadie 1990, Potts et al 1986). This correlation between tobacco advertising and smoking status has shown that young smokers pay significantly more attention to tobacco advertising than young non-smokers, and that they derive some pleasure from this (Aitken and Eadie 1990). These cross-sectional studies cannot prove that this contact with tobacco advertising causes smoking, but it has provided evidence that young smokers are involved in a beneficial relationship with tobacco marketing stimuli.

However, a number of longitudinal studies have also been conducted which do provide evidence of causal effects. This research has shown that within cohorts of young people, those non-smokers who are aware of and who like tobacco advertising, are significantly more likely to progress to regular smoking (While et al 1996, Aitken et al 1991, Alexander et al 1983). This had provided convincing evidence of a causal effect between tobacco advertising and smoking behaviour.

Therefore, there is already considerable evidence to suggest that tobacco advertising is an important determinant of smoking behaviour. However, it is important that the research framework also includes other elements of the marketing communications mix, such as sponsorship, point of sale, coupon schemes, promotions, special price offers, promotional mail, brand-stretching, pack design and the internet. The marketing literature has confirmed that companies communicate to their consumers via an integrated mix of communications devices (Kotler et al 1999, Smith 1993).

Therefore, it seems prudent for the research framework to examine the wider mix of communications activities.

Furthermore, there is also research evidence that some of these other forms of marketing communications also affect smoking behaviour. For example, young smokers have been found to be more aware and appreciative of tobacco sponsored events than young non-smokers (Cornwell 1997, Charlton et al 1997, Huek et al 1993, Aitken et al 1986, Piepe 1986, Ledwith 1984). The ownership of tobacco branded promotional items has also been shown to be correlated with, (Feighery et al 1998, Gilpin et al 1997, Altman 1996) and predictive of, youth smoking behaviour (Redmond 1999, Pierce et al 1998).

Other forms of marketing communications are also used by the tobacco industry including: loyalty schemes (Altman et al 1996), free sampling (Grant 1997), brand-stretching (Aitken et al 1985a), packaging (Goldberg et al 1995, Rootman and Flay 1995, Carr-Greg and Gray 1993, Beede and Lawson 1992), point of sale advertising and displays (Di Franza et al 1999, Woodruff et al 1995), product placement in films and TV (Chapman and Davies 1997, Stockwell and Glantz 1997, Hart 1996), and the internet. While, there is less research evidence about the potential effects of these other forms of communication on youth smoking behaviour, they are used in conjunction with advertising, sponsorship and promotions, and therefore need to be examined.

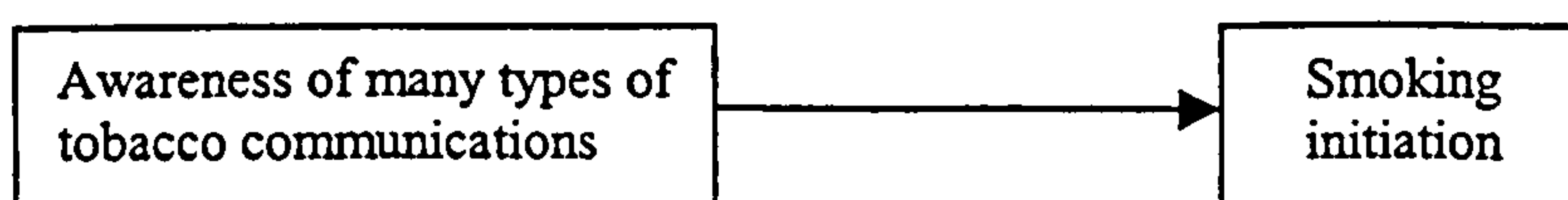
Young people's contact with tobacco marketing communications can be measured in terms of awareness, appreciation or involvement. It is likely that young people who already smoke will be more appreciative and involved in certain types of promotions, eg. on-pack saving coupons or loyalty schemes. Therefore, it will be harder to disentangle the direction of the relationship, given the cross-sectional nature of the study. Since 'awareness' of tobacco marketing was likely to be the more difficult test of tobacco marketing communications and to have the weakest correlation with smoking behaviour, this was chosen. As longitudinal data was not collected, it is not possible to confirm the direction of the relationship between tobacco marketing communications and smoking status. However, demonstrating that young people who are aware of tobacco marketing communications are also those most likely to smoke, is more convincing evidence of a reinforcing relationship between marketing and behaviour, than either appreciation or involvement. Therefore, we would expect that if tobacco marketing was having a reinforcing effect on young people's smoking

behaviour, that young smokers would be aware of more forms of tobacco marketing communications.

The theoretical framework demonstrates the existence of an important relationship between awareness of tobacco marketing communications and current smoking, but it cannot determine cause or effect. There are two potential explanations for this relationship.

First, it may be that the direction of this relationship is from '*awareness of many types of marketing communications*' to '*current smoking*', ie. being aware of tobacco marketing encourages youth smoking, see Figure 7.2. Section 2.2 of the literature review described the psychological process of smoking initiation amongst young people. In essence, this model assumed that young people undergo several psychological states from not contemplating smoking, to considering smoking, through experimentation, habituation and ultimately maintenance of the habit. It may be that the relationship between tobacco marketing communications and current smoking can be explained as a direct influence of marketing on young non-smokers contemplating smoking. For example, tobacco marketing may provide some cues about the attractiveness or acceptability of smoking, which in turn helps young people to make the decision to smoke. Figure 7.2 summarises this phenomenon and shows that awareness of tobacco marketing communications directly influences smoking initiation.

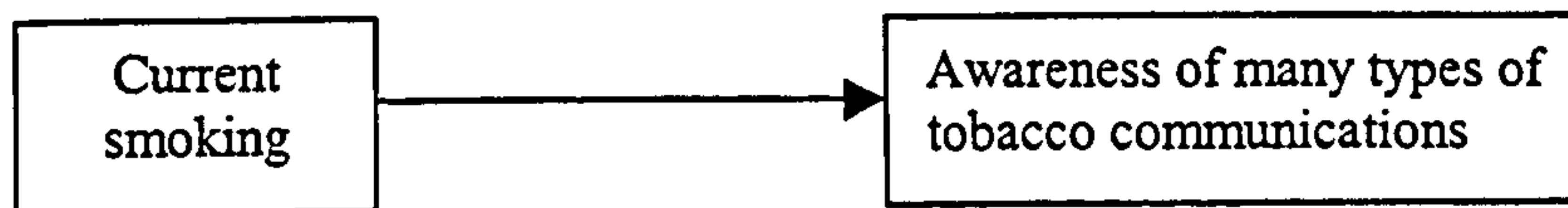
Figure 7.2: Awareness of Tobacco Marketing Communications Influences Current Smoking



Alternatively, it is also likely that the relationship can occur in the opposite direction, from '*current smoking*' to '*awareness of many types of marketing communications*', see Figure 7.3. In this case, young people may be paying more attention to marketing, *after* they have made the decision to smoke. This does not mean that tobacco marketing communications is unimportant in the smoking initiation process, but that it plays a role in a different stage of the decision process. Instead of providing cues during the 'pre-contemplation' or 'contemplation' stages, marketing provides reassurance during the experimentation or habituation processes, when

young smokers are looking for evidence to reinforce their decision to take up smoking. The concept of 'cognitive dissonance' describes the feelings of self-doubt consumers often feel after making difficult decisions (Festinger 1957). It has been observed that consumers look for evidence, eg. in advertising or marketing, that they have made the right choice (Aitken 1998, Aitken et al 1986).

Figure 7.3: Current Smoking Influences Awareness of Tobacco Marketing Communications



Therefore, Figures 7.2 and 7.3 describe two potential ways that tobacco marketing communications is related to current smoking. As this data is cross-sectional, it is only possible to demonstrate a significant relationship between awareness of tobacco marketing and smoking behaviour, which could be in either direction, or most likely, both.

Therefore, if tobacco marketing communications is correlated with current smoking behaviour and has a reinforcing or reassuring effect on young people's decision to smoke, we would expect young smokers to be aware of more forms of tobacco marketing communications than non-smokers or those who have only tried smoking.

This discussion produces the first hypothesis:

H 1: All things being equal, young people who are more aware of tobacco marketing communications will be more likely to be current smokers.

To test this hypothesis, the total number of tobacco marketing communications of which the young people were aware was compared for current smokers and those who were not current smokers. This is examined in logistic regression model one (see Section 8.4.2.2).

As well, as being aware of more forms of tobacco marketing communications, it is also likely that young smokers will be more aware of specific types of tobacco marketing communications. One important aspect of the theoretical framework is the existence of different levels of influence on young people's behaviour. The model

assumes that tobacco marketing communications do not simply influence consumers on a direct or individual basis, but also affect consumers indirectly through our immediate social network, as well as our wider culture. The qualitative research examined this issue and helped to identify the marketing techniques that impacted most on each level of influence (see Table 7.1).

The individual level marketing communications techniques were those that engaged the young people most on a personal level, and did not tend to involve them in groups or to influence broader societal perceptions of smoking. These marketing communications techniques tended to be less imagery based and more focused on short-term economic promotions. As a result, the individual level included sales promotions and special price offers, where young people received particular rational economic benefits from involvement, and where their involvement was likely to be separate from their friends or family. The individual level also included brand-stretching, which, while it is most likely to work by promoting the image of the brand, is likely to involve young people individually. Young people encountered brand-stretching in magazines, which tended to be read alone. These adverts helped to support the image that the young people held of certain brands and was probably out-with the social influences around smoking behaviour.

The immediate level marketing communications techniques were those that engaged young people in important reference groups, eg. friends, family, school or local community. These worked by helping to support the strong social influences around smoking initiation. Therefore, immediate level marketing communications included loyalty schemes, since respondents in the qualitative research reported receiving gifts from family members or collecting coupons with friends. Promotional mail had a similar impact – respondents ‘received’ promotional mail when family members received communications from the tobacco industry. Mail like this seemed to be shared by family members. Packaging was also an important device for reaching groups of young friends. Cigarette packs were shared amongst groups of friends who held very strong views about the perceived acceptability and attractiveness of the cigarette brand and its packaging. A cigarette brand (with an attractive packet) was one of the identifiers of a particular group of friends, along with branded clothing or musical tastes. Point of sale messages were observed by young people in the types of shops in their local community they were most familiar with. Heavy promotion in corner shops, sweet shops, or chip shops etc., helped to support the perception that

smoking was an acceptable behaviour in their local community and helped distinguish those brands that were locally popular.

Those forms of tobacco marketing communication that worked most by contributing to cultural perceptions of smoking were ascribed to the wider level. This included advertising, sponsorship, the placement of cigarette brands in TV and film and the internet. Tobacco advertising and sponsorship was understood to work by contributing to young people's commonly held perception that smoking was an attractive, sociable and exciting activity. It is these image and symbolic perceptions that young people most buy into when deciding to smoke. The placement of cigarettes in films and TV works by emphasising that smoking is widespread and by helping to create and shape culturally determined perceptions of smoking. Actors smoke to help show emotion (eg. stress) or to give characters more easily recognisable attributes (eg. dangerous, untrustworthy). Finally, at the time of the research, the internet was used most by the tobacco industry for corporate communications purposes and in particular to communicate the notion that they are good corporate citizens. This type of communications activity works most by contributing indirectly to the belief that smoking is culturally sanctioned.

Therefore, the first hypothesis was also tested by examining the individual, immediate and wider level nature of tobacco marketing communications. This is examined in the second logistic regression model. New variables were computed which categorised the tobacco marketing communications into the three levels of effect as shown in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 The Three Levels of Effect of Tobacco Marketing Communications

| Marketing Communications Technique at each level | Measure |
|--|--|
| <i>Individual Level</i> | |
| ▪ Promotions | Free gifts showing brand logos given out at events such as concerts |
| | Free gifts from the shop keeper when people buy cigarettes |
| | Competitions or prize draws linked to cigarettes |
| | Free trial cigarettes being given out or offers to send away for free cigarettes |
| ▪ Price offers | Special price offers for cigarettes |
| ▪ Brand-stretching | Clothing or other items with cigarette brand names or logos on them |
| <i>Immediate Level</i> | |
| ▪ Loyalty Schemes | Free gifts when people save coupons or tokens from inside cigarette packs |
| | Free gifts when people save parts of packs |
| ▪ Point of sale | Cigarette signs/posters on shop windows |
| | Cigarette signs/posters on cigarette display units inside shops |
| | Cigarette signs/posters on shop doors |
| | Cigarette signs/posters on clocks inside shops |
| | Cigarette signs/posters on signing mats inside shops |
| | Cigarette signs/posters on staff aprons |
| | Some other sign or poster in shops/fronts |
| ▪ Packaging | New pack design or size |
| ▪ Promotional Mail | Promotional mail from cigarette companies being delivered to people's homes |
| <i>Wider Level</i> | |
| ▪ Sponsorship | Tobacco company sponsorship of sports/games |
| ▪ Advertising | Adverts for cigarettes on large posters or billboards on the street |
| | Adverts for cigarettes in newspapers or magazines |
| ▪ Product placement | Famous people in films/TV with a particular brand of cigarette |
| ▪ Internet | Internet sites for cigarettes or smoking |

7.2.2 Smoking Beliefs

The literature and the qualitative research also found that young people's beliefs about smoking were related to their smoking behaviour.

Research has found that young people who smoke are more likely to agree with positive statements about smoking and hold more positive images of smokers (Charlton 1986, Simmons-Morton et al 1999). In particular, young people's beliefs about the positive consequences of smoking have been found to be associated with their smoking status (see Literature Review, Section 2.3.1). Smoking status has been correlated with beliefs about the social image of smoking (Jaccard 1975), having a positive image of smokers and smoking (Barton et al 1982), believing that smoking helps people to relax, gives people confidence and helps people to stay slimmer (Barton and Janis 1997). Young smokers have also been found to be less likely to believe that controls on smoking are appropriate and that smoking must be 'okay', because it is advertised (Aitken et al 1986).

The qualitative research also found that the young smokers tended to hold positive beliefs about smoking (see Qualitative Findings, Chapter 6.3). They tended to believe that smoking was an important means of managing stress and anger. It also revealed that the image of smoking was more attractive to the smokers than to the non-smokers. There was also a strong social dimension to smoking, and the smokers tended to perceive smoking to be a youthful, sociable and attractive activity, while the non-smokers, on the whole, tended to have a more negative view.

Therefore, the second hypothesis was:

H 2: All things being equal, young people who hold more positive beliefs about smoking will be more likely to be current smokers.

As a result, of the literature review and qualitative research, a series of 14 measures related to young people's smoking related beliefs were produced. Each of these measures included a five point semantic scale. These included: 1) Individual level beliefs such as young people's beliefs about the positive outcomes of smoking; 2) Young people's beliefs about the social benefits of smoking; and, 3) Young people's beliefs about wider level influences on smoking such as tobacco control or tobacco advertising.

These are summarised in Table 7.2. This shows the bipolar adjectives used for each semantic scale.

Table 7.2: The Three Levels of Smoking Beliefs

| Level of Effect | (1) | (5) |
|--------------------------------|---|---|
| <u>Individual Level</u> | Smoking helps people who feel stress | Smoking does not help people who feel stress |
| | Smoking does not help people to feel more relaxed | Smoking helps people to feel more relaxed |
| | Smoking helps people to control their weight | Smoking does not help people to control their weight |
| | Smoking looks unattractive | Smoking looks attractive |
| | In general, smokers have a better image than non-smokers | In general, non-smokers have a better image than smokers |
| <u>Immediate Level</u> | Smoking makes it easier to make new friends | Smoking makes it more difficult to make new friends |
| | In general, my older brother(s)/sister(s) approve of smoking | In general, my older brother(s)/sister(s) disapprove of smoking |
| | Most people my age smoke | Hardly anyone my age smokes |
| | It is usually the least popular people who smoke | It is usually the most popular people who smoke |
| <u>Wider Level</u> | On the whole, people are encouraged to smoke these days | On the whole, people are discouraged from smoking these days |
| | You always see smoking in films | You never see smoking in films |
| | The people who make cigarettes should be allowed to advertise them as they please | The people who make cigarettes should not be allowed to advertise them as they please |
| | Most people my parents, age smoke nowadays | Hardly anyone my parents' age smokes nowadays |
| | Smoking is worse for health than people say | Smoking is not as bad for health as people say |

Principal Component Analysis was conducted to reduce these 14 variables to a smaller set of variables for inclusion in the logistic regression analysis. This identified five components: 1) perceptions of image and health benefits of smoking;

2) beliefs about the perceived prevalence of smoking; 3) beliefs about the physiological and emotional benefits of smoking; 4) the perceived popularity of smoking; and, 5) beliefs about approval of smoking from others.

7.2.3 Perceptions of Brands

The literature review and the qualitative research also demonstrated the importance of young people's perceptions of brands in their smoking behaviour.

The literature review found that young smokers tended to be more sensitive to heavily advertised products. It also found that heavily advertised cigarette brands dominated underage sales (Arnett and Terhanian 1998, Centres for Disease Control and Prevention 1993, Pollay et al 1993, Pierce et al 1991, Aitken et al 1985). For example, in England, young smokers tend to smoke the key premium brands - Benson & Hedges, Lambert and Butler and Embassy cigarettes (Barton 1998). It might be anticipated that young people, given their lack of resources, would choose to smoke cheaper cigarette brands. However, young people predominately smoke the most expensive brand to the exclusion of others (Barton 1998, Hastings et al 1998). Furthermore, young people have been found to have very strong perceptions of certain cigarette brands and will have extremely solid preferences for only one or two cigarette brands (Barnard and Forsyth 1996, Di Franza et al 1994, Hastings et al 1994).

Brands are likely to be very important for adolescent smokers (Eadie et al 1999). Adolescence is a period of difficult transition for young people (Backett and Davidson 1995), and one where identity and self-image is extremely important (Gondoli 1999). Image and self-identity motivations are one of the important reasons that young people take up and continue to smoke (Michell and Amos 1997). Young people use cigarettes and cigarette brands to help achieve their ideal self-image (Amos et al 1997, Chassin et al 1985, Bewley and Bland 1978). This is not exclusive to cigarettes – research has shown that young people can use brand names to demonstrate solidarity with peer groups and to share the reputation and prestige of strong brand images (Goodlad et al 1996). However, branding is an important concept for understanding the way in which tobacco companies can continue to influence young smokers (Eadie et al 1999).

Brand images, like other emotional communications, work because they encourage deeper cognitive processing (Ray 1977, Dutta and Kanungo 1975), are more relevant and congruent with consumer values (Ries and Trout 1981, Ray 1977), and satisfy consumers emotive and symbolic needs (Park et al 1987, Hirshman and Holbrook 1982).

The qualitative research also found that young smokers had very strong perceptions of particular cigarette brands. They had very strongly positive perceptions of a particular cigarette brand that was believed to be smoked by young people their age - Lambert and Butler. This brand was in vogue and was associated with youthfulness, quality and fashion.

H3: All things being equal, young people who have more positive brand perceptions for the 'key youth brand' will be more likely to be current smokers.

As a result of the qualitative research and the literature, eight measures of brand perceptions were created. As with the smoking belief measures, these were in the form of five point semantic attitude statements. The statements focused on individual aspects of brand perceptions (eg. perceived quality of the brand), immediate level aspects (eg. a brand that people their age would like) and wider level features (eg. brand that is often seen on TV or film).

This is shown on Table 7.3 below.

Principal Component Analysis was conducted to aggregate the eight statements. Two components were identified. One included those symbolic, fashionable and social aspects of the brand, while the other focused on the more tangible qualities of the brand.

Table 7.3 The Three Levels of Brand Perceptions

| Level of Effect | (1) | (5) |
|--------------------------------|---|---|
| <u>Individual Level</u> | A top quality brand | A poor quality brand |
| | Poor value for money | Good value for money |
| <u>Immediate Level</u> | A brand people my age would like | A brand people my age would dislike |
| | A fashionable brand | An unfashionable brand |
| | This brand is not at all popular with people my age | This brand is very popular with people my age |
| <u>Wider Level</u> | A well known brand | An unknown brand |
| | Few smokers smoke this brand | Most smokers smoke this brand |
| | You often see this brand on TV and films | Not a brand you often see on TV and films |

7.3 The Null Hypotheses

To test these hypotheses, it is important that they are expressed as null hypotheses (see discussion in Methodology Chapter). The hypotheses and their corresponding null hypotheses are summarised below:

Hypothesis:

H1: All things being equal, young people who are more aware of tobacco marketing communications will be more likely to be current smokers.

H2: All things being equal, young people who have more positive beliefs about smoking will be more likely to be current smokers.

H3: All things being equal, young people who have more positive brand perceptions for the 'key youth brand' will be more likely to be current smokers.

Null Hypothesis:

H₀1: All things being equal, young people who are more aware of tobacco marketing communications will be less or equally likely to be current smokers.

H₀2: All things being equal, young people who have more positive beliefs about smoking will be less or equally likely to be current smokers.

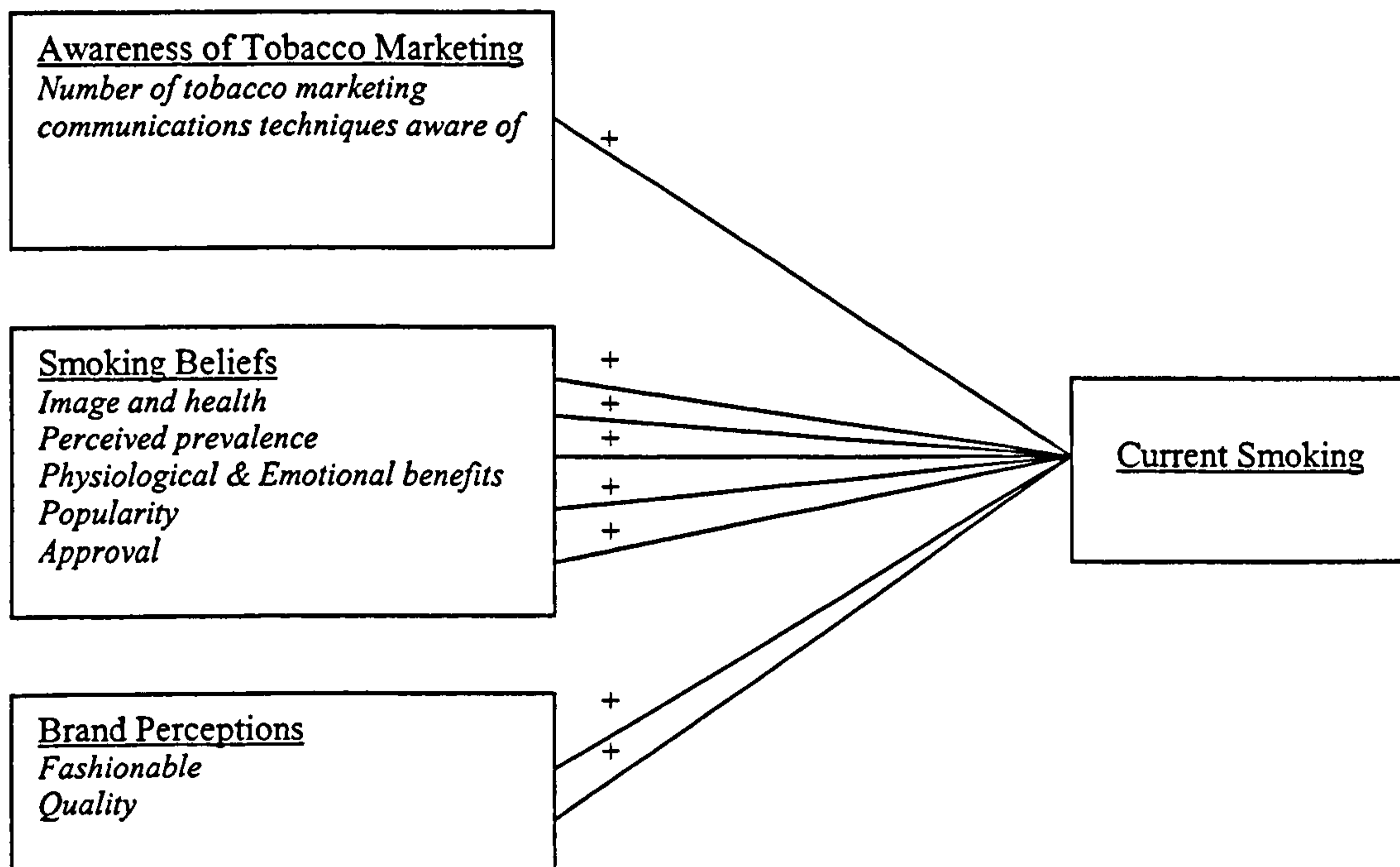
H₀3: All things being equal, young people who have more positive brand perceptions for the 'key youth brand' will be less or equally likely to be current smokers.

7.4 Testing the Null Hypotheses

To test the conceptual model shown in Figure 7.1, and the null hypothesis, two logistic models were developed and tested, see Figures 7.4 and 7.5. Both include three groups of predictor variables: awareness of tobacco marketing communications, smoking beliefs and brand perceptions. Both have smoking status (current smoker vs. non-smoker) as their binary dependent variable.

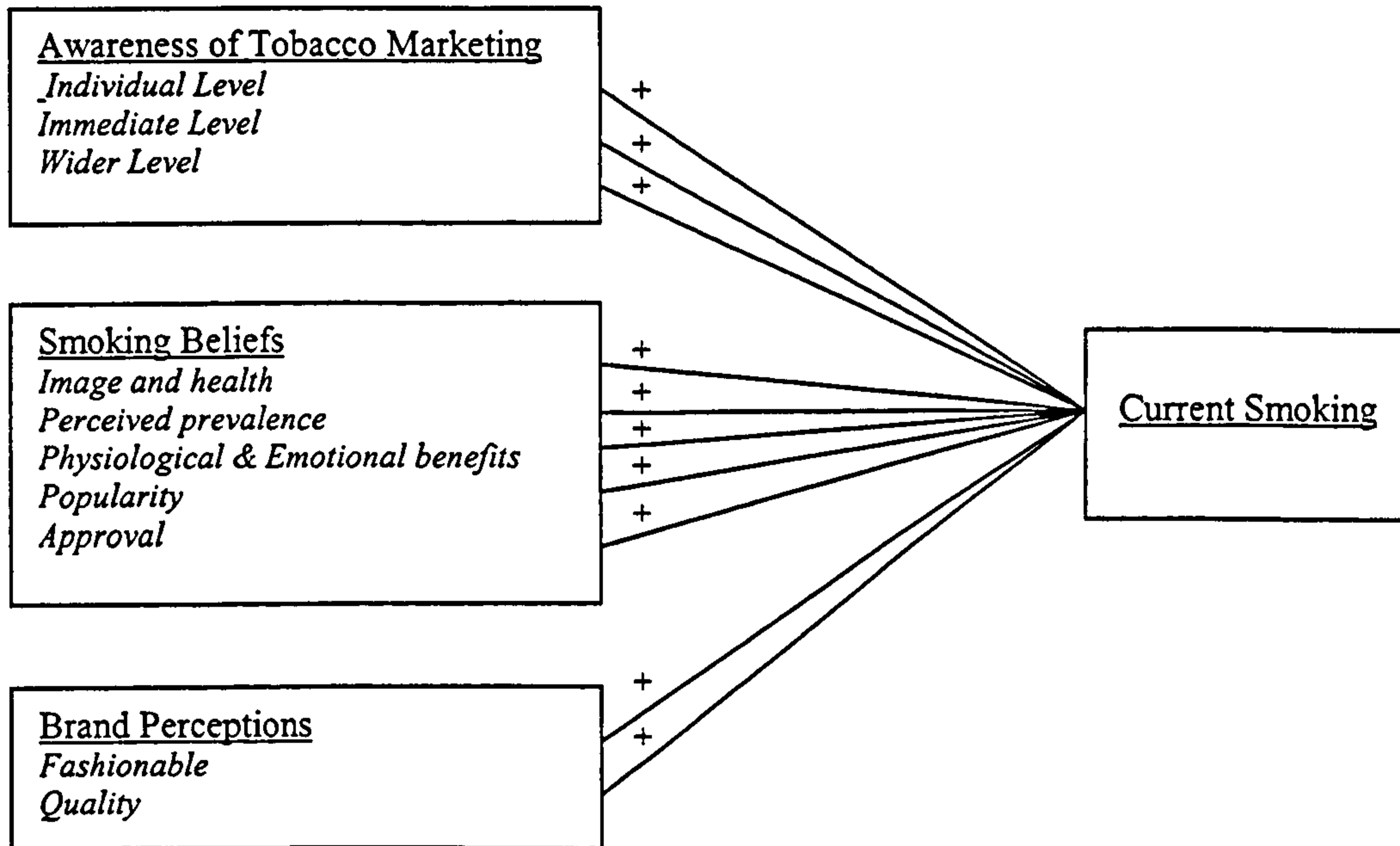
However, the first model (Figure 7.4) included the cumulative number of tobacco marketing communications that the young people were aware of. The second model (Figure 7.5) included the individual, immediate and wider level tobacco marketing communications. The first model examined the effect on current smoking of awareness of greater numbers of tobacco marketing, and explored the potential of a dose-response relationship between awareness of tobacco marketing and current smoking. The second model examined the relative influence of individual, immediate and wider level marketing communications and helped to understand through which level marketing communications had greater effect.

Figure 7.4: Model One - Hypothesised Model of Correlates with Current Smoking



Controls: Gender
Peers' smoking
Sibling's smoking
Parent's smoking
Socio-economic status

Figure 7.5: Model Two - Hypothesised Model of Correlates with Current Smoking



Controls: Gender
 Peers' smoking
 Sibling's smoking
 Parent's smoking
 Socio-economic status

In each logistic regression analysis, a number of controls were included in the analysis. These were other factors known to be associated with current smoking including gender (HEBS 2000, Higgins 1999, McNeill 1989, Diamond and Goddard 1995, Bolling 1994), peer's smoking (Simons-Morton et al 1999, West et al 1999, Owen and Bolling 1995, Charlton and Blair 1989, Murray et al 1983), sibling's smoking (Barton and Janis 1997, Owen and Bolling 1995, Royal College of Physicians 1992, Goddard 1990, Charlton and Blair 1989, Murray et al 1983) and socio-economic status (Bosma et al 1999, West et al 1999, Graham and Hunt 1998, Amos et al 1992, Oakley 1992).

7.5 Summary

This chapter has described the theoretical framework that underpins the quantitative research and analysis. The framework describes the influences on current smoking among young people, and hypothesises that contact with tobacco marketing communications, having positive beliefs about smoking, and having positive beliefs

about the 'key youth brand', are all independently related to the probability of being a current smoker. The framework cannot determine the causal effect of each of these three groups of independent variables on current smoking, but it can examine the extent to which a relationship exists. This in itself is important as it identifies nature of the influences on current smoking behaviour in young people and explains the differences between young smokers and non-smokers.

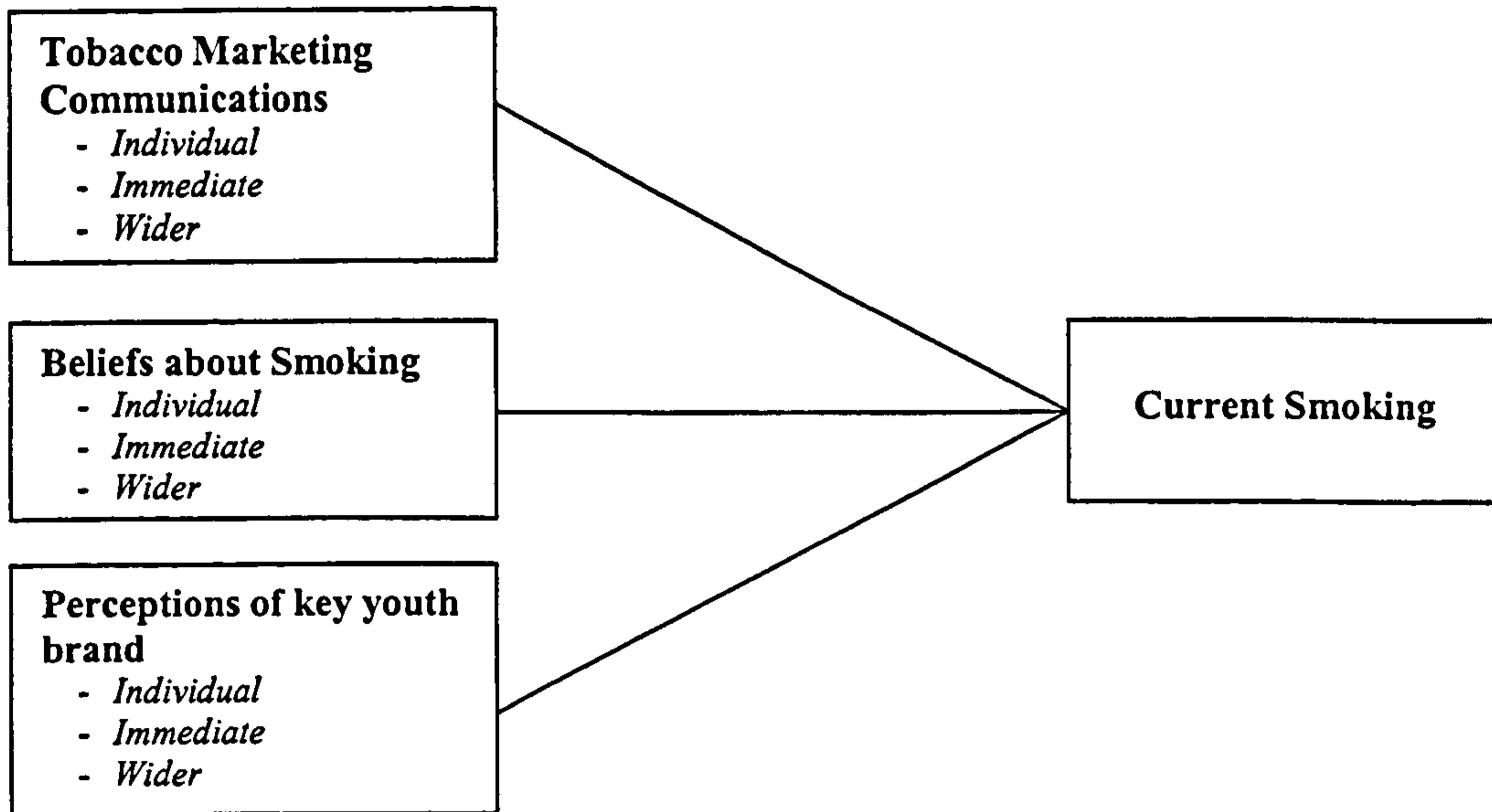
To test the theoretical framework and these hypotheses, two logistic regression models have been constructed, the results of which follow in Chapter 8. The two models only differ in the way in which 'awareness of tobacco marketing communications' is measured. The first examined the cumulative effect of the number of different forms of tobacco marketing young people are aware of, while the second examined the relationship between current smoking status and the three levels of effect of tobacco marketing communications. In each case, the independent effects of tobacco marketing communications, smoking beliefs and brand perceptions with current smoking status were assessed when controlling for other factors known to influence youth smoking.

8.0 QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the quantitative research that tested the following research framework and hypotheses developed in the previous chapter:

Figure 8.1: The Research Framework - Correlates with Current Smoking



Hyp 1: All things being equal, young people who are more aware of tobacco marketing communications will be more likely to be current smokers.

Hyp 2: All things being equal, young people who have more positive beliefs about smoking will be more likely to be current smokers.

Hyp 3: All things being equal, young people who have more positive brand perceptions for the 'key youth brand' will be more likely to be current smokers.

This chapter has four more main sections. Section 8.2 describes the profile of the achieved sample in terms of age, gender, socio-economic group and smoking status. Section 8.3 presents the results of the bivariate analysis that describes the data set. It describes young people's awareness, appreciation and involvement with tobacco marketing communications, their perceptions of cigarette brands, their smoking

beliefs, other social factors known to influence smoking and the number of parents who were present during the interviews. Section 8.4 presents the results of the multivariate analysis that specifically tests the null hypotheses. First, principle components analysis is conducted to reduce number of variables for inclusion in the final model. Then, two logistic regression models are presented. The first examines the cumulative effect of awareness of tobacco marketing communications, while the second examines the effect of specific communications techniques. Finally, Section 8.5 summarises the results of the quantitative research and the implications for the hypotheses.

8.2 Sample Profile

A total of 629 interviews were successfully completed. A profile of the achieved sample is shown in Table 8.1.

The time lapse between the initial sample selection and the administration of the survey meant that one third of the respondents had reached 16 years. A further two respondents were aged 14 and 17 (presumably due to errors in the initial sampling frame) and were excluded from the final analysis.

In general, young women were over-represented in the sample. Sixty per cent of the final sample were female, compared to 40% that were male.

Of the final sample, 58% were C2DE and 42% were ABC1.

The achieved sample included 201 non-smokers, 234 tried smokers and 185 current smokers. Two female non-smokers were removed from the sample as they were aged 14 and 17 years, leaving a remaining 199 non-smokers for the final analysis. The smoking profile of the sample is described in more detail in Section 8.3.4.

Table 8.1: Profile of Achieved Sample

| <i>Base: All respondents</i> | <u>Total</u> 629 % | <u>Total</u> 629 Actual No. | <u>Male</u> 253 % (No) | <u>Female</u> 376 % (No) |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <u>ACHIEVED SAMPLE</u> | | | | |
| <u>Gender</u> | | | | |
| Male | 40 | 253 | 100 (253) | 0 (0) |
| Female | 60 | 376 | 0 (0) | 100 (376) |
| <u>Age</u> | | | | |
| 14 | <1% | 1 | 0 (0) | <1 (1) |
| 15 | 65 | 407 | 68 (173) | 62 (234) |
| 16 | 35 | 220 | 32 (80) | 37 (140) |
| 17 | <1% | 1 | 0 (0) | <1 (1) |
| <u>Socio-economic Group</u> | | | | |
| ABC1 | 42 | 265 | 42 (107) | 42 (158) |
| C2DE | 58 | 364 | 59 (146) | 58 (218) |
| <u>Smoking Status</u> | | | | |
| Non-smokers | 32 | 201 | 35 (89) | 30 (112) |
| Tried Smoking | 37 | 234 | 35 (88) | 39 (146) |
| Current Smokers | 29 | 185 | 28 (70) | 31 (115) |
| Not stated | 1 | 9 | 2 (6) | 1 (3) |

Notes:

- Non-smokers: - 'never tried smoking, not even a puff'
Tried: - 'only ever smoked once' or 'used to smoke sometimes but never smoke now'
Current: - 'usually smoke more than 6 cigarettes per week'
or 'usually smoke between 1 and 6 cigarettes per week'
or 'sometimes smoke cigarettes now but not as many as 1 a week'

8.3 Bivariate Analysis

This section describes the data set and presents the results of the bivariate analysis. There are five main sub-sections: 1) 8.3.1 describes the young people's awareness, appreciation and involvement with tobacco marketing communications; 2) 8.3.2 describes the young people's perceptions of cigarette brands; 3) then their beliefs about smoking are explained in section 8.3.3; 4) 8.3.4 examines young people's smoking behaviour, brand preferences and future smoking intentions; and 5) finally 8.3.5 briefly describes the role of parents in the interview process.

8.3.1 Tobacco Marketing Communications

The questionnaire collected data on young people's awareness, appreciation and involvement with the main forms of tobacco marketing: advertising, sponsorship and

coupon-schemes. It also examined their awareness and involvement with a wider range of tobacco marketing activities. This section presents these results.

Tobacco Advertising

The respondents were asked if they could recall any advertising for cigarettes. A maximum of six advertisements were recorded. This is shown in Table 8.2 below:

Table 8.2: Number of Cigarette Brands Seen / Heard Advertised, by Smoking Status of Young People

| <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|------|---------------------------------------|------|------------------------|------|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People Tried smoking</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | |
| | 199 | | 234 | | 185 | |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) |
| 0 | 19 | (38) | 12 | (29) | 10 | (19) |
| 1 | 35 | (70) | 27 | (62) | 15 | (28) |
| 2 | 28 | (56) | 30 | (71) | 30 | (55) |
| 3 | 12 | (23) | 21 | (49) | 25 | (47) |
| 4 | 5 | (10) | 7 | (17) | 14 | (25) |
| 5 | 1 | (1) | 2 | (4) | 1 | (2) |
| 6 | 1 | (1) | 1 | (2) | 5 | (9) |
| Mean | 1.52 | | 1.93 | | 2.39 | |

One way analysis of variance. $F=22.465$, $p<0.001$

Chi-squared = 41.939, $df=1$, $p<0.001$

Most young people could recall at least one advertisement for a cigarette brand. More non-smokers than either tried smokers or current smokers were unable to recall any cigarette advertising. Both the ability to recall cigarette advertising, and the mean number of cigarette advertisements recalled, increased significantly with smoking status. On the whole, current smokers were more likely than non-smokers or tried smokers to recall cigarette brands that they had seen or heard advertised. On average, non-smokers recalled 1.52 cigarette adverts, tried smokers recalled 1.93 and current smokers were highest with an average of 2.39.

Table 8.3 shows the cigarette brands that the young people spontaneously recalled being advertised.

Table 8.3: Cigarette Brands Spontaneously Recalled as Seen / Heard Advertised, by Smoking Status of Young People

| <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | <i>P value (χ^2 test for trend)</i> | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|------|---------------------------------------|-------|---|------------------------|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People Tried smoking</u> | | | <u>Current smokers</u> |
| | 199 | | 234 | | | |
| | % | (no) | % | (No) | % (No) | |
| Lambert & Butler | 32 | (64) | 43 | (101) | 64 (118) | <0.001 |
| Embassy Regal | 42 | (84) | 50 | (118) | 61 (113) | <0.001 |
| Benson & Hedges | 23 | (46) | 22 | (51) | 21 (39) | 0.629 |
| Marlboro | 18 | (35) | 25 | (58) | 17 (31) | 0.879 |
| Superkings | 5 | (10) | 10 | (23) | 18 (34) | <0.001 |
| Silk Cut | 7 | (14) | 11 | (26) | 14 (25) | <0.05 |
| Mayfair | 3 | (6) | 8 | (18) | 10 (18) | <0.01 |
| Richmond | 1 | (2) | 2 | (5) | 9 (16) | <0.001 |
| Berkeley | 3 | (5) | 2 | (4) | 2 (4) | 0.802 |
| Embassy | 1 | (2) | 3 | (6) | 3 (5) | 0.242 |
| West | 2 | (3) | 3 | (6) | 3 (5) | 0.427 |
| Camel | 3 | (6) | 2 | (5) | 2 (4) | 0.582 |
| Sovereign | 1 | (2) | 1 | (2) | 2 (3) | 0.577 |
| Rothmans | 1 | (2) | <1 | (1) | 2 (4) | 0.298 |
| Royals | 3 | (5) | 2 | (5) | 1 (1) | 0.148 |
| Other | 6 | (12) | 8 | (19) | 7 (13) | 0.692 |

Young people were aware of advertising for a wide range of cigarette brands, including Lambert & Butler, Embassy Regal, Benson & Hedges, Marlboro, Superkings, Silk Cut, Mayfair and Richmond. Lambert & Butler and Embassy Regal were the brands for which young people were most likely to recall advertising.

On the whole, recall of advertising for cigarette brands increased with smoking status. For many brands, the young smokers were more likely than non or tried smokers to have seen advertisements.

While young people recalled cigarette advertising from a range of sources, there seemed to be six key sources, see Table 8.4. These were on billboards/posters, in shops, in magazines or TV guides, on TV programmes/ads, outside shops and sports sponsorship. Young people were most likely to recall advertising for cigarettes on billboards/posters. Smoking status was significantly associated with the ability to recall cigarette advertising from billboards/posters, in shops or magazines/TV guides.

Around one in ten young people also recalled cigarette advertisements from TV programmes or adverts. This age group would be too young to recall televised cigarette advertising, but their response might be explained by the showing of old cigarette advertisements on current television programmes, sports sponsorship, product placement, or simply confusion.

Table 8.4: Cigarette Brands Seen / Heard Advertised: Source of Adverts, by Smoking Status of Young People

| | <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | | <i>P value (χ^2 test for trend)</i> |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|--|--|--|---|
| | <u>Young People</u> | | | | | | |
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> 199 | <u>Tried smoking</u> 234 | <u>Current smokers</u> 185 | | | | |
| | % (No) | % (No) | % (No) | | | | |
| Billboards / posters | 58 (115) | 60 (140) | 70 (130) | | | | <0.05 |
| In shops | 11 (22) | 18 (43) | 22 (41) | | | | <0.01 |
| Magazines / tv guides | 7 (14) | 17 (39) | 20 (36) | | | | <0.001 |
| TV programmes / ads | 12 (24) | 15 (34) | 9 (16) | | | | 0.320 |
| Outside shops | 5 (9) | 4 (10) | 7 (12) | | | | 0.387 |
| Sports sponsorship | 8 (15) | 7 (16) | 6 (11) | | | | 0.537 |
| Newspapers | 4 (7) | 2 (4) | 2 (4) | | | | 0.378 |
| Transport | 3 (5) | 2 (4) | 2 (4) | | | | 0.802 |
| Radio | 1 (1) | <1 (1) | 1 (2) | | | | 0.488 |
| Bus stops | 2 (3) | 2 (4) | 1 (2) | | | | 0.735 |
| Friends / family | 1 (2) | 3 (8) | 1 (2) | | | | 0.920 |
| Money - off | 1 (1) | 1 (2) | 1 (1) | | | | 0.954 |
| Other | 3 (6) | 5 (11) | 5 (9) | | | | 0.362 |

Table 8.5 shows young people's appreciation of cigarette advertising. On the whole, they held relatively negative opinions of cigarette advertising. However, appreciation was associated with smoking status, with current smokers expressing the least negative views.

Table 8.5: Opinions of Cigarette Adverts in General, by Smoking Status of Young People

| | <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | | <i>P value (Kruskal-Wallis)</i> |
|--|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|--|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| | <u>Young People</u> | | | | | | |
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> 199 | <u>Tried smoking</u> 234 | <u>Current smokers</u> 185 | | | | |
| <i>1=most cigarette adverts are really good; 5=most cigarette adverts are really rubbish</i> | | | | | | | |
| Mean | 4.09 | 3.90 | 3.40 | | | | p<0.001 |

Sponsorship

Respondents were asked if they could recall any sports or games associated with cigarette sponsorship. A maximum of six sports/games associated with cigarettes were recorded, see Table 8.6. Around half of the young people could think of at least one sport or game connected with cigarette sponsorship. The average number of sports or games associated with cigarettes was 0.81 for non-smokers, 0.69 for tried smokers and 0.71 for current smokers. Ability to recall sports or games associated with cigarettes did not vary by smoking status.

Table 8.6: Number Of Sports / Games Mentioned in Association with Tobacco Sponsorship, by Smoking Status of Young People

| | <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|------|----------------------|-------|------------------------|------|
| | | | <u>Young People</u> | | | |
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Tried smoking</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | |
| | 199 | | 234 | | 185 | |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) |
| 0 | 49 | (98) | 48 | (113) | 52 | (96) |
| 1 | 30 | (60) | 37 | (86) | 30 | (56) |
| 2 | 13 | (26) | 12 | (29) | 14 | (25) |
| 3 | 6 | (12) | 3 | (6) | 4 | (7) |
| 4 | 1 | (2) | 0 | (0) | 1 | (1) |
| 5 | 1 | (1) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (0) |
| Mean | 0.81 | | 0.69 | | 0.71 | |

One way analysis of variance. $F=1.047$, $p=0.352$

Chi-squared = 1.285, $df=1$, $p=0.257$

Boys were significantly more likely than girls to be aware of any cigarette sponsored sports/games, and to be aware of more sports or games associated with cigarettes, see Table 8.7.

Table 8.7: Number of Sports / Games Mentioned in Association with Tobacco Sponsorship, by Gender

| | <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|
| | | | <u>Young People</u> | |
| | <u>Male</u> | | <u>Female</u> | |
| | 235 | | 374 | |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) |
| 0 | 29 | (73) | 64 | (241) |
| 1 | 40 | (100) | 28 | (104) |
| 2 | 23 | (57) | 6 | (23) |
| 3 | 8 | (19) | 2 | (6) |
| 4 | 1 | (3) | 0 | (0) |
| 5 | <1 | (1) | 0 | (0) |
| Mean | 1.14 | | 0.45 | |

One-way analysis of variance: $F=106.986$, $p<0.001$

Chi-squared = 91.495, $df=1$, $p<0.001$

Table 8.8 shows that young people associated cigarette sponsorship with a range of sports and games. Young people were most likely to associate Formula 1 with cigarette sports sponsorship. Other sports or games associated with cigarette sponsorship included football, snooker and cricket. In some cases, non-smokers were more likely to associate sports with cigarette sponsorship than smokers, eg. football.

Table 8.8: Sports and Games Associated with Cigarettes, by Smoking Status of Young People

| | <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | | <i>P value (χ^2 test for trend)</i> |
|-----------|-------------------------------|------|---------------------------------------|-------|------------------------|------|---|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People Tried smoking</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | | |
| | 199 | | 234 | | 185 | | |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) | |
| Formula 1 | 38 | (76) | 37 | (86) | 37 | (68) | 0.768 |
| Football | 13 | (26) | 10 | (23) | 7 | (13) | <0.05 |
| Snooker | 11 | (21) | 9 | (20) | 8 | (15) | 0.400 |
| Cricket | 5 | (10) | 2 | (4) | 2 | (4) | 0.090 |
| Hockey | 2 | (4) | 1 | (3) | 2 | (4) | 0.923 |
| Rugby | 1 | (2) | 2 | (4) | 2 | (3) | 0.608 |
| Darts | 2 | (4) | <1 | (1) | 1 | (2) | 0.375 |
| Racing | 2 | (3) | 1 | (2) | 1 | (1) | 0.332 |
| Golf | 0 | (0) | 1 | (3) | 1 | (2) | 0.229 |
| Other | 2 | (4) | 5 | (12) | 7 | (13) | <0.05 |
| None | 49 | (97) | 48 | (112) | 51 | (95) | 0.618 |

On the whole, boys were more aware of the sports and games associated with tobacco sponsorship than girls, see Table 8.9. Girls were likely than boys to be unaware of any cigarette sponsored sports or games. On the whole, boys were more aware of cigarette sports sponsorship for specific sports. Significant differences were found for Formula 1, snooker, hockey, rugby and darts.

Table 8.9: Sports and Games Associated with Cigarettes, by Gender

| | <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | <i>P value (χ^2 test for trend)</i> |
|-----------|-------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|-------|---|
| | <u>Male</u> | | <u>Young People Female</u> | | |
| | 235 | | 374 | | |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) | |
| Formula 1 | 56 | (142) | 24 | (89) | <0.001 |
| Football | 9 | (23) | 10 | (39) | 0.582 |
| Snooker | 19 | (48) | 2 | (8) | <0.001 |
| Cricket | 4 | (11) | 2 | (7) | 0.069 |
| Hockey | 4 | (9) | 1 | (2) | <0.01 |
| Rugby | 3 | (7) | 1 | (2) | <0.05 |
| Darts | 3 | (7) | 0 | (0) | <0.01 |
| Racing | 1 | (3) | 1 | (3) | 0.628 |
| Golf | 2 | (4) | <1 | (1) | 0.070 |
| None | 29 | (73) | 64 | (238) | <0.001 |

Respondents were also asked what cigarette brands they associated with cigarette sponsored sports, see Table 8.10.

Marlboro and Benson & Hedges were the brands most likely to be associated with sponsorship of sport. There was relatively low awareness of other cigarette brands' association with sports sponsorship, although a few young people mentioned Embassy Regal, Camel and Embassy. In most cases, the current smokers were more

likely to recall cigarette brands associated with sports and significant differences were found for Marlboro and Embassy Regal.

Table 8.10: Cigarette Brands Associated with Sports / Games, by Smoking Status of Young People

| <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|------|---------------------------------------|------|------------------------|------|---|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People Tried smoking</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | | <i>P value (χ^2 test for trend)</i> |
| | 199 | | 234 | | 185 | | |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) | |
| Marlboro | 19 | (37) | 24 | (55) | 27 | (50) | <0.05 |
| Benson & Hedges | 22 | (43) | 16 | (38) | 16 | (30) | 0.164 |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | (2) | 3 | (6) | 5 | (9) | <0.05 |
| West | 3 | (5) | 2 | (4) | 3 | (6) | 0.657 |
| Embassy | 3 | (5) | 1 | (3) | 5 | (10) | 0.101 |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | (1) | <1 | (1) | 2 | (3) | 0.229 |
| Camel | 5 | (10) | 2 | (5) | 2 | (4) | 0.100 |
| Silk Cut | 1 | (1) | 1 | (2) | 1 | (1) | 0.954 |
| JP Special | 1 | (1) | 1 | (2) | 0 | (0) | 0.494 |
| Rothmans | 1 | (2) | 2 | (5) | 0 | (0) | 0.375 |
| Other | 0 | (0) | 1 | (2) | 3 | (6) | <0.01 |

There were no clear differences, by gender in the cigarette brands associated with sports.

The questionnaire included three measures of appreciation of sponsorship by cigarette companies, see Table 8.11. Three semantic scales were used to measure attitudes towards the acceptability of sports sponsorship and perceptions of the brands associated with cigarette sponsorship.

On the whole, young people believed that cigarette sponsorship was bad for sport, that the more successful cigarette brands sponsor sport, and that cigarette companies should be discouraged from sponsoring sport. However, current smokers tended to hold the least negative opinions of sports sponsorship.

On average, current smokers were less likely to believe that sponsorship by cigarette companies was bad for sport and that cigarette companies should be discouraged from sponsoring sport.

Table 8.11: Opinion of Cigarette Sports Sponsorship, by Smoking Status of Young People

| <i>Base: All young people</i> | | <u>Young People</u> | | | <i>(Kruskal-Wallis) P value</i> |
|--|---|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Scale 1.0 to 5.0</i> | | <u>Non-smokers</u> | <u>Tried smoking</u> | <u>Current smokers</u> | |
| 1.0 | 5.0 | Mean | Mean | Mean | |
| Cigarette sponsorship is really good for sport | Cigarette sponsorship is really bad for sport | 4.19 | 4.08 | 4.02 | 0.440 |
| It's the least successful cigarette brands which sponsor sport | It's the most successful cigarette brands which sponsor sport | 3.81 | 3.50 | 3.53 | <0.05 |
| Cigarette companies should be encouraged to sponsor sport | Cigarette companies should be discouraged from sponsoring sport | 4.43 | 4.25 | 4.05 | <0.01 |

Furthermore, boys displayed less negative opinions, than girls did, of sponsorship by cigarette companies. On average, boys felt less strongly that cigarette sponsorship is really bad for sport and that cigarette companies should be discouraged from sponsoring sport. Boys also displayed, on average, a stronger association between the most successful cigarette brands and cigarette company sponsorship.

Table 8.12: Opinion of Cigarette Sports Sponsorship, by Gender

| <i>Base: All young people</i> | | <u>Young People</u> | | <i>(Mann-Whitney) P value</i> |
|--|---|---------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Scale 1.0 to 5.0</i> | | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> | |
| 1.0 | 5.0 | Mean | Mean | |
| Cigarette sponsorship is really good for sport | Cigarette sponsorship is really bad for sport | 3.76 | 4.32 | <0.001 |
| It's the least successful cigarette brands which sponsor sport | It's the most successful cigarette brands which sponsor sport | 3.83 | 3.45 | <0.001 |
| Cigarette companies should be encouraged to sponsor sport | Cigarette companies should be discouraged from sponsoring sport | 4.11 | 4.35 | <0.05 |

Coupon Schemes

There were relatively high levels of awareness of cigarette coupon-schemes: 60% of non-smokers, 73% of tried smokers and 90% of current smokers were aware of coupon schemes. Awareness of coupon schemes increased significantly with smoking status.

Table 8.13: Awareness of Cigarette Coupon Schemes, by Smoking Status of Young People

| | <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | |
|------------|-------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People Tried smoking</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | |
| | 199 | | 234 | | 185 | |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) |
| Aware | 60 | (119) | 73 | (170) | 90 | (166) |
| Unaware | 39 | (78) | 26 | (61) | 9 | (16) |
| Don't know | 1 | (2) | 1 | (3) | 2 | (3) |

Chi-squared = 36.266, df=1, p<0.001

All those who were aware of coupon schemes were asked if they had ever collected coupons, see Table 8.14. Of those young people who were aware of cigarette coupons, most had not collected cigarette coupons. However, 8% of non-smokers, 18% of tried smokers and 38% of current smokers had collected cigarette coupons. In most cases the young people had collected coupons to pass to someone else, but others had either collected coupons for themselves or jointly with another person. Smoking status was associated with the collection of cigarette coupons, with not surprisingly, non-smokers being the least likely to have collected them.

Table 8.14: Collection of Cigarette Coupons, by Smoking Status of Young People

| | <i>Base: All those aware of cigarette coupons</i> | | | | | | |
|--|---|-------|---------------------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|---|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People Tried smoking</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | | <i>P value (χ^2 test for trend)</i> |
| | 119 | | 170 | | 166 | | |
| % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) | | |
| I have never collected cigarette coupons | 92 | (110) | 82 | (139) | 62 | (103) | <0.001 |
| I have collected cigarette coupons to pass to someone else | 6 | (7) | 10 | (17) | 22 | (36) | <0.001 |
| I have collected cigarette coupons for myself | 0 | (0) | 2 | (4) | 9 | (15) | <0.001 |
| I have collected cigarette coupons jointly with someone else | 2 | (2) | 6 | (10) | 7 | (12) | 0.071 |

The exchange of cigarette coupons amongst all those who had collected coupons is shown in Table 8.15. Only a small proportion of the total sample had collected coupons, and of these some had collected coupons but not exchanged them for anything, while others had exchanged their coupons for gifts. None had exchanged coupons for money. Surprisingly, a small number of non-smokers, and those who had tried smoking, had collected and exchanged coupons. One non-smoker and ten tried smokers had collected coupons.

Table 8.15: Exchange of Cigarette Coupons, by Smoking Status of Young People

| | <i>Base: All those who had collected cigarette coupons</i> | | | | | |
|---|--|------|---------------------------------------|------|------------------------|------|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People Tried smoking</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | |
| | 2 | | 14 | | 27 | |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) |
| I have not exchanged coupons for anything | 50 | (1) | 23 | (3) | 48 | (13) |
| I have exchanged the coupons for gifts | 50 | (1) | 77 | (10) | 44 | (12) |
| I have exchanged the coupons for money | 0 | (0) | 0 | (0) | 4 | (1) |
| Don't know/Missing | 0 | (0) | 1 | (1) | 4 | (1) |

Appreciation of cigarette coupon-schemes was measured via four semantic scales, see Table 8.16. Unfortunately, the base sizes were too small to calculate breakdowns of opinions of coupons schemes amongst young non-smokers or tried smokers who had collected coupons. Table 8.16 displays the opinions held by the young smokers who had collected coupons.

On average, young smokers held slightly positive views of cigarette coupons schemes. They tended to consider coupon-schemes to be a good idea and to be run by relatively expensive brands. However, they tended to believe that the most successful cigarette brands ran these schemes, and to a lesser degree, that the gifts from these schemes were probably quite good.

Table 8.16: Opinions of Cigarette Coupon Schemes, by Young People and Adults

| <i>Base: All those who had collected cigarette coupons</i> | | <u>Young People</u> <u>Current smokers</u> |
|---|---|---|
| 1.0 | 5.0 | Mean |
| Cigarette coupons are a really good idea | Cigarette coupons are a really bad idea | 2.50 |
| It's the least successful brands which have these coupon schemes | It's the most successful brands which have these coupon schemes | 3.81 |
| The gifts from these coupon schemes are probably complete rubbish | The gifts from these coupon schemes are probably really good | 3.38 |
| The brands that have these coupon schemes are probably the most expensive | The brands that have these coupon schemes are probably the cheapest | 2.27 |

Tobacco Marketing Communications Mix

Young people's awareness and involvement with the entire marketing communications mix was also sought.

(i) Awareness

Table 8.17 shows the respondents' prompted awareness of the entire tobacco marketing communications mix. This includes further measures of advertising, sponsorship and coupon schemes, and also includes similar measures of the entire range of marketing communications identified in the literature review. The tobacco marketing communications techniques are categorised according to their type of influence (either individual, immediate or wide). The contribution of each marketing communication mix element to either individual, immediate or wider level influences on smoking behaviour was discussed in Chapter 7.

The young people's awareness of tobacco marketing communications is also shown by smoking status.

Table 8.17: Awareness of Tobacco Marketing Communications, by Smoking Status

| <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|-------|--|-------|-------------------------------|-------|---|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> 199 | | <u>Young People Tried smoking</u> 234 | | <u>Current smokers</u> 185 | | <i>Chi-squared test for trend P Value</i> |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) | |
| Individual | | | | | | | |
| Promotions | | | | | | | |
| • Free gifts showing cigarette brand logos given out at events such as concerts, festivals or sports events | 13 | (26) | 13 | (30) | 17 | (32) | 0.410 |
| • Free gifts from the shop keeper when people buy cigarettes | 8 | (15) | 7 | (17) | 13 | (24) | 0.114 |
| • Competitions or prize draws linked to cigarettes | 14 | (28) | 15 | (36) | 19 | (36) | 0.300 |
| • Free trial cigarettes being given out or offers to send away for free cigarettes | 4 | (8) | 8 | (18) | 11 | (21) | <0.05 |
| Price offers | | | | | | | |
| • Special price offers for cigarettes | 47 | (93) | 52 | (121) | 61 | (112) | <0.01 |
| Brand stretching | | | | | | | |
| • Clothing or items with cigarette brand names or logos on them | 21 | (41) | 18 | (41) | 30 | (56) | <0.05 |
| Immediate | | | | | | | |
| Loyalty schemes | | | | | | | |
| • Free gifts when people save coupons or tokens from inside cigarette packs | 53 | (105) | 56 | (130) | 75 | (138) | <0.001 |
| • Free gifts when people save parts of the cigarette packs | 19 | (38) | 21 | (49) | 40 | (74) | <0.001 |
| Point of sale | | | | | | | |
| • Any | 100 | (199) | 100 | (234) | 100 | (185) | - |
| • On shop windows | 61 | (122) | 64 | (149) | 71 | (131) | 0.053 |
| • On clocks | 38 | (76) | 39 | (91) | 50 | (93) | <0.05 |
| • On display units | 60 | (120) | 64 | (149) | 64 | (119) | 0.411 |
| • On shop doors | 54 | (107) | 48 | (112) | 64 | (118) | 0.056 |
| • On signing mats | 14 | (27) | 19 | (45) | 16 | (30) | 0.466 |
| • On staff aprons | 12 | (24) | 10 | (24) | 17 | (32) | 0.136 |
| • Some other sign/poster in/outside shops | 30 | (60) | 32 | (75) | 30 | (55) | 0.939 |
| Packaging | | | | | | | |
| • New pack design or size | 17 | (34) | 11 | (26) | 29 | (54) | <0.05 |
| Direct mail | | | | | | | |
| • Promotional mail from cigarette companies being delivered to people's homes | 8 | (15) | 15 | (36) | 19 | (35) | <0.001 |
| Wider | | | | | | | |
| Advertising | | | | | | | |
| • Any advertising | 94 | (188) | 94 | (220) | 95 | (176) | 0.783 |
| • Adverts for cigarettes in newspapers or magazines | 52 | (104) | 58 | (136) | 63 | (116) | 0.055 |
| • Adverts for cigarettes on large posters or billboards on the street | 90 | (180) | 88 | (207) | 93 | (172) | 0.287 |
| Product placement | | | | | | | |
| • Famous people in films / TV with a particular brand of cigarettes | 16 | (31) | 21 | (48) | 24 | (44) | 0.132 |
| Internet | | | | | | | |
| • Internet sites for cigarettes or smoking | 4 | (8) | 6 | (14) | 4 | (7) | 0.358 |
| Average number of marketing techniques aware of* | 6.4 | | 6.7 | | 8.1 | | 0.001 |

*One way analysis of variance, F= 15.257, df=2, p<0.001

All the respondents were aware of at least one form of tobacco marketing communications. The average number of tobacco marketing communications techniques that young people were aware of, increased with smoking status. On average, non-smokers were aware of 6.4 marketing communications techniques, tried smokers were aware of 6.7 and current smokers had highest awareness with an average of 8.1.

In general, the young people were more aware of the immediate and wider level marketing communications, than the individual level techniques.

Individual Techniques

In comparison to some of the other forms of marketing communications, low levels of awareness for free gifts (distributed at special events or at the point of sale), competitions or prize draws or free trial cigarettes was reported.

Immediate Techniques

There were high levels of awareness for almost all of the immediate level techniques. All the young people were aware of tobacco advertising at the point of sale. There were high levels of awareness of advertisements on shop windows, doors and display units for cigarettes. The majority of the respondents had come across loyalty schemes either by collecting cigarette coupons, or by collecting parts of packs. Many were also aware of changes to packaging design or size and promotional mail delivered to people's homes from cigarette companies.

Wider Techniques

There were also very high levels of awareness of tobacco advertising either on billboards or in the press. Almost all respondents were aware of advertising on billboards. Just less than half were aware of cigarettes in films and TV. The lowest levels of awareness were observed for Internet sites for cigarettes or smoking.

Even the non-smokers were found to have relatively high levels of awareness of certain forms of tobacco marketing communications. Nearly all had seen advertising on billboards, and over half, advertising for cigarettes in the press. All had seen some form of advertising at the point of sale, eg. advertising on shop windows or on display units inside shops. Around half of non-smokers were also aware of coupon-schemes and special price offers for cigarettes.

However, awareness of tobacco marketing communications techniques increased with smoking status. Significant increases in awareness were found for: cigarette branded clocks found inside shops, free gifts from coupon schemes or saving parts of packs, special price offers, brand-stretched clothing, promotional mail, new pack design or size and the distribution of free trial cigarettes.

(ii) Involvement

Involvement with tobacco marketing communications is shown on Table 8.18. Actual involvement or participation could be measured for individual and most of the immediate level tobacco marketing activities. However, within the wider level activities, involvement could only be measured for one technique, internet activity.

A large proportion of the respondents had been involved with tobacco marketing communications. As might be expected, this involvement increased with smoking status. Fifty-two per cent of current smokers, 28% of tried smokers and 23% of non-smokers had been involved in at least one form of tobacco marketing communications.

Individual Techniques

At the individual level, young people were most likely to be involved with price offers. More than a quarter of current smokers reported receiving these, and even among non and tried smokers, approximately one in twenty had received these. Involvement with promotions and brand-stretched goods was lower. Almost a tenth of current smokers had received cigarette branded gifts (9%) or owned brand-stretched goods (8%), while 5% of fewer had received free gifts from the shop-keeper, received free trial cigarettes or entered competitions.

Immediate Techniques

Greatest levels of involvement were observed for the immediate level. At the immediate level, young people were most likely to be involved with loyalty schemes, at least a tenth (11%) of non-smokers and almost a third (30%) of current smokers having received free gifts as a result of themselves or someone else collecting coupons. Many also received gifts through the collection of parts of packs.

Around one in ten current smokers also reported receiving promotional mail from cigarette companies. It is worth noting that the promotional mail was not necessarily addressed or intended for these young smokers, but nevertheless many indicated exposure to direct mail from cigarette companies.

Wider Techniques

Only a very small proportion of the young people had come across adverts or sites for cigarettes or smoking on the internet.

Involvement with tobacco marketing communications increased significantly with smoking status. Involvement with coupons-schemes (coupons and parts of packs), special price offers, promotional mail, free gifts distributed at special events, brand-stretched clothing, competitions and free trial cigarettes, increased significantly with smoking status.

Table 8.18: Involvement with Tobacco Marketing, by Smoking Status

| <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------|------|-----------------------------------|------|------------------------|------|---|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People Tried smoking</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | | <i>Chi-squared test for trend P Value</i> |
| | 199 | (No) | 234 | (No) | 185 | (No) | |
| Individual | | | | | | | |
| Promotions | | | | | | | |
| • Received free gifts showing cigarette brand logos given out at events such as concerts, festivals or sports events | 3 | (6) | 4 | (10) | 9 | (16) | <0.05 |
| • Received free gifts from the shop keeper when buying cigarettes | 4 | (1) | 2 | (5) | 3 | (5) | 0.101 |
| • Entered a competition that was linked to cigarettes | 1 | (2) | 2 | (4) | 5 | (10) | <0.01 |
| • Received free trial cigarettes | 0 | (0) | 1 | (2) | 5 | (10) | <0.001 |
| Price offers | | | | | | | |
| • Received special price offers for cigarettes | 4 | (7) | 5 | (12) | 28 | (51) | <0.001 |
| Brand stretching | | | | | | | |
| • Owned clothing or other items with a cigarette brand name or logo | 2 | (3) | 4 | (9) | 8 | (15) | <0.01 |
| Immediate | | | | | | | |
| Loyalty schemes | | | | | | | |
| • Received free gifts as a result of self or someone else collecting coupons or tokens from inside cigarette packs | 11 | (21) | 16 | (38) | 30 | (55) | <0.001 |
| • Received free gifts as a result of self or someone else saving parts of cigarette packs (eg. pack fronts) | 6 | (11) | 6 | (14) | 17 | (31) | <0.001 |
| Direct mail | | | | | | | |
| • Received promotional mail from cigarette companies | 3 | (6) | 5 | (11) | 9 | (16) | <0.05 |
| Wider | | | | | | | |
| • Looked at an internet site for cigarettes or smoking | 2 | (3) | 2 | (5) | 3 | (5) | 0.415 |
| Done any of these | 23 | (45) | 28 | (65) | 52 | (97) | <0.001 |

8.3.2 Brand Perceptions

This section examines young people's perceptions of cigarette brands. It is divided into two parts, the first of which describes young people's spontaneous and prompted awareness of cigarette brands, the second, young people's image perceptions of cigarette brands.

To obtain an understanding of young people's image perceptions of cigarette brands it was necessary to focus questions on specific examples of brands. Four cigarette brands were selected for this: Kensitas Club, Embassy Regal, Superkings and Lambert & Butler. These brands are promoted with differing intensities of marketing support and so afford the opportunity to understand the implications of promotional support on broad perceptions. These provided a useful comparison between heavily marketed brands and non-marketed brands and premium and mid-price brands. Kensitas Club is not marketed in the north east of England (but is very heavily marketed and popular amongst young people in Scotland). This brand was included as it was anticipated to provide a unique opportunity to understand how a successful brand is perceived without any social and cultural influences and limited marketing cues. Embassy Regal, a heavily marketed premium brand, was anticipated to be very popular amongst young people. Superkings was relatively heavily marketed, but a mid-price brand and therefore expected to be less popular amongst the young people. Finally, Lambert & Butler, a heavily marketed mid-price brand, was understood to be popular with the young people in the qualitative research.

Therefore, the second part of this section describes the image dimensions of young people's preferences for four cigarette brands: two of which they were known to like (and to prefer to smoke, see Section 8.3.4), and two of which they were known not to like.

Brand Awareness

Respondents were invited to mention up to 8 brands that they had heard of, see Table 8.19. Almost all respondents could recall at least one cigarette brand that they had heard of. Only four non-smokers and one tried smoker could not recall any cigarette brands.

The average number of cigarette brands recalled was 3.49 for non-smokers, 4.36 for tried smokers and 4.55 for current smokers. The average number of cigarette brands recalled and the likelihood of recalling any cigarette brand increased significantly with smoking status.

Table 8.19: Number of Cigarette Brands Recalled, by Smoking Status of Young People

| | <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|------|---------------------------------------|------|------------------------|------|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People Tried smoking</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | |
| | 199 | | 234 | | 185 | |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) |
| 0 | 2 | (4) | <1 | (1) | 0 | (0) |
| 1 | 10 | (19) | 4 | (10) | 0 | (0) |
| 2 | 17 | (34) | 8 | (19) | 1 | (2) |
| 3 | 23 | (46) | 19 | (45) | 1 | (13) |
| 4 | 25 | (49) | 24 | (55) | 17 | (31) |
| 5 | 17 | (33) | 19 | (44) | 16 | (30) |
| 6 | 4 | (7) | 16 | (37) | 16 | (30) |
| 7 | 1 | (1) | 6 | (14) | 18 | (33) |
| 8 | 3 | (6) | 4 | (9) | 25 | (46) |
| Mean | 3.49 | | 4.36 | | 4.55 | |

One-way analysis of variance. $F=106.839$, $p<0.001$

Chi-squared = 153.651, $df=1$, $p<0.001$

Young people were aware of a wide range of cigarette brands, see Table 8.20. Young people were most likely to mention either Embassy Regal or Lambert & Butler. Almost all the current smokers and around three-quarters of non or tried smokers mentioned either or both of these two brands.

Other cigarette brands which were familiar to young people included: Benson & Hedges, Superkings, Marlboro, Mayfair, Embassy, Silk Cut, Embassy, Sovereign, Richmond, Royals, Gold Mark, John Player Special, Marlboro Lights and Camel.

A smaller proportion of young people also mentioned other brands. These included: Rothmans, West, Viceroy, Consulate, Lucky Strike, Woodbines and Kensitas Club.

On average, spontaneous cigarette brand awareness was found to increase with smoking status. Significant increases in brand awareness with smoking behaviour were found for most brands except Benson & Hedges, Royals, Camels, Rothmans, and other brands with very low awareness (West, Viceroy, Consulate, Lucky Strike, Woodbines and Kensitas Club).

Table 8.20: Spontaneous Cigarette Brand Awareness, by Smoking Status of Young People

| | <u>Young People</u> | | | <i>P value</i> (χ^2 test for trend) |
|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------|--|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | <u>Tried smoking</u> | <u>Current smokers</u> | |
| | 199 % (No) | 234 % (No) | 185 % (No) | |
| Embassy Regal | 77 (153) | 86 (200) | 97 (179) | <0.001 |
| Lambert & Butler | 61 (122) | 76 (177) | 96 (178) | <0.001 |
| Benson & Hedges | 51 (102) | 52 (121) | 58 (108) | 0.167 |
| Superkings | 24 (48) | 26 (62) | 50 (93) | <0.001 |
| Marlboro | 35 (70) | 43 (101) | 46 (85) | <0.05 |
| Mayfair | 12 (24) | 24 (55) | 39 (72) | <0.001 |
| Embassy | 6 (12) | 11 (26) | 32 (60) | <0.001 |
| Silk Cut | 18 (36) | 27 (64) | 27 (50) | <0.05 |
| Berkeley | 9 (17) | 15 (34) | 21 (39) | <0.01 |
| Sovereign | 5 (9) | 7 (16) | 16 (29) | <0.001 |
| Richmond | 2 (4) | 3 (8) | 15 (27) | <0.001 |
| Royals | 8 (15) | 9 (22) | 13 (24) | 0.076 |
| Gold Mark | 2 (4) | 4 (9) | 11 (21) | <0.001 |
| John Player Special | 4 (8) | 6 (13) | 10 (18) | <0.05 |
| Marlboro Lights | 0 (0) | 3 (7) | 9 (17) | <0.001 |
| Camel | 10 (20) | 11 (25) | 8 (15) | 0.530 |
| Rothmans | 3 (5) | 2 (4) | 8 (14) | <0.05 |
| West | 2 (12) | 4 (10) | 4 (8) | 0.123 |
| Viceroy | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 4 (7) | 0.01 |
| Consulate | 1 (1) | 1 (2) | 1 (1) | 0.954 |
| Lucky Strike | 1 (2) | 2 (4) | 1 (2) | 0.935 |
| Woodbines | <1 (1) | 1 (3) | 0 (0) | 0.563 |
| Kensitas Club | 0 (0) | <1 (1) | 0 (0) | 0.977 |
| Other | 11 (21) | 15 (34) | 16 (30) | 0.106 |

The respondents' awareness of the four key cigarette brands was assessed. Their prompted awareness of these brands is shown on Table 8.21. As anticipated, there were high levels of awareness for all brands, except Kensitas Club – only 4% of non-smokers, 1% of tried smokers and 6% of current smokers were aware of this brand. The proportion of young people who were aware of each brand did not vary significantly by smoking status, with the exception of Superkings, where awareness increased significantly with smoking status. Nevertheless, the vast majority of non and tried smokers were aware of Superkings.

Table 8.21: Prompted Cigarette Brand Awareness - Key Brands, by Smoking Status of Young People

| | <u>Young People</u> | | | <i>P value</i> (χ^2 test for trend) |
|------------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------|--|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | <u>Tried smoking</u> | <u>Current smokers</u> | |
| | 199 % (No) | 234 % (No) | 185 % (No) | |
| Kensitas Club | 4 (8) | 1 (2) | 6 (11) | 0.337 |
| Embassy Regal | 99 (197) | 100 (233) | 99 (184) | 0.563 |
| Superkings | 92 (182) | 94 (221) | 98 (182) | <0.01 |
| Lambert & Butler | 97 (193) | 98 (230) | 100 (184) | 0.067 |

Table 8.22 shows the respondents' prompted awareness of advertisements for each of the four key brands. Most respondents were aware of advertising for Embassy Regal and Lambert & Butler brands, and between one third and one half were aware of adverts for Superkings. None were aware of advertisements for Kensitas Club.

Table 8.22: Prompted Awareness of Advertising – Key Brands, by Smoking Status of Young People

| | <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | | |
|------------------|-------------------------------|-------|---|-------|------------------------|-------|---|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People</u> <u>Tried smoking</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | | <i>P value</i> <i>(χ^2 test for trend)</i> |
| | 199 | | 234 | | 185 | | |
| % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) | | |
| Kensitas Club | 0 | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (0) | - |
| Embassy Regal | 82 | (161) | 81 | (186) | 88 | (161) | 0.141 |
| Superkings | 34 | (66) | 32 | (73) | 47 | (87) | <0.01 |
| Lambert & Butler | 62 | (122) | 67 | (154) | 82 | (152) | <0.001 |

Brand Imagery

Figures 8.2A, 8.2B, 8.2C and 8.2D and Table 8.23 show the respondents' perceptions of the brand images of the four key brands. This was assessed via eight semantic scales taking key measures of cigarette brand imagery. They were asked to give their views on the brand in terms of: perceived quality; value for money; credibility; popularity, in general, and with their peer group; and, the extent to which they had seen the brand on TV and films.

Three important patterns emerged:

- 1) The young people tended to rate the branding of the Embassy Regal (heavily marketed premium brand) and Lambert & Butler (heavily marketed mid-price brand) most positively. Perceptions of Kensitas Club (non-marketed premium brand) were least positive;
- 2) Positive views of cigarette branding were often associated with increases in smoking status. This was the case for all four cigarette brands;

- 3) The young non-smokers were familiar with the cigarette brands popular with young smokers and were able to rate these brands in a similar way to the smokers. Overall, it seems that the non-smokers and those who had tried smoking were less sensitive to the importance of cigarette branding than current smokers.

The brand perceptions held by non-smokers, tried smokers and current smokers is illustrated for each of the four brands respectively in Figures 8.2A, 8.2B, 8.2C and 8.2D and described below:

Current Smokers' Brand Perceptions

The young smokers viewed Embassy Regal as a brand that was top quality, fashionable, well-known and a brand very popular with most smokers and people their age. With the exception of value for money and seen on TV and films, the young smokers held very strong, positive views of this brand. The young smokers also viewed Lambert & Butler positively, as a brand that was fashionable, well known, popular with smokers and people their age. However, it was viewed as a poorer quality brand than Embassy Regal. Superkings was perceived by the young smokers as a well known brand which most smokers smoked. However, they neither agreed nor disagreed that Superkings was a fashionable brand, a brand popular with people their age, or a brand that people their age would like. Kensitas Club was viewed by the young smokers as a brand that was not at all popular with people their age, an unknown brand, an unfashionable brand, a brand that people their age would dislike, and a brand not often seen on TV and films.

Tried Smokers' Brand Perceptions

The tried smokers' perceptions of the four key brands was similar to that of the current smokers, but in general their views were less strong. Therefore, as before Embassy Regal was associated with quality, fashion, being well known and popular with most smokers and people their age. Lambert & Butler was also associated with being fashionable, well known and popular with most smokers and people their age. As before, Superkings was perceived by the tried smokers as a well known brand which most smokers smoked. However, they neither agreed nor disagreed that Superkings was a fashionable brand, a brand popular with people their age, or a brand that people their age would like. Similarly, Kensitas Club was viewed by the young smokers as a brand that was not at all popular with people their age, an

unknown brand, an unfashionable brand, a brand that people their age would like, and a brand not often seen on TV and films.

Non-smokers' Brand Perceptions

The non-smokers' perceptions of the four key brands were similar but less acute than either the tried or current smokers' perceptions. As before, Lambert & Butler and Embassy Regal were perceived positively and associated with quality, fashionability and popularity. On the other hand, Superkings was perceived to be well known, but did not have the same associations with quality, fashionability and popularity. Kensitas Club was perceived negatively and was associated with being unpopular and unfashionable.

The following four diagrams illustrate young people's responses to the four key brands along the eight dimensions of brand perception.

Figures 8.2: A, B, C & D: Perceptions of Four Key Brands

Figure 8.2A: Perceptions of Lambert & Butler

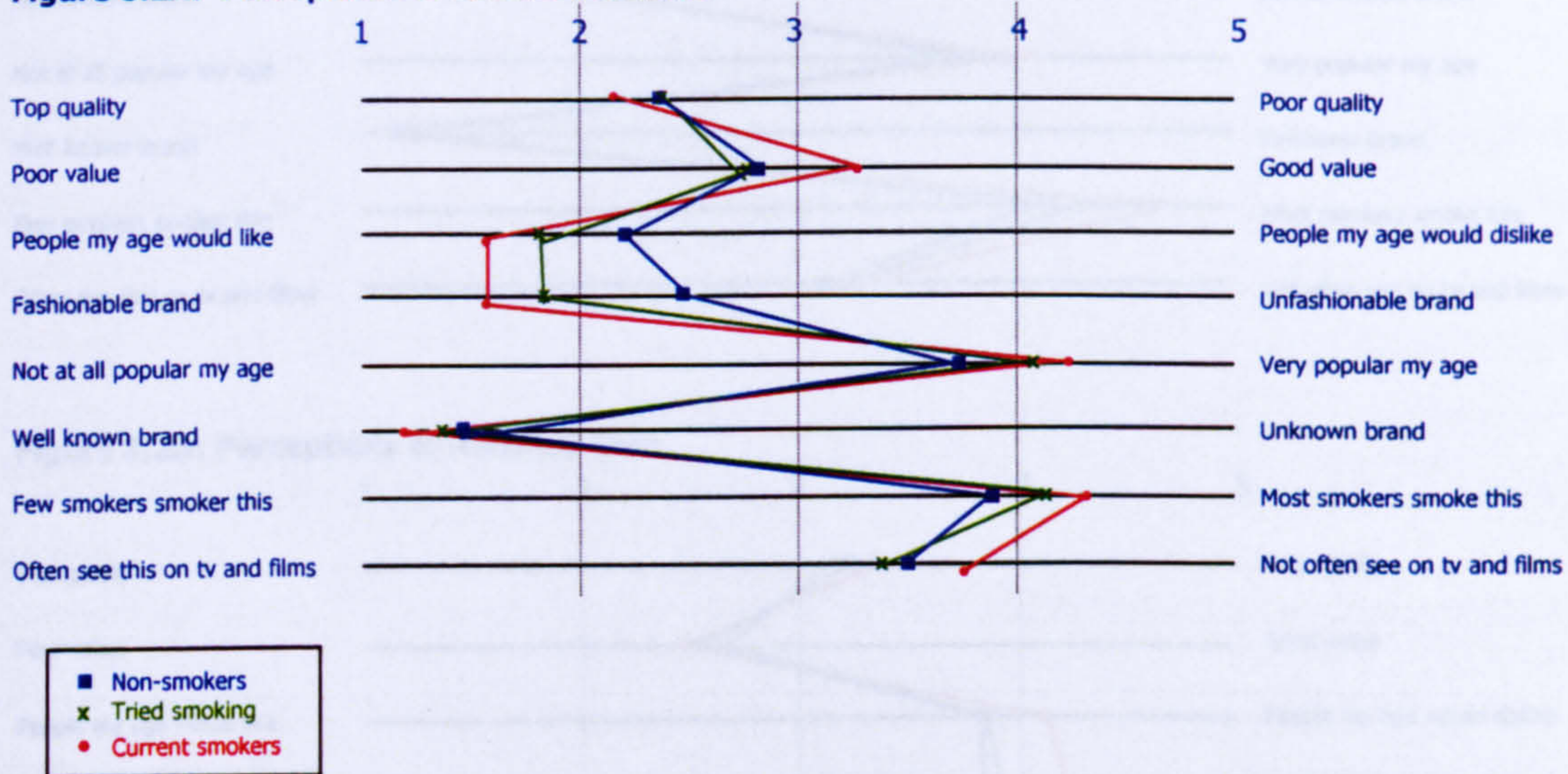


Figure 8.2B: Perceptions of Superkings

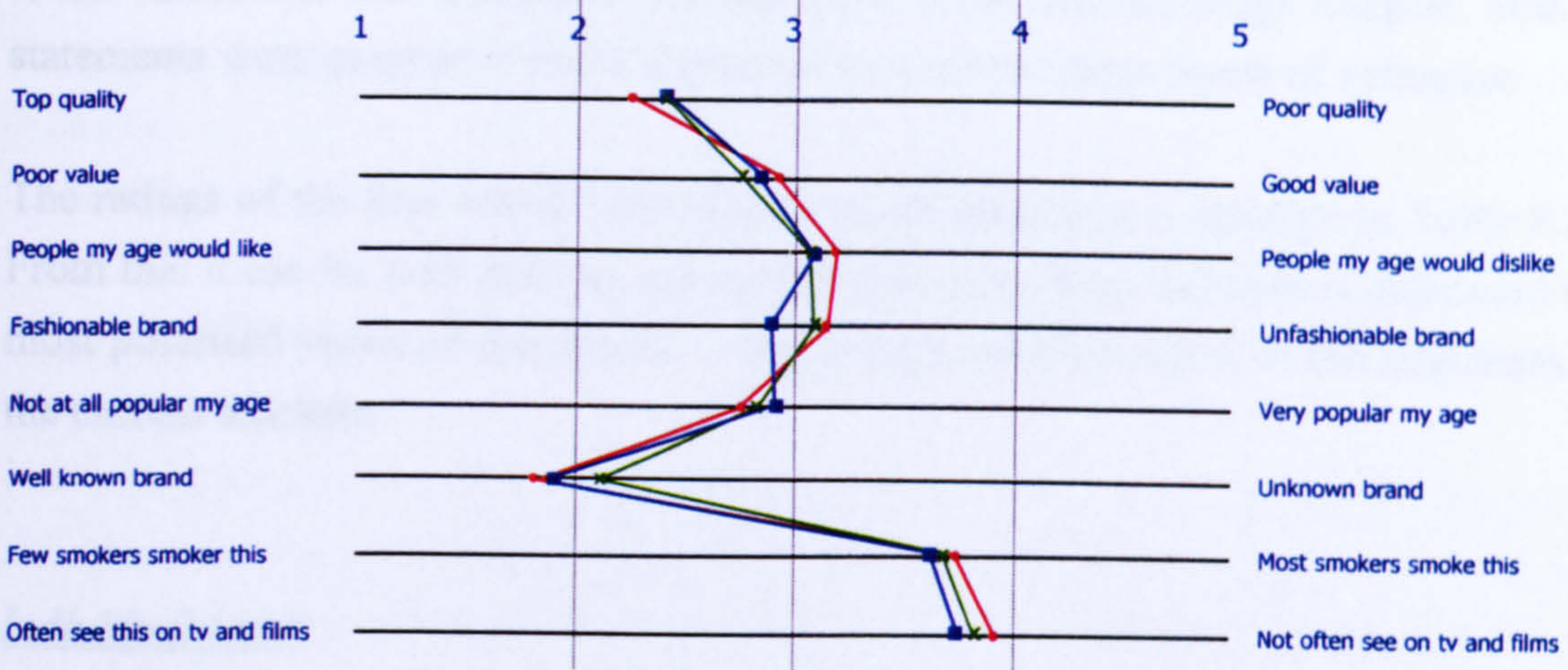


Figure 8.2C: Perceptions of Embassy Regal

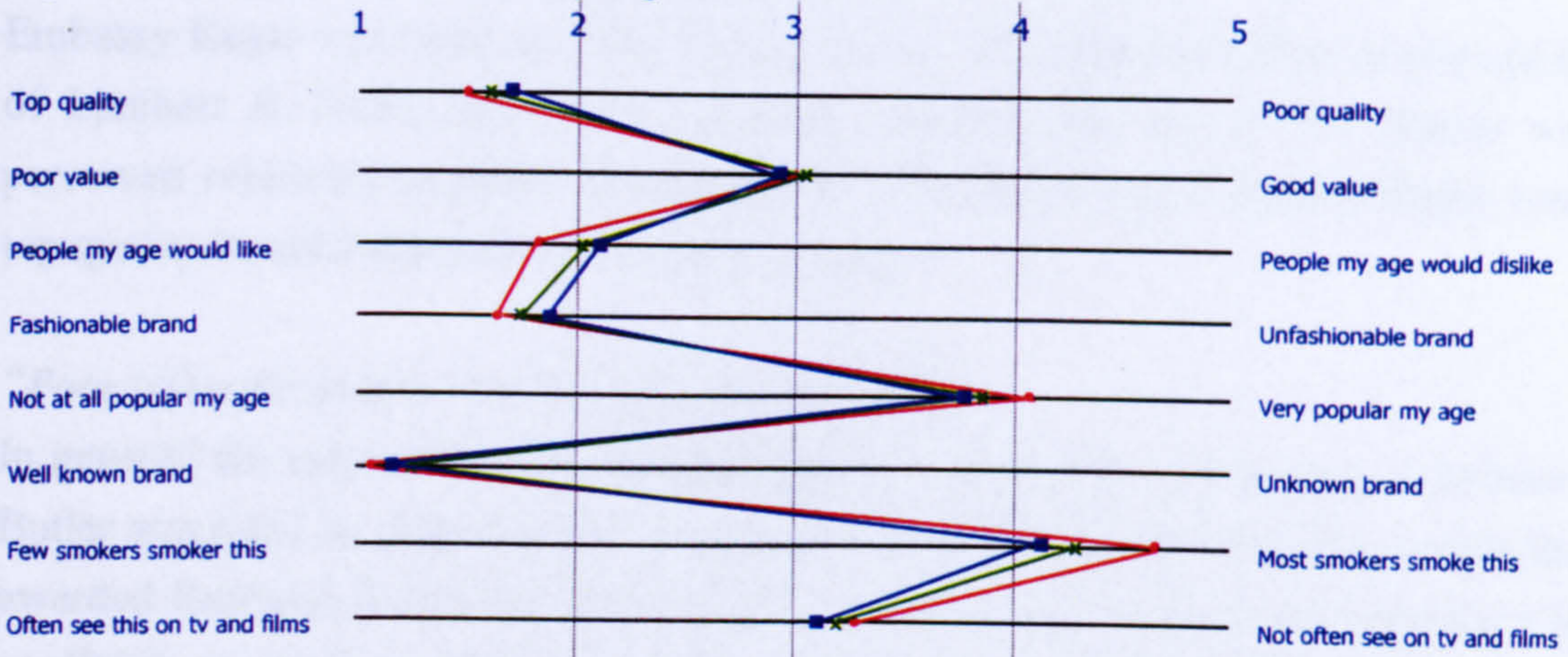
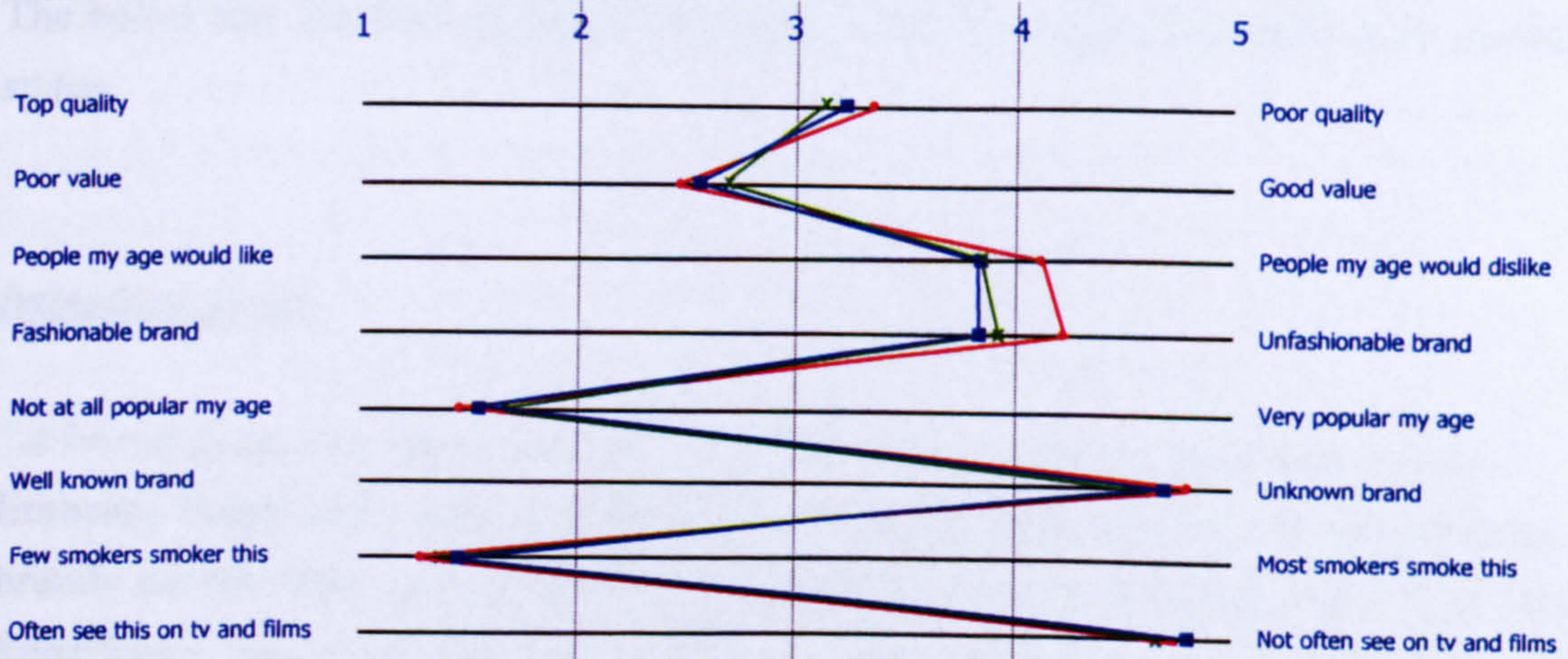


Figure 8.2D: Perceptions of Kensitas Club



■ Non-smokers
 x Tried smoking
 ● Current smokers

As before, the effects of opinions of brands on individual, immediate and wider levels influences was assessed. As explained in the methodology chapter, attitude statements were generated which examined each of the three levels of influence.

The ratings of the four brands according to each statement is detailed in Table 8.23. From this it can be seen that the immediate and wider level influences generated the most polarised views of the brands. This is particularly evident in the responses of the current smokers.

Individual Level

“A top quality brand” ↔ “A poor quality brand”

Embassy Regal was rated as a top quality brand. With the exception of perceptions of Lambert & Butler held by the current smokers, the rest of the brands were perceived relatively neutrally or negatively. The belief that Embassy Regal was a top quality brand increased with smoking status.

“Poor value for money” ↔ “Good value for money”

In general, the cigarette brands were not rated as good value for money. Lambert & Butler was rated as slightly good value for money by the current smokers, while they awarded Embassy Regal and Superkings a neutral rating and viewed Kensitas Club as slightly poor value. The non-smokers held relatively neutral views about value for money (and perhaps did not know the relative costs or benefits of the four brands). The belief that Lambert & Butler was good value for money increased with smoking status.

Immediate Level

“A brand people my age would like” ↔ “A brand people my age would dislike”

Embassy Regal and Lambert & Butler were consistently rated by the respondents as brands people their age would like. Relatively neutral attitudes were held about Superkings, but it was felt that people their age would dislike Kensitas Club. The belief that Embassy Regal and Lambert & Butler were brands people their age would like increased with smoking status.

“A fashionable brand” ↔ “An unfashionable brand”

The young people rated Lambert & Butler and Embassy Regal as fashionable brands. They rated Kensitas Club and Superkings as unfashionable. The belief that Lambert & Butler and Embassy Regal were fashionable brands, and that Kensitas Club was an unfashionable brand increased with smoking status.

“This brand is not at all popular with people my age” ↔ “this brand is very popular with people my age”

The young people believed that Lambert & Butler. Embassy Regal were brands that were popular with people their age. They rated Kensitas Club as a brand that was not at all popular with people their age. To a lesser degree, they also believed that Superkings was unpopular with people their age. The belief that Lambert & Butler and Embassy Regal were brands popular with people their age increased with smoking status.

Wider Level

“A well known brand” ↔ “An unknown brand”

Embassy Regal, Superkings and Lambert & Butler were all believed to be well-known cigarette brands. On average, Kensitas Club was believed to be an unknown brand. The beliefs that Superkings and Lambert & Butler were well-known brands and that Kensitas Club was an unknown brand increased with smoking status.

“Few smokers smoke this brand” ↔ “Most smokers smoke this brand”

Embassy Regal, Lambert & Butler, and to a lesser degree, Superkings, were brands that most smokers were believed to smoke. Few smokers were believed to smoke Kensitas Club. The belief that Embassy Regal and Lambert & Butler were brands that most smokers smoked and that Kensitas Club was a brand that few people smoked, increased with smoking status. These beliefs strengthened with smoking status.

“You often see this brand on TV and on films” ↔ “Not a brand you often see on TV and Films”

None of the cigarette brands were often seen on TV or films. However, Embassy Regal was least likely to be a brand not often seen on TV or films. No differences

were apparent, by smoking status, in perceptions of frequency of seeing each brand on TV or films.

Table 8.23: Opinions of Brands, of Young People by Smoking Status

| <i>Base: All young people</i> | | Young People | | | <i>Kruskal-Wallis Tests for significant differences</i> |
|--|-----|--|------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| | | <u>Non-smokers</u> Mean | <u>Tried smoking</u> Mean | <u>Current smokers</u> Mean | |
| 1.0 | 5.0 | | | | |
| INDIVIDUAL LEVEL | | | | | |
| <u>A top quality brand</u> | | <u>A poor quality brand</u> | | | |
| | | 3.23 | 3.10 | 3.39 | 0.133 |
| | | 1.86 | 1.76 | 1.55 | <0.01 |
| | | 2.72 | 2.72 | 2.49 | 0.079 |
| | | 2.61 | 2.63 | 2.38 | 0.099 |
| <u>Poor value for money</u> | | <u>Good value for money</u> | | | |
| | | 2.60 | 2.73 | 2.55 | 0.377 |
| | | 2.98 | 3.05 | 3.02 | 0.909 |
| | | 2.98 | 2.83 | 2.94 | 0.441 |
| | | 2.87 | 2.86 | 3.37 | <0.001 |
| IMMEDIATE LEVEL | | | | | |
| <u>A brand people my age would like</u> | | <u>A brand people my age would dislike</u> | | | |
| | | 3.85 | 3.85 | 4.08 | 0.064 |
| | | 2.10 | 2.08 | 1.78 | <0.001 |
| | | 3.08 | 3.09 | 3.10 | 0.903 |
| | | 2.26 | 1.94 | 1.61 | <0.001 |
| <u>A fashionable brand</u> | | <u>An unfashionable brand</u> | | | |
| | | 3.88 | 3.98 | 4.22 | <0.05 |
| | | 1.93 | 1.77 | 1.52 | <0.001 |
| | | 2.99 | 3.06 | 3.09 | 0.669 |
| | | 2.33 | 1.97 | 1.66 | <0.001 |
| <u>This brand is not at all popular with people my age</u> | | <u>This brand is very popular with people my age</u> | | | |
| | | 1.67 | 1.74 | 1.53 | <0.052 |
| | | 3.71 | 3.79 | 4.14 | <0.001 |
| | | 2.95 | 2.89 | 2.77 | 0.204 |
| | | 3.72 | 4.02 | 4.24 | <0.001 |
| WIDER LEVEL | | | | | |
| <u>A well known brand</u> | | <u>An unknown brand</u> | | | |
| | | 4.68 | 4.65 | 4.83 | <0.05 |
| | | 1.28 | 1.38 | 1.22 | 0.051 |
| | | 1.94 | 2.19 | 1.86 | <0.01 |
| | | 1.52 | 1.46 | 1.23 | <0.001 |
| <u>Few smokers smoke this brand</u> | | <u>Most smokers smoke this brand</u> | | | |
| | | 1.64 | 1.61 | 1.43 | <0.05 |
| | | 4.15 | 4.23 | 4.51 | <0.01 |
| | | 3.51 | 3.52 | 3.61 | 0.415 |
| | | 3.91 | 4.20 | 4.48 | <0.001 |
| <u>You often see this brand on TV and films</u> | | <u>Not a brand you often see on TV and films</u> | | | |
| | | 4.86 | 4.66 | 4.68 | 0.068 |
| | | 3.04 | 3.09 | 3.21 | 0.497 |
| | | 3.61 | 3.66 | 3.86 | 0.102 |
| | | 3.41 | 3.32 | 3.61 | 0.082 |

This analysis has shown that, of the four brands examined, Lambert & Butler and Embassy Regal had images most favourable to the young people. These are also the brands that young people smoke most often (see Section 8.3.4). The biggest difference in young people's perceptions of brand image by smoking status was observed for Lambert & Butler. Perceptions of Embassy Regal were very similar for non, tried and current smokers. Both Embassy Regal and Lambert & Butler were associated with being: fashionable, youthful, quality, well-known and popular brands.

8.3.3 Smoking Beliefs

This section examines the smoking beliefs of young people. The smoking related beliefs of non-smokers, tried smokers and current smokers are shown in Table 8.24. Again, the three levels of influence are examined and are also shown.

Analysis of the differences in response by smoking status revealed some important differences in their smoking related beliefs. In general, the young smokers were more likely than the non-smokers to believe that smoking offered certain physical, social and emotional benefits.

Table 8.24: Opinions of Smokers / Smoking, by Smoking Status

| <i>Base: All young people</i> | | <u>Young People</u> | | | <i>P value (Kruskal-Wallis)</i> |
|---|---|----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1.0 | 5.0 | <u>Non-smokers</u> Mean | <u>Tried smoking</u> Mean | <u>Current smoking</u> Mean | |
| <u>Individual Level</u> | | | | | |
| Smoking helps people who feel stress | Smoking does not help people who feel stress | 3.12 | 2.97 | 2.31 | <0.001 |
| Smoking does not help people to feel more relaxed | Smoking helps people to feel more relaxed | 2.95 | 3.13 | 3.60 | <0.001 |
| Smoking helps people to control their weight | Smoking does not help people to control their weight | 3.67 | 3.55 | 3.40 | 0.122 |
| Smoking looks unattractive | Smoking looks attractive | 1.56 | 1.58 | 2.37 | <0.001 |
| In general, smokers have a better image than non-smokers | In general, non-smokers have a better image than smokers | 4.01 | 3.93 | 3.48 | <0.001 |
| <u>Immediate Level</u> | | | | | |
| Smoking makes it easier to make new friends | Smoking makes it more difficult to make new friends | 3.41 | 3.28 | 2.87 | <0.001 |
| In general, my older brother(s)/sister(s) approve of smoking *DK/NA: 35% | In general, my older brother(s)/sister(s) disapprove of smoking | 3.80 | 3.53 | 2.88 | <0.001 |
| Most people my age smoke | Hardly anyone my age smokes | 2.34 | 2.10 | 1.68 | <0.001 |
| It is usually the least popular people who smoke | It is usually the most popular people who smoke | 3.48 | 3.60 | 3.77 | <0.05 |
| <u>Wider Level</u> | | | | | |
| On the whole, people are encouraged to smoke these days | On the whole, people are discouraged to smoke these days | 2.99 | 2.78 | 2.64 | <0.05 |
| You always see smoking in films | You never see smoking in films | 2.41 | 2.41 | 2.29 | 0.362 |
| The people who make cigarettes should be allowed to advertise them as they please | The people who make cigarettes should not be allowed to advertise them as they please | 4.10 | 3.63 | 3.21 | <0.001 |
| Most people my parents, age smoke nowadays | Hardly anyone my parents' age smokes nowadays | 2.76 | 2.68 | 2.38 | <0.01 |
| Smoking is worse for health than people say | Smoking is not as bad for health as people say | 1.52 | 1.63 | 2.05 | <0.001 |

Current Smokers' Smoking Beliefs

The current smokers held the most positive opinions of smoking. They tended to view smoking as providing some help with stress and relaxation but tended to feel that smoking does not help people control their weight. While they displayed a slight tendency to view smoking as unattractive and non-smokers as having a better image than smokers, of the three groups, the current smokers were the least negative in these views. They held relatively neutral views regarding smoking making it easier to make new friends and sibling approval of smoking but were more positive in their views than non-smokers and tried smokers. The current smokers perceived that most

people their age smoked and were of the view that it is the most popular people who smoke. They tended to view smoking as something which people are given some encouragement to do these days and were the most likely of the three groups to hold this opinion. They indicated that smoking is something that is seen in films and their rating of this did not differ from the other groups. They tended to think that the people who make cigarettes should not be allowed to advertise them as they please, but their strength of feeling on this was not strong, and was much weaker than that of the non-smokers. They held the perception that most people of their parents age smoke nowadays but while they perceived smoking to be worse for health than people say they viewed this to a lesser degree than non-smokers and tried smokers.

Tried Smokers' Smoking Beliefs

The young people who had tried smoking demonstrated slightly less positive views of smoking than current smokers, and slightly more positive views than non-smokers. They held neutral views on the ability of smoking to help with stress and relaxation but tended to think that it does not help in controlling weight. They tended to believe that smoking looks unattractive, that non-smokers have a better image than smokers, that their siblings disapprove of smoking, that cigarette manufacturers should not be allowed to advertise cigarettes as they please and that smoking is worse for health than people say. However, their opinions were not as strong as those of non-smokers. They also considered it to be the most popular people who smoke and felt more strongly about this than the non-smokers. They tended to believe that most people their age smoke and that smoking is seen in films. However, they held relatively neutral opinions concerning the extent to which people are encouraged to smoke, whether smoking makes it more difficult to make new friends and the number of people of their parents age who smoke nowadays.

Non-smokers' Smoking Beliefs

The non-smokers held neutral views about the ability of smoking to help with stress and relaxation but felt that it does not help in weight control. They tended to believe that smoking looks unattractive, that non-smokers have a better image than smokers in general, that smoking makes it more difficult to make new friends, that their siblings disapprove of smoking, that people who make cigarettes should not be allowed to advertise them as they please and that smoking is worse for health than people say. However, it is important to note that they tended to believe that it is the most popular people who smoked, that most people their age smoke and that smoking is seen in films. They held relatively neutral opinions of whether people are

encouraged or discouraged to smoke nowadays and concerning the number of people their parents age who smoke nowadays.

The response to each of the statements is discussed in detail below:

Individual Level

“Smoking helps people who feel stress” ↔ “smoking does not help people who feel stress”

Non-smokers and triers held rather neutral view on whether smoking helps people deal with stress. Young smokers however did feel that smoking helped with stress.

“Smoking does not help people to feel more relaxed” ↔ “smoking helps people to feel more relaxed”

On average, smoking was believed to help people feel more relaxed. This belief increased with smoking status.

“Smoking helps people to control their weight” ↔ “smoking does not help people to control their weight”

Smoking was not believed to help people control their weight.

“Smoking looks unattractive” ↔ “smoking looks attractive”

On the whole, smoking was not believed to look attractive. However, the strength of this belief decreased with an increase in smoking behaviour.

“In general, smokers have a better image than non-smokers” ↔ “In general, non-smokers have a better image than smokers”

Non-smokers were believed to have a better image than smokers do, but the strength of this belief decreased with an increase in smoking behaviour.

Immediate Level

“Smoking makes it easier to make new friends” ↔ “Smoking makes it more difficult to make new friends”

On the whole, smoking was believed to make it more difficult to make new friends, but the strength of this belief decreased with an increase in smoking behaviour.

“In general, my older brothers and sisters approve of smoking” ↔ “In general, my older brothers and sisters disapprove of smoking”

In general, it was agreed that older brothers and sisters disapproved of smoking. However, the strength of belief that older siblings disapproved of smoking, decreased with smoking behaviour.

“Most people my age smoke” ↔ “hardly anyone my age smokes”

In general, it was believed that most people of the respondents' age smoked. This belief increased with smoking behaviour.

Wider Level

“It is usually the least popular people who smoke” ↔ “It is usually the most popular people who smoke”

It was agreed that it was usually the most popular people who smoked. And the strength of this belief increased with smoking behaviour.

“On the whole, people are encouraged to smoke these days” ↔ “On the whole, people are discouraged to smoke these days”

Non smokers believed that people are neither encouraged nor discouraged to smoke these days. However, tried and current smokers believe that there is some encouragement to smoke.

“You always see smoking in films” ↔ “You never see smoking in films”

On average, it was agreed that smoking was seen in films.

“The people who make cigarettes should be allowed to advertise them as they please” ↔ “The people who make cigarettes should not be allowed to advertise them as they please”

It was believed that the people who make cigarettes should not be allowed to advertise them as they please. But, the strength of this belief decreased with an increase in smoking behaviour.

“Most people my parents’ age smoke nowadays” ↔ “Hardly anyone my parents’ age smokes nowadays”

On average, young people tended to believe that most people of their parents’ age smoke. The strength of this belief increased with smoking status.

“Smoking is worse for health than people say” ↔ “Smoking is not as bad for health as people say”

On average, young people tended to believe that smoking was worse for health than people say. The strength of this belief decreased with smoking status.

8.3.4 Smoking Behaviour

This section describes young people’s smoking behaviour and cigarette consumption, brand preferences and future smoking intentions.

Smoking Prevalence and Consumption

The smoking behaviour of young people was established in the self-completion section of the questionnaire. Two questions were used to confirm their smoking behaviour, see Table 8.25A and 8.25B. ‘Non-smokers’ were all those respondents who answered, *“I have never tried smoking, not even a puff”* (See Table 8.25B). ‘Current smokers’ included those who, *“do sometimes smoke cigarettes”* (See Table 8.25B) and those who, *“sometimes smoke cigarettes, but not as many as one a week”*, as well as those who, *“...usually smoke between 1 and 6 cigarettes a week”* or *“...usually smoke more than 6 cigarettes a week”* (See Table 8.25A). Those who had only *“...ever smoked once”* (See Table 8.25A), or who *“...did once have a puff or two of a cigarette, but never smoke now”* (See Table 8.25B) were classed as ‘Tried smoking’.

Table 8.25a: Smoking Prevalence in Young People

| | <u>Young People</u> | |
|---|---------------------|-------|
| | 627 | |
| | % | (No) |
| I have never smoked | 40 | (247) |
| I have only ever smoked once | 17 | (104) |
| I used to smoke sometimes, but I never smoke cigarettes now | 13 | (84) |
| I sometimes smoke cigarettes now, but not as many as 1 a week | 5 | (32) |
| I usually smoke between 1 and 6 cigarettes a week | 6 | (35) |
| I usually smoke more than 6 cigarettes a week | 19 | (116) |
| Not stated | 1 | (9) |

Table 8.25b: Smoking Prevalence in Young People

Incidence of smoking in all 'non-smokers' in Q1

| | <u>All non-smokers in Q1</u> | |
|---|------------------------------|-------|
| | 247 | |
| | % | (No) |
| I have never tried smoking not even a puff | 81 | (199) |
| I did once have a puff or two of a cigarette, but I never smoke now | 19 | (46) |
| I do sometimes smoke cigarettes | 1 | (2) |

The smoking respondents were asked to indicate the number of cigarettes they usually smoked per week. Answer categories were provided for ease of response. The estimated mean number of cigarettes smoked per week by current smokers was 25 sticks, see Table 8.26. However, it is important to note that 16% of the young smokers claimed to smoke as many as 50 or more cigarettes per week.

Table 8.26: Weekly Cigarette Consumption of Young Smokers

| | <u>Current Smokers</u> | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|------|
| | 185 | |
| | % | (No) |
| Less than one | 12 | (22) |
| 1-4 | 8 | (15) |
| 5-9 | 11 | (21) |
| 10-19 | 12 | (22) |
| 20-29 | 10 | (19) |
| 30-39 | 14 | (25) |
| 40-49 | 8 | (15) |
| 50 or more | 16 | (29) |
| Not sure | 9 | (17) |
| Estimated mean number | 24.68 | |

Most were frequent smokers. Nearly two-thirds of the current smokers (62%) smoked every day and 14% smoked most days, see Table 8.27. Only 8% of the young smokers claimed to smoke less than once a week, 3% smoked one day per week, and a further 8% smoked 2 or 3 days a week.

Table 8.27: Frequency of Smoking in Young Smokers

| | <u>Current Smokers</u> | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|-------|
| | 185 | |
| | % | (No) |
| Every day | 62 | (115) |
| Most days | 14 | (26) |
| 2 or 3 days a week | 8 | (15) |
| One day a week | 3 | (6) |
| Less than once a week | 8 | (15) |
| Not sure | 4 | (8) |

Brand Preferences

The young smokers had very clear brand preferences, see Table 8.28 and 8.29.

Some 84% of the young smokers had smoked Lambert & Butler and 66% had smoked Embassy Regal in the previous four weeks, see Table 8.28. Other popular brands included Benson & Hedges, Marlboro and Mayfair.

Table 8.28: Brands Smoked in Past 4 weeks by Young Smokers

| | <u>Current Smokers</u> | |
|------------------|------------------------|-------|
| | 185 | |
| | % | (No) |
| Lambert & Butler | 84 | (155) |
| Embassy Regal | 66 | (123) |
| Benson & Hedges | 24 | (45) |
| Marlboro | 15 | (27) |
| Mayfair | 12 | (22) |
| Royals | 7 | (13) |
| Silk Cut | 6 | (12) |
| Berkeley | 5 | (9) |
| Embassy No 1 | 5 | (9) |
| Superkings | 5 | (9) |
| Sovereign | 4 | (8) |
| Camel | 3 | (5) |
| Other | 10 | (19) |

The strength of the young people's brand preferences became even more apparent, when they were asked about the brands they smoked most often, see Table 8.29.

Lambert & Butler was the favoured brand of 66% of the young smokers. Embassy Regal was preferred by 28%. Marlboro was smoked by 6% and Benson & Hedges by only 4% of the young smokers.

Table 8.29: Brands Smoked Most Often by Young Smokers

| | <u>Current Smokers</u> | |
|--|------------------------|-------|
| | % | (No) |
| <i>Base: All young current smokers</i> | | |
| | <i>185</i> | |
| Lambert & Butler | 66 | (125) |
| Embassy Regal | 28 | (52) |
| Marlboro | 6 | (12) |
| Benson & Hedges | 4 | (7) |
| Mayfair | 3 | (6) |
| Royals | 3 | (5) |
| Berkeley | 2 | (3) |
| Embassy No 1 | 2 | (3) |
| Silk Cut | 2 | (4) |
| Camel | 1 | (2) |
| Dunhill | 1 | (1) |
| Kensitas Club | 1 | (1) |
| Sovereign | 1 | (1) |
| Superkings | 0 | (0) |
| Other | 5 | (9) |

Future Smoking Intentions

The majority of non-smokers and tried smokers did not foresee themselves as smokers in the future although around a third of tried smokers acknowledged the possibility of them being a smoker at age 18, see Table 8.30.

Most of the current smokers considered it likely that they would still be smokers at age 18, although only a tenth (9%) held definite intentions to still be smoking. Approximately a third considered it unlikely that they would still be smoking at age 18.

Table 8.30: Predicted Smoking Behaviour at Age 18

| | <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------------|-------|------------------------|------|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People Tried smoking</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | |
| | 199 | | 234 | | 185 | |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) |
| Definitely will not be smoking | 81 | (162) | 63 | (148) | 12 | (23) |
| Probably will not be smoking | 16 | (31) | 31 | (73) | 22 | (41) |
| Probably will be smoking | 1 | (2) | 2 | (4) | 46 | (85) |
| Definitely will be smoking | 0 | (0) | <1 | (1) | 9 | (17) |
| Not sure | 2 | (4) | 3 | (8) | 10 | (19) |

Chi-square = 189.872, df=1, p<0.001

8.3.5 Other Influences on Smoking

This section examines the other social influences on smoking. Having close friends and family who smoke, provide social support for young smokers, and have been shown in other studies to be important predictors of smoking behaviour (Barton and Janis 1997, Jackson et al 1998, Morgan and Grube 1989). The smoking behaviour of close friends, parents and siblings is now discussed:

Peers' Smoking

All the respondents were asked what proportion of their friends smoked, see Table 8.31.

The likelihood of having close friends who smoked increased significantly with smoking behaviour. For example, 16% of current smokers believed that all their friends smoked, compared to 4% of those who had tried smoking and 2% of non-smokers. On the other hand, 22% of non-smokers believed that none of their friends smoked, compared to 13% of those who had tried smoking and only 2% of current smokers.

Table 8.31: Peer's Smoking Behaviour, by Smoking Status

| | <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|------|---------------------------------------|------|------------------------|------|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People Tried smoking</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | |
| | 199 | | 234 | | 185 | |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) |
| Number of close friends who smoke.... | | | | | | |
| All of them | 3 | (5) | 4 | (9) | 16 | (29) |
| Most of them | 19 | (37) | 30 | (70) | 54 | (99) |
| About half of them | 25 | (49) | 26 | (60) | 21 | (38) |
| A few of them | 27 | (54) | 26 | (60) | 7 | (12) |
| None of them | 22 | (43) | 13 | (31) | 2 | (3) |
| Not sure | 6 | (11) | 2 | (4) | 2 | (4) |

Chi-squared = 104.218, df=1, p<0.001

Siblings' Smoking

Similarly, the respondents were asked whether they had any brothers and/or sisters smoked, see Table 8.32.

The proportion having brothers or sisters who smoked (or at least, knowing that brothers/sisters smoked) increased significantly with smoking behaviour. For instance, 48% of current smokers claimed to have brothers or sisters who smoked compared to 27% of those who had tried smoking and 17% of non-smokers.

Table 8.32: Siblings' Smoking Behaviour, by Smoking Status of Young People

| | <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------------|-------|------------------------|------|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People Tried smoking</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | |
| | 199 | | 234 | | 185 | |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) |
| Any brothers/sisters smoke | 17 | (34) | 27 | (64) | 48 | (89) |
| No brothers/sisters smoke | 73 | (145) | 67 | (157) | 44 | (82) |
| Unsure if brothers/sisters smoke | 10 | (20) | 6 | (13) | 8 | (14) |

Chi-squared=32.737, df=1, p<0.001

Parents' Smoking

Relationships between both mothers' and fathers' smoking behaviour and the smoking status of young people were also found, see Tables 8.33 and 8.34.

The likelihood of having a mother who smoked increased with smoking behaviour, see Table 8.33. It was found that 54% of current smokers had a mother who smoked, compared to 38% of those who had tried smoking and 23% of non-smokers.

Table 8.33: Mother's Smoking Behaviour, by Smoking Status of Young People

| | <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|------------------------|------|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | |
| | 199 | | 234 | | 185 | |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) |
| Mother smokes | 23 | (45) | 38 | (88) | 54 | (99) |
| Mother does not smoke | 71 | (141) | 58 | (136) | 43 | (79) |
| No mother | 1 | (2) | 1 | (2) | 3 | (5) |
| Unsure if mother smokes | 6 | (11) | 3 | (8) | 1 | (2) |

Chi-squared=31.594, df=1, p<0.001

The likelihood of having a father who smoked also increased with smoking behaviour, see Table 8.34. Half of current smokers had a father who smoked compared to 36% of tried smokers and 25% of non-smokers.

Table 8.34: Father's Smoking Behaviour, by Smoking Status of Young People

| | <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|------------------------|------|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | |
| | 199 | | 234 | | 185 | |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) |
| Father smokes | 25 | (50) | 36 | (83) | 50 | (92) |
| Father does not smoke | 66 | (131) | 56 | (132) | 38 | (71) |
| No father | 3 | (6) | 3 | (6) | 8 | (14) |
| Unsure if father smokes | 6 | (12) | 6 | (13) | 4 | (8) |

Chi-squared=9.194, df=1, p<0.01

8.3.6 Parental Presence During Interviews

This brief section examines parental presence during the interviews. As the interviews were conducted in-home, it was important to assess the extent to which parents were present during the interviews and to establish the extent to which they may have been able to influence the process. The interviewers were asked to record whether a parent was present in the room during the interviewer administered questionnaire (see Table 8.35A) and during the self-completion questionnaire (see Table 8.35B). The interviewers also made note of the proximity of the parent to the respondent and their ability to see or influence the responses.

Parents were present during the entire interviewer administered questionnaire in around one-third of cases. Furthermore, parents were present during part of a further one in six cases. Parents were not present at all in just over half of interviews. There were no significant differences in parental presence by smoking status, suggesting that current smokers were not less likely to admit to their behaviour when parents were present.

Table 8.35A: Parental Presence During Interviews

| | <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People Tried smoking</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | |
| | 199 | | 234 | | 185 | |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) |
| Present all of the time | 30 | (60) | 27 | (63) | 29 | (53) |
| Present some of the time | 13 | (26) | 17 | (40) | 14 | (26) |
| Not present | 57 | (112) | 56 | (129) | 57 | (104) |

Chi-squared=0.033, df=1, p=0.855

Parents were present in the room during the self-completion questionnaire in around one-third of cases. In only a small number of cases were parents in the room and close enough to respondents to potentially see their answers. There were no significant variations in parental presence by smoking status, suggesting that current smokers were not less likely to admit their behaviour when parents were present.

Table 8.35B: Parental Presence During Self-completion

| | <i>Base: All young people</i> | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|
| | <u>Non-smokers</u> | | <u>Young People Tried smoking</u> | | <u>Current smokers</u> | |
| | 199 | | 234 | | 185 | |
| | % | (No) | % | (No) | % | (No) |
| Present - close to respondents, potential to see answers | 6 | (12) | 7 | (16) | 8 | (15) |
| Present - distant from respondent, no potential to see answers | 27 | (53) | 26 | (59) | 28 | (50) |
| Not present | 67 | (133) | 67 | (154) | 64 | (166) |

Chi-squared=0.680, df=1, p=0.410

8.4 Multivariate Analysis

Multivariate analysis examines the simultaneous relationship between a series of variables. It was used to test the research framework and hypotheses, by examining the simultaneous relationship of tobacco marketing communications, smoking beliefs, brand perceptions and smoking behaviour.

The smoking beliefs and brand perceptions concepts were measured using a series of semantic scales (14 measures of smoking beliefs and 8 measures of brand perceptions), which covered individual, immediate and wider level effects. The brand perception measures used in the multivariate analysis were for the 'key youth brand' appreciated by the young people. This was clearly identified in both the qualitative and quantitative analysis as Lambert and Butler. Principal components analysis was conducted to examine the extent to which this large group of variables could be reduced to a smaller sub-set. This analysis identified five factors of smoking beliefs: image and health, perceived prevalence of smoking, physical benefits, popularity, and approval. Similar analysis was conducted for brand perceptions and this identified two main components of this concept: fashionability and quality.

Logistic regression analysis was then used to examine the simultaneous relationship of smoking beliefs, brand perceptions and tobacco marketing communications. This model was specified in two ways. The first model examined the cumulative effect of tobacco marketing and included the total amount of tobacco marketing communications that young people were aware of. The second model examined the impact of individual, immediate and wider level tactics of tobacco marketing communications. In each case, the dependent variable was dichotomous – whether or not a current smoker. The analyses controlled for other variables known to be associated with young people's smoking behaviour. The control variables were peers' smoking, siblings' smoking, parents' smoking, gender, socio-economic group and future education intentions (whether or not they intended to undertake further education).

The data reduction (principal component analysis) and the model testing analysis are now presented in turn.

8.4.1 Reducing the Data - Principal Component Analysis

As there are no definitive, validated measures for either ‘smoking beliefs’ or ‘brand perceptions’, measures were developed for this research, informed by the literature and by the qualitative research. An 8-item, 5-point semantic differential scale was developed for brand perceptions, and a 14-item, 5-point semantic differential scale was developed for smoking beliefs. As not all of these items could be included in the final model, principal component analysis was used to reduce the number of variables. This had the benefit of producing a smaller set of variables that contained as much of the variation that was present in the original data as possible. Principal component analysis identifies the minimum number of components (groups of variables that are correlated with each other and not other components) which account for the maximum amount of variance.

Before the principal component analysis was conducted, the smoking beliefs and brand perceptions variables were re-coded so that all the variables ran from 1 (negative statement about smoking) to 5 (positive statements about smoking). Similarly, the brand perception variables were re-coded so that they ran from 1 (negative perceptions of brands) to 5 (positive perceptions of brands). This aided interpretation.

8.4.1.1 *Smoking Beliefs*

Tables 8.36 and 8.37 show the results of the principal component analysis of ‘smoking beliefs’.

The principal components were extracted using varimax rotation to enhance interpretation. The rotated component matrix is shown below. The number of components retained was decided using: a) Kaiser’s criterion that all components with an eigenvalue¹ of greater than 1 are retained; and b) Cattell’s Scree test which graphs the descending variance contributed by each of the extracted components. This ‘elbow’ shaped graph illustrates the point at which eigenvalues level off. Both these methods were used to extract five components inherent in smoking beliefs.

¹ An eigenvalue represents the amount of variance explained by each component.

Table 8.36 shows that the analysis identified five components with eigenvalues of 1.0 or higher.

In total the five components explained 52.9% of the variance.

Table 8.36: Principal Component Analysis of Smoking Beliefs – Eigenvalues and Variance Explained (rotated component matrix)

| Component | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % |
|-----------|-------|---------------|--------------|
| 1 | 1.805 | 12.89 | 12.89 |
| 2 | 1.803 | 12.88 | 25.77 |
| 3 | 1.533 | 10.95 | 36.72 |
| 4 | 1.183 | 8.45 | 45.17 |
| 5 | 1.082 | 7.73 | 52.90 |

Table 8.37 shows the component loading coefficients for each of these five components.

Table 8.37: Principal Component Analysis of Smoking Beliefs – Component Loading Coefficients Based on Rotated Component Matrix

| Variable | Component | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Individual Level | | | | | |
| Helps stress | | | 0.768 | | |
| Helps to relax | | | 0.779 | | |
| Controls weight | | | 0.523 | | |
| Looks attractive | 0.635 | | | | |
| Smokers have good image | 0.563 | | | | |
| Immediate Level | | | | | |
| Helps to make friends | | | | | |
| Siblings approve of | | | | | 0.690 |
| Most my age smoke | | 0.723 | | | |
| Popular people smoke | | | | 0.824 | |
| Wider Level | | | | | |
| Encouraged to smoke | | 0.709 | | | |
| Seen on TV/films | | | | | -0.601 |
| Allow to advertise | 0.640 | | | | |
| People parents' age smoke | | 0.673 | | | |
| Not as bad for health | 0.657 | | | | |

Component one accounted for the largest amount of variance (12.89%). It was composed of two immediate level factors: the belief that smoking looks attractive and smokers have a good image. It also included two wider level beliefs: cigarette companies should be allowed to advertise and smoking is not as bad for health as people say. This component included image related measures, eg. perceived attractiveness, image of smokers, and advertising. It also included one health-related

measure that may be an important constituent for young people's image of smoking. As a result, this component was named 'Image and Health'.

Component two accounted for 12.88% of the variance. It was composed of one immediate level factor and two wider level factors. These were: most people my age smoke, on the whole people are encouraged to smoke these days and most people my parents age smoke. This component is clearly related to the number of people that young people perceive to smoke. This is understood to be an important form of support for young people's smoking behaviour (in their social and wider, cultural environments). This component was named 'Perceived Prevalence'.

Component three accounted for 10.95% of the variance and was composed of three individual level factors that examined the physiological and emotional benefits of smoking. This included the belief that smoking helped to relieve stress, helped people to relax and to control their weight. This component was named 'Physiological and Emotional Benefits'.

Component four accounted for 8.45% of variance. It was composed of only one immediate level factor – the belief that it was usually the most popular people who smoked. This component was simply named, 'Popularity'.

Finally, component five accounted for 7.73% of variance. This included one immediate level belief (that siblings would approve of smoking) and one wider level belief (that smoking is often seen on TV/films). This variable seems most related to perceived approval of smoking and so is hereafter called 'Approval'.

The principle component analysis was used to inform the development of the five new smoking beliefs variables – Image and health, perceived prevalence, physiological and emotional benefits, popularity and approval. New variables for each were calculated by summing the variables which contributed to each in the principle component analysis.

8.4.1.2 Brand Perceptions

Tables 8.38 and 8.39 show the results of the principal components analysis of 'brand perceptions' variables.

This was undertaken in the same way as before, using varimax rotation and both Kaiser’s criterion and Cattell’s scree test to inform the number of components that were extracted.

Table 8.38: Principal Component Analysis of Brand Perceptions– Eigenvalues and Variance Explained (rotated component matrix)

| Component | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % |
|-----------|-------|---------------|--------------|
| 1 | 2.56 | 31.96 | 31.96 |
| 2 | 1.34 | 16.74 | 48.70 |

The analysis identified two components of brand perceptions that explained a total of 48.7% of variance, see Table 8.38. Component one explained 32.0% of variance while component two explained 16.7%.

The variables that composed each of these two components are shown in table 8.39.

Table 8.39: Principle Components Analysis of Brand Perceptions – Component Loading Coefficients Based on Rotated Component Matrix

| Variable | Component | |
|------------------------|-----------|-------|
| | 1 | 2 |
| Top quality | | 0.635 |
| Value for money | | 0.568 |
| People my age like | 0.738 | |
| Fashionable | 0.728 | |
| Popular | 0.638 | |
| Well known | 0.659 | |
| Most people smoke this | 0.705 | |
| Seen on TV/Films | | 0.655 |

Component one consisted of all the immediate level variables and two wider level factors. These were: a brand that people my age would like, a fashionable brand, a popular brand, a well-known brand and a brand that most people smoke. These variables share a focus on the perceived popularity and ‘trendiness’ of the brand, and therefore, the new component was called ‘Fashionable’.

Component two consisted of two individual level variables – top quality and value for money. It also included the wider level variable – a brand often seen on TV/films. This components seems to share characteristics about the perceived tangible benefits of the brand and its perceived quality. Component one seemed to focus on the social benefits of the brand, while component two seemed to focus on the more internal qualities of the brand and was therefore labelled ‘Quality’.

As before, the results of this analysis were used to inform the new brand perceptions variables to be used in the logistic regression.

8.4.2 Testing the Model - Logistic Regression

Two logistic regression models were then analysed using the components identified in the principal component analysis.

To check for multi-collinearity, a bivariate correlation matrix (Spearman's Rho) was obtained for all the independent variables. This demonstrated that there were no significant problems of multi-collinearity. The biggest correlation was identified between two smoking belief components.

The first model examined the relationship between smoking status (current smoker vs. non-smoker) and the amount of tobacco marketing communications young people were aware of, the five smoking belief components (Image & Health, Perceived Prevalence, Physiological and Emotional Benefits, Popularity, Approval), and two components of brand perception (Fashionability and Quality). The second model examined the relationship between smoking status (current smoker vs. non-smoker) and the types of tobacco marketing communications that young people were aware of, categorised into those with individual, immediate or wider effects and the same measures of smoking beliefs and brand perceptions as before.

This section presents the results from these analyses. The first sub-section presents the mean values for the predictor variables of the model, then the results of the two logistic regression models are presented in turn.

8.4.2.1 Mean Values for Predictor Variables

The mean values for the predictor variables used in Models One and Two are shown in Table 8.37. There are no mean values for the individual, immediate and wider tobacco marketing communications variables used in Model Two as these were categorical variables.

Table 8.40: Mean Values for Predictor Variables in Models One and Two

| <u>Variable</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>Mean</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>Range</u> |
|--|----------|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| <u>Tobacco Marketing Communications</u> | | | | |
| Number of tobacco marketing communications techniques aware of | 618 | 7.03 | 3.39 | 1-16 |
| <u>Smoking Beliefs</u> | | | | |
| Image and Health | 618 | 8.09 | 3.00 | 1-20 |
| Perceived prevalence | 618 | 10.52 | 2.47 | 1-15 |
| Physiological and Emotional Benefits | 618 | 8.86 | 2.75 | 1-15 |
| Popularity | 618 | 3.60 | 1.06 | 1-5 |
| Approval | 618 | 6.36 | 1.61 | 1-10 |
| <u>Brand Perceptions</u> | | | | |
| Fashionable | 618 | 20.78 | 3.77 | 1-25 |
| Quality | 618 | 9.03 | 2.49 | 1-15 |

Individual, immediate and wider tobacco marketing communications used in Model Two were categorical

8.4.2.2 Model One – Amount of Marketing, Smoking Beliefs and Brand Perceptions

Model One included three types of independent variables: the amount of tobacco marketing techniques that young people were aware of, smoking beliefs and brand perceptions. A number of control variables were also included in the analysis: peers' smoking behaviour, siblings' smoking behaviour, parents' smoking behaviour, gender, socio-economic status and future education intentions. All the independent variables were entered using a direct method.

Table 8.41 shows the results of the logistic regression analysis of the variables associated with the odds of being a current smoker. The results table also includes the number of respondents per category, odds ratio, 95% confidence intervals (95% CI) and significance levels (P value).

Model One was significant ($P < 0.001$). It was estimated that it explained approximately 51% of variance in the dependent (Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.509$). A total of 83% of cases were correctly classified, including 91% of non-current smokers and 65% of current smokers.

From Table 8.41 we can see that hypothesis one is supported. The number of tobacco marketing communications techniques that young people were aware of were both significantly and positively related to current smoking status, as predicted.

Hypothesis two was partially supported. The 'image and health' and 'physiological and emotional benefits' components made a significant contribution in the model. Having more positive views about image and health related to smoking and the benefits of smoking was associated with a greater likelihood of being a current smoker.

There was partial support for hypothesis three. The fashionable component made a significant contribution to the model. Having more positive perceptions of the brand as being fashionable was associated with a greater likelihood of being a current smoker.

Having all or most friends who smoked was most strongly correlated with the likelihood of being a current smoker. Furthermore, having a sibling who was known to smoke, or being socio-economic group C2 in comparison to E were also associated with an increased likelihood of being a current smoker.

Table 8.41: Model One - Logistic Regression Analysis of Variables Associated With the Odds of Being a Current Smoker in Relation to the Amount of Marketing

| Independent Variables | No | Odds ratio (95% CI) | | P value |
|--|-----------|----------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| <u>Tobacco Marketing Communications</u> | | | | |
| Number of tobacco marketing communications techniques aware of | - | 1.12 | 1.04-1.20 | <0.01 |
| <u>Smoking Beliefs</u> | | | | |
| Image and Health | - | 1.28 | 1.17-1.39 | <0.001 |
| Perceived prevalence | - | 0.99 | 0.88-1.11 | 0.863 |
| Physiological and emotional benefits | - | 1.17 | 1.07-1.29 | <0.01 |
| Popularity | - | 1.14 | 0.90-1.43 | 0.275 |
| Approval | - | 1.11 | 0.95-1.30 | 0.189 |
| <u>Brand Perceptions</u> | | | | |
| Fashionable | - | 1.13 | 1.05-1.21 | <0.01 |
| Quality | - | 0.93 | 0.85-1.03 | 0.174 |
| <u>Controls</u> | | | | |
| Peer smoking | | | | |
| <i>All of them (None)</i> | 43 (77) | 33.91 | 7.68-149.83 | <0.001 |
| <i>Most of them (None)</i> | 200 (77) | 12.88 | 3.55-46.80 | <0.001 |
| <i>About half of them (None)</i> | 144 (77) | 5.72 | 1.54-21.21 | <0.01 |
| <i>A few of them (None)</i> | 126 (77) | 2.14 | 0.528-8.68 | 0.286 |
| Any Sibling/s smoke | | | | |
| <i>Yes (No)</i> | 185 (378) | 2.27 | 1.35-3.84 | <0.01 |
| Either Parent/s Smokes | | | | |
| <i>Yes (No)</i> | 302 (255) | 1.53 | 0.88-2.66 | 0.130 |
| Gender | | | | |
| <i>Male (Female)</i> | 242 (367) | 1.05 | 0.65-1.73 | 0.843 |
| Socio-economic Group | | | | |
| <i>A (E)</i> | 18 (108) | 1.89 | 0.48-7.38 | 0.359 |
| <i>B (E)</i> | 114 (108) | 0.73 | 0.31-1.72 | 0.478 |
| <i>C1 (E)</i> | 126 (108) | 0.64 | 0.31-1.33 | 0.233 |
| <i>C2 (E)</i> | 113 (108) | 0.35 | 0.17-0.75 | <0.01 |
| <i>D (E)</i> | 130 (108) | 0.52 | 0.26-1.04 | 0.065 |

Where relevant, the reference categories are shown in brackets.

8.4.2.3 Model Two – Types of Marketing Communications, Smoking Beliefs and Brand Perceptions

Model Two included the same smoking beliefs, brand perceptions and controls as in Model One, however, the second model examined the impact of tobacco marketing communications according to the different levels of effects. Only individual and immediate level effects could be ascertained, as the reference group for wider level variable was not large enough for meaningful analysis.

The results of the analysis of Model Two are shown in Table 8.39. The results table also includes odds ratio, 95% confidence intervals (95% CI), significance levels (P value), and when relevant, the number of respondents per category.

Table 8.42: Model Two - Logistic Regression Analysis of Variables Associated With the Odds of Being a Current Smoker in Relation to the Amount of Marketing

| Independent Variables | No | Odds ratio | (95% CI) | P value |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <u>Tobacco Marketing</u> | | | | |
| Individual level | | | | |
| Aware (unaware) | 397 (182) | 1.24 | 0.68-2.27 | 0.485 |
| Immediate level | | | | |
| Aware (unaware) | 410 (169) | 2.04 | 1.09-3.81 | <0.05 |
| <u>Smoking Beliefs</u> | | | | |
| Image and Health | - | 1.29 | 1.18-1.41 | <0.001 |
| Perceived Prevalence | - | 1.02 | 0.90-1.16 | 0.728 |
| Physiological and Emotional benefits | - | 1.19 | 1.08-1.30 | <0.001 |
| Popularity | - | 1.14 | 0.87-1.40 | 0.111 |
| Approval | - | 1.11 | 0.97-1.34 | 0.116 |
| <u>Brand Perceptions</u> | | | | |
| Fashionable | - | 1.16 | 1.07-1.25 | <0.001 |
| Quality | - | 0.96 | 0.85-1.05 | 0.309 |
| <u>Controls</u> | | | | |
| Peer smoking | | | | |
| <i>All of them (None)</i> | 40 (76) | 43.40 | 9.47-198.85 | <0.001 |
| <i>Most of them (None)</i> | 191 (76) | 12.54 | 3.46-45.45 | <0.001 |
| <i>About half of them (None)</i> | 137 (76) | 5.26 | 1.42-19.54 | <0.05 |
| <i>A few of them (None)</i> | 118 (76) | 2.34 | 0.58-9.45 | 0.232 |
| <i>Not sure (None)</i> | 17 (76) | 3.93 | 0.55-28.12 | 0.174 |
| Any Sibling/s smoke | | | | |
| <i>Yes (No)</i> | 176 (360) | 2.02 | 1.17-3.48 | <0.05 |
| Either Parent/s Smokes | | | | |
| <i>Yes (No)</i> | 286 (243) | 1.49 | 0.84-2.65 | 0.178 |
| Gender | | | | |
| <i>Male (Female)</i> | 229 (350) | 1.24 | 0.74-2.07 | 0.419 |
| Socio-economic Group | | | | |
| <i>A (E)</i> | 17 (103) | 2.00 | 0.41-9.73 | 0.391 |
| <i>B (E)</i> | 112 (103) | 0.93 | 0.38-2.30 | 0.879 |
| <i>C1 (E)</i> | 123 (103) | 0.73 | 0.34-1.56 | 0.416 |
| <i>C2 (E)</i> | 104 (103) | 0.38 | 0.17-0.84 | <0.05 |
| <i>D (E)</i> | 120 (103) | 0.68 | 0.32-1.43 | 0.310 |

Where relevant, the reference categories are shown in brackets.

The model was significant (P<0.001). It explained 53% of the variance in the dependent variable (Nagelkerke R² = 0.525). Overall, 85% of cases were correctly classified in the model. This included 93% of non-current smokers and 67% of current smokers.

Model Two provides partial support for hypothesis one. Only the immediate level marketing communications were correlated with current smoking behaviour. Neither individual nor wider level affects were included in the final model.

As with Model One, Model Two provided support for hypothesis two. Having positive beliefs about the good image and health effects of smoking, and believing that smoking offered certain physiological and emotional benefits were associated with current smoking status.

Again, partial support for hypothesis three was found in the analysis of Model Two. The fashionable component made a significant contribution to the model, while the quality component did not.

As with Model One, having most or all friends who smoked was most strongly associated with the likelihood of being a current smoker. Similarly, have a sibling who was known to smoke and being of socio-economic group C2 in comparison to E were also independently related to the likelihood of being a current smoker.

8.5 Conclusions

This chapter has presented the findings from the quantitative stage of the research. It has described the data-set which included young people's responses to tobacco marketing communications, their perceptions of cigarette brands, and their smoking beliefs. In each case comparisons were made by smoking status. It also examined the simultaneous relationship of awareness of tobacco marketing communications, brand perceptions and smoking beliefs, with smoking status. These two stages of bivariate and multivariate analysis were used to test the research framework and hypotheses derived in Chapter 7 and briefly described at the beginning of this chapter.

The following summarises the findings from this analysis:

(i) Tobacco Marketing Communications

Young people were very aware of tobacco marketing communications and awareness of these increased with smoking status. It was clear that young people who smoke are paying more attention to tobacco marketing communications than those who do not smoke.

Young people were most aware of billboard advertising, point of sale communications, sponsorship, coupon-schemes and advertising in magazines. However, young people were also aware of a wide range of more diverse communications devices used by the tobacco industry including: brand-stretching, promotional mail, free trial cigarettes, distribution of free gifts at special events and product placement in films/TV.

In general, young people held fairly negative or neutral views of tobacco advertising, sponsorship or coupons schemes. However, appreciation of these forms of marketing increased with smoking status. This suggests that young people who smoke like tobacco marketing more than those who do not smoke.

Boys were both more aware and appreciative of tobacco sponsored sports than girls.

Young people were also involved with tobacco marketing communications. At least half of current smokers, and roughly one-quarter of non and tried smokers had actively participated in some form of tobacco promotion. Participation with tobacco marketing communications increased with smoking status. Young people were most likely to participate in coupon-schemes, special price offers, promotional mail and free gift distributions.

Awareness and involvement was greatest for immediate level tobacco marketing communications. This demonstrates the potential for tobacco marketing to operate at a group level. Even non-smokers were engaging with tobacco marketing communications at this level.

(ii) Brand Perceptions

Young people were aware of a wide variety of cigarette brands, but highest levels of spontaneous awareness were recorded for Embassy Regal, Lambert & Butler, Benson & Hedges, Superkings, Marlboro, Mayfair, Embassy, Silk Cut and Berkeley. Particularly high levels of awareness were recorded for Embassy Regal and Lambert & Butler. Awareness of each brand increased with smoking status.

Young people had strong perceptions of the image of cigarette brands, and there were important differences in how brands were perceived according to the positioning of the brand (mid or premium, or heavily marketed) and the smoking status of the young people.

The young people tended to rate the brand image of Embassy Regal and Lambert & Butler most positively. The image perceptions of Kensitas Club were very negative. Superkings occupied a relatively neutral position between Embassy Regal/Lambert & Butler and Kensitas Club.

Positive views of each of the four brands were associated with increases in smoking status. In the case of each of the brands, current smokers held the most appreciative view and non-smokers held the most negative view. The trend between the perceptions of the brands held by non-smokers, tried smokers and current smokers was most marked for Lambert & Butler.

The young non-smokers were familiar with the cigarette brands that were popular with the young smokers and rated these brands in similar ways. However, the divergence between preferred and disliked brands was widest amongst the current smokers and narrowest amongst the non-smokers. Overall, it seemed that the non-smokers and those who had tried smoking were less sensitive to the importance of brand image than the current smokers.

The popular brands (Lambert & Butler and Embassy Regal) were associated with youthfulness, popularity, fashion and being good quality and widely known. The unpopular brand (Kensitas Club) was associated with being unpopular, unknown, unfashionable. Perceptions of Superkings were quite neutral – it was believed to be relatively well known, but did not score highly on any other measure of brand perception.

(iii) Smoking Beliefs

On the whole, positive beliefs about smoking increased with smoking status. The belief that smoking offered certain physical, social and emotional benefits increased with smoking behaviour. Belief in the following increased with smoking behaviour:

- Smoking helps people who feel stress
 - Smoking helps people to feel more relaxed
 - Smoking looks attractive
 - Smokers have a better image than non-smokers
- } Individual Level
- Smoking makes it easier to make new friends
 - Older brothers/sisters approve of smoking
 - Most people my age smoke
 - It is usually the most popular people who smoke
- } Immediate Level
- On the whole people are encouraged to smoke these days
 - People who make cigarettes should be allowed to advertise them as they please
 - Most people my parents age smoke nowadays
 - Smoking is not as bad for health as people say.
- } Wider Level

(iv) Smoking Behaviour

Current smokers (which constituted 30% of the sample) smoked an average of 25 cigarette sticks per week. Nearly two-thirds of current smokers smoked every day, and almost one in six smoked most days.

Lambert & Butler and Embassy Regal were the brands preferred by current smokers. Nearly 66% of current smokers preferred Lambert & Butler as their main brand.

Young people's smoking behaviour was associated with the social support they received for smoking. Young smokers were significantly more likely, than young non-smokers to have close friends, siblings or parents who smoked.

(v) Tobacco Marketing Communications, Brand Perceptions, Smoking Beliefs and Current Smoking Behaviour

Two logistic regression models were constructed to examine the simultaneous relationship of tobacco marketing communications, brand perceptions and smoking beliefs with current smoking behaviour. The first model examined the effects of the amount of marketing that young people were aware of (ie. the total number of marketing techniques they were aware of), and the second, examined the effects of specific types of marketing which operate at three levels (individual, immediate and wider). The relationships between these three groups of independent variables with current smoking behaviour was examined when other factors known to influence smoking were controlled.

First however, principal component analysis was conducted on perceptions of brands and smoking beliefs variables to reduce the number of variables included in the regression model. This identified five components of smoking beliefs and two components of brand perceptions. The smoking belief components were: image and health beliefs, beliefs about the perceived prevalence of smoking, the perceived physiological and emotional benefits of smoking, the perceived popularity of smoking and approval of smoking. The brand belief variables were reduced to two components - one summarised young people's perceptions of the fashionability of the brand and the second, its perceived quality. These seven new components were used in the logistic regression.

Model One (amount of tobacco marketing communications) provided full support for hypothesis one. Awareness of tobacco marketing communications was independently related to the likelihood of being a current smoker, when other factors known to influence smoking were taken into consideration. However, Model Two only provided partial support for this hypothesis. Only immediate level communications techniques were significantly correlated with smoking status.

Both Model One and Model Two provided partial support for the hypothesis that current smokers would have more positive beliefs about smoking. In both models, only two of the five smoking belief components were significantly correlated with smoking status, when all other factors known to influence smoking were held constant. These were 'image and health' and 'physiological and emotional benefits'.

Model One and Model Two provided partial support for the hypothesis that current smokers would hold more positive perceptions of the key youth brand (identified as Lambert & Butler). In both cases, the component related to perceived popularity and fashionability was independently correlated with an increased likelihood of being a current smoker.

PART FOUR: CONCLUSION

9.0 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter summarises the key findings from this research and reflects upon their implications for theoretical development, research design and public policy. It will also examine the limitations of the thesis and explore future directions for research.

9.1 Conclusions

Cigarette smoking costs the NHS between £1.4bn and £1.7bn annually and large numbers of smokers continue to die each year (Department of Health 1998). Despite an overall decline in prevalence, the numbers of young people smoking has remained constant. Reducing the numbers of young people who smoke is an important priority for health in the UK (Smoking Kills, A White Paper on Tobacco 1998).

This research was conducted to examine if and how tobacco related marketing communications influenced young smokers. The research was stimulated by current developments in public policy, and in particular, the move by UK and EU governments to ban tobacco advertising and promotion. The current government prioritises evidence-based public policy, and therefore, research into the role and scope of tobacco marketing can contribute towards better regulation. The thesis was also motivated by the need for research to be conducted that examined the affects of the broad spectrum of communications devices employed by the tobacco industry, and that was informed by current theory of media and marketing affects.

The thesis examined the research questions via literature review, qualitative research and quantitative survey. This work has concluded that:

- smoking initiation is a process.
- young people's smoking behaviour is influenced by individual, immediate and wider level influences.

- tobacco marketing communications can reach and appeal to young smokers more than young non-smokers.
- cigarette brand image plays an important role in the relationship between tobacco industry and young consumers.
- awareness of tobacco marketing communications, positive beliefs about smoking and brand perceptions are all independently associated with current smoking behaviour.
- tobacco marketing communications influences the immediate level

The key findings from these three stages are now discussed.

9.1.1 Smoking Initiation is a Process

Like most forms of behaviour change, such as taking up exercise or changing eating habits, smoking initiation is a long and difficult process, rather than a single event (Pallonen et al 1998, Pavis et al 1996, Amos et al 1992, Prochaska and DiClemente 1983, Leventhal et al 1980,). The literature review suggested that becoming a smoker is not an immediate event or action, but a process or transition which may involve various stages of pre-contemplation, contemplation, preparation, action and maintenance. This is important as it implies that not all ‘young smokers’ or ‘young non-smokers’ are identical in their commitment to, or identification with, smoking. This has implications for measurement, which is out-with the remit of this thesis, but the implications of this for future research directions is discussed in section 9.2.2. It also implies that there is a stage of experimentation or vulnerability where young people are smoking, but are not yet committed, regular smokers. At this stage, they are likely to be particularly susceptible to influences on their smoking behaviour, as they will look for reassurance and support that this new behaviour is the best course of action.

The qualitative research also provided support for the conclusions that youth smoking initiation is a process. The focus groups with young people found that not

all young smokers or young non-smokers were identical in their smoking related attitudes and behaviours. Four typologies of young people were identified: 1) the 'Resigned Addicts' characterised by their commitment to smoking and their self-perception as addicted smokers; 2) the 'Thrill Seekers' who smoked less intensely or regularly and were attracted to the danger and illicitness of smoking; 3) the 'Puritanical Anti-smokers' were those young non-smokers with strong feelings about the dangerousness and unattractiveness of smoking; and, 4) the 'Rational Non-smokers' were those non-smokers who held more tolerant and appreciative views of smokers and smoking and may have tried a puff of a cigarette in the past. These typologies are similar to the stages of smoking initiation (eg. Pallonen et al 1998). There are those young smokers who have no desire to smoke and have strong attitudes about not smoking. Next, there are those who don't currently smoke but can contemplate the potential benefits of smoking. Then there are those young people who smoke but who do not necessarily smoke regularly and are not committed to the idea of smoking. Finally there are those most similar to those in maintenance stage that have confirmed their self-identity as smokers. The typologies explored in the qualitative research help to uncover some of the reasons for these differences.

9.1.2 Young People's Smoking Behaviour is Influenced by Individual, Immediate and Wider Level Influences

The literature reviewed the influences on young people's smoking behaviour and found that there were three broad types of influence – their individual characteristics, immediate level influences and wider environmental forces. The individual characteristics included demographic factors, education, knowledge, expectancies, psychological factors and other behaviours. Immediate level influences included peers, family structure and relationships, parental and sibling smoking and parental attitudes towards smoking. Wider influences included tobacco control policies, media, access and culture. It was argued that tobacco marketing communications could operate at all three levels.

The qualitative research findings supported the existence of individual, immediate and wider level influences on smoking behaviour. The smoking beliefs of the four smoking typologies that emerged differed at each level.

At an individual level, the resigned addicts tended to believe that they were addicted and smoked to manage stress and anger. On the other hand, the thrill-seekers believed that they were not addicted, but smoked because it was sociable, fun and risky. The two non-smoking groups also demonstrated some important differences. The puritanical anti-smokers held strong views that smoking was dangerous and unattractive, while the rational non-smokers believed that there were some benefits in smoking and respected smokers' 'right to smoke'.

Similarly, there were some important differences in the immediate level influences on young people's smoking beliefs. For example, the thrill-seekers and the resigned addicts both tended to believe that their friends approved of their smoking and that there was an important social influence over their brand choice. However, the puritanical smokers strongly believed there were strong social pressures not to smoke, and this belief was shared, but to a lesser degree by the rational non-smokers.

Variations on wider level influences on smoking beliefs were also identified. Resigned addicts believed that smoking was a prevalent behaviour in our culture and strongly opposed tobacco control efforts to curb smoking. On the other hand, the thrill-seekers also believed that smoking was a prevalent behaviour (or at least for young people), but were slightly more supportive of efforts to prevent smoking initiation or to help smokers quit. Similar differences were identified between the puritanical anti-smokers and the rational non-smokers. The former strongly supported tobacco control measures, but the latter supported increased taxes and efforts to encourage cessation, but did not support marketing controls.

9.1.3 Tobacco Marketing Communications Can Reach and Appeal to Young Smokers More Than Young Non-smokers

The research has demonstrated that tobacco marketing communications reach young people, especially young smokers.

(1) Awareness

Young people were found to be very aware of tobacco marketing communications. This included main media advertising, sponsorship and point of sale advertising, as well as more diverse forms of communications such as promotional mail or brand-stretching. It was found that awareness of tobacco marketing communications increased significantly with smoking status. Young people who smoked were significantly more likely than young non-smokers to be aware of:

- Advertising for key youth brands, especially Lambert & Butler.
- Adverts in newspapers and magazines.
- Cigarette coupon schemes.
- Special price offers for cigarettes.
- Signs or posters for cigarettes inside shops.
- Signs for cigarettes on clocks inside shops.
- Free gifts when people save parts of cigarette packs, eg. pack fronts.
- Famous people in films or TV with a particular brand of cigarettes.
- Clothing or items with cigarette brand names or logos on them.
- Promotional mail from cigarette companies delivered to people's homes.
- New pack design or size.
- Free trial cigarettes.

(2) Appreciation

In general, young people held fairly negative or neutral opinions of tobacco marketing communications. However, the strength of these negative feelings decreased with smoking status. Young smokers tended to hold more positive views of smoking than young non-smokers – in particular they were likely to believe that there were certain benefits from their participation in promotions and to believe that trusted and successful companies were responsible for these.

The qualitative consumer research found that young people were very marketing literate and very able to choose to become involved with marketing communications, or to reject them if they were perceived to have nothing to offer. The respondents perceived marketing communications to have something to offer, when it provided relevant information, entertainment or distraction or some emotional or symbolic benefits. Tobacco marketing communications were appreciated for these same reasons, but not all communications techniques were perceived to offer equal benefits. The young people appreciated advertising, sponsorship, packaging and loyalty schemes most.

(3) Involvement

Many of the respondents were also actively participating in tobacco marketing communications. At least half of the current smokers, and around one-quarter of non smokers and those who had tried smoking had actively been involved in at least one form of tobacco marketing communications. Young people were most likely to participate in coupon-schemes, special price offers, promotional mail and free gift distributions. Participation in tobacco marketing communications increased with smoking status. Young smokers were most likely to have:

- Received free trial cigarettes.
- Received free gifts through self or someone else saving coupons.

- Received free gifts through self or someone else saving parts of cigarette packs (eg. pack fronts).
- Received free gifts showing brand logos given out at special events.
- Received special price offers for cigarettes.
- Received promotional mail from cigarette companies.
- Owned clothing or other items with a cigarette brand name or logo on it.
- Entered a competition that was linked to cigarettes.

9.1.4 Cigarette Brand Image Plays an Important Role in the Relationship Between Tobacco Industry and Young Consumers

Young people are very responsive to brand imagery and tend to prefer expensive, premium brands, particularly for products that are consumed conspicuously. The literature has found that young smokers tend to prefer those cigarette brands that are most expensive and that tend to be heavily advertised (Eadie et al 1999, Barton 1998, Pollay et al 1996, Centres for Disease Control 1994, Pierce et al 1991). Hastings et al (1994) found that the success of the Embassy Regal 'Reg' campaign was in part due to the strong image associations that young people held of the brand. The young smokers in that study had extremely strong brand preferences which groups of friends shared. They perceived Embassy Regal as a youthful and down-to-earth brand, and others as either too up-market or too down-market. Their responses to the 'Reg' advertising campaign were understood within this context.

In this research, brand image was also found to be an important facet of young people's smoking behaviour. Their responses to a range of cigarette brands were sought, and it was found that young people had very strong perceptions of the brands they found either attractive or unattractive. There were only two brands that were acceptable to the young people in this study – Embassy Regal and Lambert & Butler. These brands were perceived as successful, popular, satisfying, good quality, fashionable, and Lambert & Butler in particular, was perceived as being youthful. It

was this brand that was preferred by the young smokers. Around two-thirds of the smokers preferred Lambert & Butler and smoked this brand most often.

9.1.5 Awareness of Tobacco Marketing Communications, Positive Beliefs About Smoking and Brand Perceptions are all Independently Associated with Current Smoking Behaviour

A research framework that examined the role of the broader mix of marketing communications techniques was developed. To expand the theoretical basis of this type of research, the framework also included three domains of predictor variables: awareness of tobacco marketing communications, positive beliefs about smoking, and positive perceptions of the 'key youth brand'. This framework was developed as a result of the literature review and qualitative research. Three hypotheses were developed to summarise this framework:

Hyp 1: All things being equal, young people who are more aware of the broad mix of tobacco marketing communications will be more likely to be current smokers.

Hyp 2: All things being equal, young people who have more positive beliefs about smoking will be more likely to be current smokers.

Hyp 3: All things being equal, young people who have more positive brand perceptions for the 'key youth brand' will be more likely to be current smokers.

The literature review identified the importance of examining the affects of not just advertising, sponsorship and promotions, but the broader range of marketing communications techniques. Marketing theory and practice demonstrates that commercial organisations do not use main media advertising alone, but use a synergistic mix of advertising, sponsorship, sales promotions, point of sale, direct

marketing and the internet to produce integrated marketing communications (Smith 1993). Furthermore, researchers investigating the marketing communications tactics of the tobacco industry have found that many of these other forms of marketing communications are being used more intensely and with greater creativity as the traditional advertising options are being blocked by stronger regulations (Lavack 1997). The qualitative research explored young people's responses to this broader mix of tobacco marketing communications and found that young smokers tended to be more aware, appreciative and involved with tobacco marketing communications and more likely to believe that it offered them certain benefits.

Positive beliefs about smoking were identified by both the literature review and the qualitative research to be an important correlate of smoking behaviour. Those young who hold a more tolerant view of smokers and smoking, and believed that smoking is likely to offer physical, emotional and social benefits have been found to be more likely to smoke (Simmons-Morton et al 1999, Barton and Janis 1997, Charlton 1986, Jaccard 1975, Aitken et al 1986, Barton et al 1982). This hypothesis was supported by the qualitative research. Young smokers tended to believe that smoking would help them relax and to cope with stress, and that it had a good image and one which they and their friends would support.

The image of cigarette brands was also identified as an important source of influence on young people's smoking related behaviour and attitudes and this was the third hypothesis. The literature has identified that premium brands are most attractive to young smokers and the qualitative research explored the appeal of brands and particular cigarette brands to young people in more depth. As discussed above, young people had a very small set of brands that were acceptable to them, and these were associated with images of success, prestige, popularity and youthfulness. The young people also had a key brand that was preferred by groups of friends –being seen to smoke the key youth brand was an important way of demonstrating solidarity to friends. In this study, the key youth brand was Lambert & Butler.

The multivariate analysis was conducted in two stages. First, principal component analysis was conducted to produce a sub-set of smoking beliefs and brand-perceptions variables. Secondly, two binary logistic regression models were analysed to examine the research framework. The first of these models examined the amount of tobacco marketing techniques young people were aware of, and the second, included the types of marketing techniques that young people were aware of, according to their level of affect. These two models examined the extent to which awareness of tobacco marketing communications, positive beliefs of smoking, positive perceptions of the 'key youth brand' were related to the probability of being a current smoker.

Hypothesis 1 – Awareness of tobacco marketing communications

Model one provided full support for this hypothesis. All other influences being equal, the more tobacco marketing communications techniques a respondent was aware of, the more likely he or she was to a current smoker. Model two provided partial support for this hypothesis. Not all forms of tobacco marketing communications were equally associated with current smoking. Only awareness of those techniques with immediate level effects (packaging, point of sale, loyalty schemes and promotional mail) were found to be significantly related to the likelihood of being a current smoker. This supports the qualitative research that found that young smokers were not equally familiar, aware of or appreciative of the different forms of marketing, but that those with a group dimension were most likely to engage them.

Hypothesis 2 – Positive beliefs about smoking

Both model one and two provided some support for the second hypothesis that young smokers will hold more positive beliefs about smoking. The principal component analysis identified five components of smoking beliefs: smoking had image and health benefits; the perceived prevalence of smoking; the physiological and emotional benefits of smoking; popularity of smoking; and, perceived approval of smoking. In both models, the beliefs that smoking had image and health benefits and

had physiological and emotional benefits were significantly associated with the likelihood of being a current smoker.

Hypothesis 3 – Positive perceptions of the 'key youth brand'

The key youth brand was found to be Lambert & Butler. This brand was identified in both the qualitative and the quantitative research to be the brand that most young people smoked and the brand that young people held the most positive perceptions of. The principal component analysis identified two components inherent in brand perceptions. These were the perceptions that Lambert & Butler was a fashionable brand, and the perception that it was a good quality brand. In both models one and two, partial support for this hypothesis was identified. In both cases, the perception that Lambert & Butler was a fashionable brand was associated with the likelihood of being a current smoker.

9.1.6 Tobacco Marketing Communications Influence the Immediate Level

The research also found that tobacco marketing communications could potentially influence smoking behaviour at each of these three levels.

The qualitative research explored young people's awareness, appreciation and involvement with tobacco marketing communications. This found that not all communications devices impacted upon the young people in the same way. Some provided direct, individual level support for smoking, whilst others influenced them via groups, and yet others by contributing to the culturally encoded meaning of smoking.

The quantitative research examined this idea further and provided conclusive evidence that the greatest impact of tobacco marketing communications on young smokers is via the immediate level environment. This seems a plausible finding. It is already known that peer and familial influences on smoking are very important for initiation (Simons-Morton et al 1999, West et al 1999, Lloyd et al 1998, Patton et al

1998, Owen and Bolling 1995, Goddard 1990, Charlton and Blair 1989, Oakley et al 1983, Murray et al 1983). The findings support this, by demonstrating that tobacco marketing communications work best by engaging them with brand communications within relevant reference groups such as family, friends or the local community. For example, product packaging communicates socially relevant brand values, especially during the time of consumption, when young people are usually socialising and sharing packs of cigarettes. Point of sale communications festoon the local shops that young people use and are an important way in which young smokers learn about the local significance of particular brands. Similarly, loyalty schemes and promotional mail from tobacco companies help to reinforce familial support for smoking.

9.2 Discussion

Three key themes arise for discussion: 1) the theoretical contribution of this work; 2) implications for future research problems and design of future research, and 3) implications for public policy.

9.2.1 Theoretical Developments

In the past, research that has examined the effects of tobacco advertising and sponsorship has not tended to consult media/marketing theory. Instead it has assumed that commercial material has a direct effect on audiences in the same predictable and measurable way as medical interventions (this view has been dubbed the 'hypodermic syringe' view of media effects).

This research has tried to improve the theoretical basis of research into the effects of tobacco marketing. Informed by recent literature of media and marketing effects, it has assumed that marketing effects are long-term, complex and dynamic, and can occur at individual, immediate and wider levels. It also assumed that the tobacco

industry's influence on young people's smoking behaviour derives from three sources: contact with tobacco marketing communications, smoking beliefs and brand perceptions. Based on these assumptions it built and tested a model of the effects of tobacco marketing communications, which confirmed that awareness of tobacco marketing, holding positive beliefs about smoking and perceptions of the 'key youth brand' were all independently associated with being a current smoker.

This research framework could be applied to other research problems such as the effects of alcohol marketing on young people's binge drinking behaviour, the aggressive marketing of toys or unhealthy foodstuffs to children, or the heavy promotion of over-the-counter medicines. Alternatively, it may provide a basis for research and interventions designed to discourage unhealthy behaviour. Social marketing initiatives include marketing communications as one of their fundamental tools, along with product planning, pricing and distribution management of social ideas, services and products. This framework emphasises the importance of brand perceptions to the planning and evaluation of social marketing initiatives, as well as the potential of individual, immediate and wider level affects of these campaigns.

9.2.2 Research / Measurement Implications

The research also identified a number of important implications for future research projects and design.

The research supported the findings of others (eg. Bell et al 1999) that smoking initiation is a process. This has implications for the way in which we measure smoking status in young people. The current standard measure defines a current smoker as someone who smokes at least one cigarette a week (Higgins 1999). However, the current smoker as defined here could include those young people who smoke daily and have adopted adult-like patterns of smoking behaviour, as well as those young people who only smoke with friends, don't smoke regularly and don't perceive themselves as addicted or as smokers. There is a need to develop a more

sensitive measure of smoking status in young people that can recognise the more subtle, but important differences in young people's smoking behaviour. This may need to include young people's regularity of their smoking behaviour, consumption of cigarettes, as well as the extent to which they perceive themselves as smokers.

The literature review suggested that effects of the media and marketing were not necessarily on individuals in isolation, but can also affect us through our social groups and by influencing and shaping culturally determined norms. Some support for this was found in the qualitative research and the measure of smoking beliefs and brand perceptions in the quantitative study were designed with this in mind. The quantitative research explored this idea and found that tobacco marketing communications were most strongly correlated with current smoking when it occurred through the immediate level. This notion of individual voluntary behaviour being influenced not just by the individual's characteristics, knowledge and aspirations, but also by their social and structural position, has support from social cognitive theory (Maibach and Cotton 1995), critical theory (Goldberg 1995b), media advocacy (Wallack 1992) as well as marketing practice (Hastings and Haywood 1991). This could be explored more fully in future research projects. In particular, it would be useful to conduct longitudinal research to ascertain the effects of tobacco marketing communications on smoking behaviour, over time.

This research examined the cumulative relationships of tobacco marketing communications, smoking beliefs, brand perceptions and smoking behaviour independently from each other in a logistic regression model. However, there may be some mileage in examining the interaction effects of these variables, and in particular, examining the hypothesis that smoking beliefs and/or brand perceptions are moderator variables. A moderator variable can affect the direction and strength of the relationship between an independent and dependent variables (Baron and Kenny 1986). This potential research direction would add extra understanding to the nature of the relationships between marketing communications, brands and smoking beliefs variables.

There is also a continuing need for research into tobacco marketing issues that is consumer driven. The design employed here was informed not only by previous approaches and theoretical considerations, but also by the young people themselves. This is important as consumers have a significant influence over the way in which commercial messages are understood and therefore, ultimately the effects that they will have. The effects of individual marketing and media campaigns can not be predicted or assumed to be uniform, it is the way in which consumers engage with these materials and derive meaning from them that is ultimately important. This implies a strong role for qualitative research in understanding the way in which consumers engage with marketing communications. The design of quantitative research will be enhanced by qualitative work either to inform the design or help interpret the findings.

9.2.3 Public Policy

The research has a number of important implications for the development of public policy. Most importantly, the research has shown that voluntary agreements have not prevented tobacco marketing communications reaching young people. The voluntary agreements are agreed in secret between the UK government and the tobacco industry and are designed to ensure that tobacco marketing campaigns do not reach or appeal to young people or encourage them to smoke. These agreements have been evolving since 1971 and now contain detailed rules constricting the placement and execution of tobacco advertising, promotions and sponsorship. For example, tobacco advertisements are not allowed to be visible from schools or playgrounds, or to contain themes that are related to sex, attractiveness or sportiness. Despite the complex web of rules, this research has shown that tobacco marketing does reach young people and that young smokers are more likely to be aware, to like and to get involved with a broad mix of tobacco marketing techniques.

This suggests that the voluntary agreements are ineffective and provides further weight to the evidence in the literature that banning tobacco marketing communications would help reduce youth smoking.

Statutory regulations are likely to be more effective in curbing the influence of tobacco marketing communications than voluntary agreements. The voluntary regulation approach has produced a series of complex series rules for producing tobacco adverts and promotions – these detail particular techniques, appeals or media that are prohibited, on the assumption that these may appeal more to young people than adults. Although, in reality it is likely to be difficult to predetermine what will and will not appeal to consumers. Advertising, like art, music or literature, is a creative process and its appeal to people is very much embedded in our culture. Meaning is communicated to consumers via symbols and these meanings are ever changing, subtle and unpredictable. Precluding the use of young models, the colour red or humour, is unlikely to ensure that adverts do not appeal. Furthermore, it could be argued that these controls have simply encouraged the tobacco industry to be more creative in their advertising.

At the time of writing, the UK government's bill to ban tobacco advertising and promotion was undergoing its second reading in the House of Lords, and was anticipated to be in place in early summer 2001. This bill will ban all forms of tobacco advertising that promote or have the effect of promoting a tobacco product. This research provides support for this bill and in particular emphasises the need for it to be comprehensive. However, the bill does have a number of weaknesses that may become loop-holes for the tobacco industry. In particular the bill is weakly worded on its controls on the internet, point of sale, and especially, brand-stretching. It would be advantageous if there were an organisation whose responsibility it was to monitor and report on the activities of the tobacco industry, and who had power to curb these activities if necessary.

The research described here provides support for statutory controls on tobacco marketing communications, however, marketing is not the only influence on young

people's smoking behaviour. Other contributory factors include: young people's knowledge and understanding of the health risks, access to cigarettes, pricing and taxation, smoking in public places and support for cessation. There is a need for further inter-agency working and a comprehensive tobacco control strategy that would tackle these other factors.

9.3 Limitations

One of the key limitations of this study was its cross-sectional nature. Because the research could not examine the young people's awareness of tobacco marketing communications, smoking beliefs, brand perceptions and smoking behaviour over time, it was only possible to ascertain a correlation between the independent and dependent variables, but it was not possible to understand the direction of any effect. A longitudinal design would have been desirable, but would have been too costly and time consuming in this case.

For this reason, it is impossible from this research to conclude that awareness of tobacco marketing directly and singly encourages young people to take up smoking. However, the notion that tobacco marketing communications alone encourages young people to become smokers is naive. As discussed at length in Chapter 3, marketing does not work by producing effects on young people in isolation from their social and cultural environments, but rather it helps to shape and mould social and cultural norms and meanings related to smoking. For this reason, it is important to demonstrate the existence of a correlation between tobacco marketing communications and smoking behaviour. But this relationship should be interpreted with caution – it is likely that young people who smoke or who are experimenting with cigarettes will pay more attention to marketing than those who do not smoke. Furthermore, it is also likely that those who are considering smoking, but do not currently smoke may also pay attention to marketing.

Therefore, there are two potential uses of marketing communications: 1) to reinforce the decision already made to take up smoking; and 2) as a source of support when making a decision about future smoking behaviour. Given the evolutionary and temporal nature of smoking initiation, where young people can often move quickly between non-smoking, current smoking, experimental smoking and non-smoking status, it is likely that these two uses of marketing communications could occur almost simultaneously within an individual.

9.4 Future Directions for Research and Dissemination

The study has stimulated other potential ideas for research. As discussed above, it may be desirable to examine the potential of interaction effects between the independent variables; of further examining the individual, immediate and wider level nature of marketing affects; and, of employing this framework to explore the affects of other controversial marketing campaigns.

The questionnaire has already been used to inform a study to monitor the impact of the tobacco advertising ban in the UK (MacKintosh et al 1999). This is a tracking survey examining the smoking related attitudes and behaviours of 11-15 year olds and examines their ongoing awareness and participation in tobacco marketing initiatives. This is designed to inform and monitor the progress made by the bill.

This thesis has already been published in four peer reviewed channels:

MacFadyen L, Hastings GB, MacKintosh AM (2001) Cross-sectional study of young people's awareness of and involvement with tobacco marketing. *British Medical Journal*, 322 (7285): 501-564.

MacFadyen L and Hastings GB (1999). Integrated Marketing Communications: A new paradigm for researching tobacco marketing and adolescent smoking. Chapter 14 in Tudor-Smith C (ed), *Working Together For Better Health; Tackling Tobacco*. Cardiff: Health Promotion Wales.

MacFadyen L, Hastings GB, MacKintosh AM and Lowry RJ (1998). Tobacco marketing and children's smoking: Moving the debate beyond advertising and sponsorship. *Paper presented at the 27th EMAC Conference, Stockholm, Sweden, 20-23 May 1998*. In Andersson P (ed) (1998), *Track 3 'Marketing Strategy and Organization': Proceedings, 27th EMAC Conference - Marketing Research and Practice*. Stockholm: European Marketing Academy, 431-456.

Hastings G, MacFadyen L, MacKintosh A, Lowry RJ (1998). New debate: Assessing the impact of branding and tobacco marketing communications on young people in Britain. *Social Marketing Quarterly* (Summer): 54-60.

Copies of these can be found in Appendices 7, 8, 9 and 10.

The research has also been disseminated at national and international marketing and tobacco control conferences.

MacFadyen L, Hastings GB, MacKintosh AM (2000) Teenagers and Tobacco Marketing in the UK. *Poster presented at 11th World Conference on Tobacco or Health, Chicago. August 2000/*

MacFadyen L and Hastings GB (1999) Adolescent smokers consumption of tobacco marketing communications. *Poster presented at 2nd European Conference on Tobacco or Health. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. February 1999.*

MacFadyen L, Hastings GB, MacKintosh AM and Lowry RJ (1998). New debate: Assessing the impact of branding and tobacco marketing communications on young people in Britain. *Presented at 4th Annual Innovations in Social Marketing Conference, Washington DC, 7-8 June 1998.*

Hastings GB, MacFadyen L, MacKintosh AM and Lowry R (1998). Involvement with tobacco marketing communications: The experiences of young smokers in Britain. *Presented at Working Together for Better Health International Conference, Cardiff, 23-25 September 1998.*

Hastings GB, MacFadyen L, Eadie DR (1996) The need to de-market tobacco. *Paper presented at the 1st Smokefree Europe Conference. Helsinki, October 1996.*

It has also been used to inform public policy at UK and Scottish levels:

Hastings GB, MacFadyen L and Stead MV The Upstream and Downstream of Public Health. *Presentation to the House of Commons Health Select Committee, Glasgow January 2001*

MacFadyen L. Tobacco Advertising and Promotion Bill and implications for Scotland. *Presentation to Scottish Parliament Cross Party Group on Tobacco. 26th March 2001.*

MacFadyen L (2000). The Marketing of Tobacco. *Presentation to Scottish Parliament Cross Party Group on Tobacco. 17th May 2000.*

It is anticipated that two further articles will be written – one to examine the research framework and will focus on the theoretical and conceptual aspects of this work; and the second will examine the qualitative and quantitative evidence for the role of tobacco branding.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Recruitment Questionnaire

LIFESTYLE AND PRODUCT PROMOTIONS RESEARCH

Recruitment Questionnaire - 12-13 Year Olds

June/July 1998

Hello / good evening etc, I am doing some research on behalf of Strathclyde University in Glasgow about young people's lifestyle and their experience of product promotions. Can you help me by answering a few quick questions?

[NB. Please ensure that respondent has answered all of the questions below, prior to recruitment]

Q1 Which, if any, of the following have you done in the past two weeks?

SHOW CARD 1 (READ OUT STATEMENTS)

| | Yes | No |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Been to the cinema | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Listened to the radio | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Played sport | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Watched television | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Read a magazine | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

PROFILE

| | | | | |
|------|--------|--------------------------|---------|--------------------------|
| Sex: | Male | <input type="checkbox"/> | Age: 12 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Female | <input type="checkbox"/> | 13 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | | 14 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | | 15 | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Occupation of Chief Income Earner:

| | | |
|---------------|------|--------------------------|
| Social Class: | ABC1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | C2DE | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Q2 Which of the following best describes you?
(Please tell me the letter which matches your answer)

SHOWCARD 2

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| I have never smoked a cigarette before | <input type="checkbox"/> | X Recruit as 'Non Smoker' |
| I sometimes smoke cigarettes but do not smoke as many as one a week | <input type="checkbox"/> | Y Recruit as 'Smoker' for 12/13 years Recruit as 'Non Smoker' for 14/15 years |
| I smoke one or more cigarettes a week | <input type="checkbox"/> | Z Recruit as 'Smoker' for all ages |

Q3 Have you been to a pop concert in the last 2 years?

- | | |
|-----|--------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| DK | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If yes, which pop group did you see?

.....

Q4 Which of the following best describes you?
(Please tell me the letter which matches your answer)

SHOWCARD 3

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| I drink alcohol at least once a week | <input type="checkbox"/> | X |
| I drink alcohol at least once a month | <input type="checkbox"/> | Y |
| I drink alcohol at least twice a year | <input type="checkbox"/> | Z |
| I drink alcohol once a year or less | <input type="checkbox"/> | A |
| I never drink alcohol | <input type="checkbox"/> | B |

Q5 Which of the following, if any, have you been to in the past week?

SHOWCARD 4

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| McDonalds | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Burger King | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Arbys | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Kentucky Fried Chicken | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Pizzaland | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Dunkin Donuts | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| None of the above | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Q6 Companies sometimes have special promotions for their customers. Which of the following have you ever participated in?

SHOWCARD 5

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| Sent off for a free gift, advertised on a product | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Received a free gift inside or along with a product | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Bought a product, without another, extra product free | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Collected coupons, tokens from a product | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Collected points on a loyalty card | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Entered a competition advertised on a product | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Entered a prize draw | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Co-op | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Marks & Spencer | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Iceland | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Farmfoods | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Kwik Save | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| None of above | <input type="checkbox"/> |

APPENDIX 2

Focus Group Discussion Brief

CRC TOBACCO MARKETING COMMUNICATIONS

Discussion Brief Young People (Smokers)

1. Introduction

- Introduce myself, project (about promotions) and tape-recorder

2. Young people's lifestyles & self-image

Aim: to gain understanding of adolescent sub-culture/values

- what is it like to be young in your area? Discuss: school, sport, leisure activities.
- who are their friends, boyfriends/girlfriends. What "kind" of people are they? ie. what clothes do they wear, music do they listen to, shops they visit?
- What kind of people would they like to be like?
- Shopping: what are their favourite shops? What kind of things do they go shopping for? Do they have much money to spend on their own? Where do they get their money from? Who makes their favourite clothes? How do they know what the good shops/brands are? What are the really terrible brands? What kind of person would wear them?

3. General brand awareness and sensitivity

Aim: understand how knowledgeable and sensitive adolescents are to brands in general. Identify the type of brands are important to them and why?

- **Awareness - Brand Matching exercise:**

Ask respondents to match the imagery (from different forms of marketing communications) of particular brands with their name.

The products would include adult/adolescent brands in clothes, foodstuffs, retailers (including some cigs) etc

- **Appreciation - Brand mapping exercise:**

Ask respondents to place brands above on a grid according to like-dislike & for someone like me – not for someone like me. Discuss the positioning of the brands and the criteria chosen. Discuss why they like particular brands and not others.

4. Marketing communications

Aim: move from discussion of brands itself to how they are communicated. Discuss awareness and attitudes towards different types of marketing communications, including tobacco.

- Discuss awareness, appreciation, appropriateness (targeting) of: direct mail, sampling, merchandising, couponing, internet, sales promotions, advertising, sponsorship.

Competitions:

- Have you ever entered a competition? What sort of competitions have they heard of? Do you like them? Would you like to enter one?

Direct Mail:

- Have you ever got anything through the post?/ in magazines/elsewhere?
- What do they think of things like that? Who would like them?

Sampling:

- Have you every got a trial size of a product? Got something free with something else?

Brand stretching:

- Do you have a jumper, t-shirt with a company's name on it? Where did you get it? What do you think...should company's be allowed? Does it look okay? What would your friends think?

Couponing:

- Have you ever collected coupons or tokens on a product for something? What was it for? How did you find out about it? Would you do it again? What would you like to collect tokens for?

Tobacco marketing communications:

Show all forms of tobacco marketing communications:

- Have you ever seen anything like this before?
- Do you know or have you participated in anything like this before?
- Who do you think would be interested?
- Why are you interested/not interested in something like this?
- What kind of thing could marketers' do to make you interested? What would you do if you were in charge?

5. Cigarette brand preferences

- What cigarettes do you smoke?
- What are they like? Why do you like them?
- How expensive are they?
- What would you smoke if you couldn't get a hold of them? Are there any cigs that you wouldn't smoke?
- How did you know brand X was the one that you wanted to smoke? What do other kids at school smoke? Why do you think people always smoke the same brand?
- Show all cigs brands: find out brand personality of each. What type of person would smoke x, y, z? What would they do for a living? What type of music would they listen to/clothes worn. How strong are each brand? How can you tell which one would taste the nicest? Can you tell which ones would be cheap or expensive? (if they say horrible etc., ask what this means)

6. Smoking behaviour and attitudes

Aim: examine smoking behaviour in more detail. To examine the relationship between self-image, image of smoking and brand image..

Smoking behaviour:

- When was the last time you had a cigarette? Tell me about it. When do they normally smoke and who with?
- **source of cigs:** Do you smoke your own cigarettes, or do you share? Where do you get them from? Is it hard to get a hold of them?
- **first experience:** When did you start smoking? What was it like when you first started smoking? What brands did you smoke when you started smoking?

Smoking attitudes/beliefs:

- **Attitudes:** What do you like about smoking? How do they feel about smoking? worried, unconcerned, addicted, enjoyment...What benefits and drawbacks are there to smoking? If you were talking to a 10, 12 etc year old who was thinking about taking up smoking, what would you say?
- **Beliefs:** How many people of their own age smoke? (out of ten) How many adults smoke? (out of ten). Do they think they will quit smoking? How hard is it to quit?
- **Familial smoking:** do parents smoke, parents attitudes towards smoking, sibling smoking habits and attitudes.
- **Peer smoking:** do friends smoke? what brands do they smoke? do they smoke together
- Explore the idea of peer smoking in some depth, esp. sharing cigarettes, packs, smoking same brand, self-image and brand-image.

Thank and end groups.

APPENDIX 3

Visual Stimuli: Brands Used in Mapping Exercise

BRANDS USED IN BRAND-MAPPING EXERCISE 1

Addidas
Next
CAT
Dr. Martins
Hush Puppies
Reebok
Debenhams
Barbour
Vans
Diesel
Versace
L'oreal
Body Shop
Cover Girl
Oil of Ulay
Old Spice
Budweiser
Caffreys
Becks
Tesco
Kellogs
Pepsi
Strathmore
Sprite
Dr Pepper
Regal
Rizla
Lambert and Butler
Embassy
Superkings
Silk Cut

**CIGARETTE BRANDS USED IN CIGARETTE
BRAND MAPPING EXERCISE 2**

Regal
Lambert and Butler
Embassy
Benson and Hedges
Camel
Sovereign
Superkings
Marlboro
Consulate
Dunhill
Bennington

APPENDIX 4

Consent Process Mail Out

- A. Invitation Letter: Parents of Young People
- B. Consent Form
- C. Information Sheet

4A. Invitation Letter: Parents of Young People

27th July, 1999

Dear Sir/Madam

Research into Opinions of Marketing and Young People

Researchers from the Centre for Social Marketing at Strathclyde University are carrying out a study to investigate young people's attitudes towards different marketing approaches and the way in which young people choose different products, particularly cigarettes. The views of all young people are very important, regardless of whether or not they buy cigarettes. The team has asked me to contact individuals resident in your area, at random, who might be interested in taking part in this study and I am happy to do this.

An information sheet, consent form, questionnaire and prepaid envelope is included with this letter. If your son/daughter would like to help with this study please could you both complete the consent form and ask your son/daughter to complete the questionnaire and return it to the Health Authority by **Thursday 12th August**. If you would like any further information please contact the researchers directly. If you do not wish your child to take part in this study, please could you both complete the enclosed form and you will not be contacted again regarding this matter.

I hope you will consider allowing your child to take part in this worthwhile survey. Whether you choose to take part is entirely up to you; your names have not and will not be passed to the researchers - they will only be able to contact you if you give your consent on the enclosed form.

Every young person who takes part in the interviews will be given a gift token worth £5.

Should you have any queries about the research, please call Lynn MacFadyen on 0141 548 4237.

Thank you for your assistance.

Yours faithfully

Dr R J Lowry
Consultant in Public Health Medicine

4B. Consent Form

PARENTAL AGREEMENT TO TAKE PART IN RESEARCH INTO OPINIONS OF MARKETING AND YOUNG PEOPLE

This form should be completed by the parent or legal guardian of the person named below.

Are the details above correct?
(Please tick one box)

Yes
No

If these details are not correct please change them by crossing out the errors and writing the correct details beside them.

Is the person named above currently 15 years of age?
(Please tick one box)

Yes
No

Do you wish your son/daughter to take part in the research?

Yes Complete section overleaf
No Return in envelope provided

4B. Consent Form

PARENTAL AGREEMENT TO TAKE PART IN RESEARCH INTO OPINIONS OF MARKETING AND YOUNG PEOPLE

I agree to take part in this study and I can be contacted by Strathclyde University for this purpose.

I confirm that:

- I have received and read the information sheet on the study which has been approved by the Health Authority Ethics Committee.
- I have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that:

- I do not need to take part in the study if I do not want to and I can withdraw at any time without having to give a reason.

CONSENT

I (name in block capitals)

of

..... (address in block capitals)

Telephone number:

agree to take part in this research project and have been informed of the nature and purpose of the research.

Signature(of parent/guardian)

Signature (of young adult)

Please indicate which gift token you would like to receive.
(tick one box only)

Boots
HMV

Please return in the envelope provided to:

Dr Ray Lowry
Newcastle and North Tyneside Health Authority
Benfield Place
Newcastle Upon Tyne
NE6 1BR

This form has been approved by the Newcastle and North Tyneside Health Authority and their Ethics Committee.

4C. Information Sheet



RESEARCH INTO OPINIONS OF MARKETING AND YOUNG PEOPLE University of Strathclyde INFORMATION SHEET

What is the survey about?

The survey is about young people's awareness, experience and opinions of different marketing approaches. We would like to find out the type of promotions you have come across and what you think about them. In particular we are interested in your attitudes towards the marketing of cigarettes. The information will not be used by commercial companies, but will be used to help us think about the way in which young people choose different products. We are interested in the opinions of all young people regardless of whether you have tried smoking or not.

Why have I been selected?

You have not been singled out for this research. Instead you have been selected entirely at random from a list of young people who are registered with a GP in the area.

How do I participate?

If you would like to take part then complete and return the consent form and questionnaire using the envelope provided. You can only take part if we receive both. If you don't want to participate, please complete and return the consent form only.

What will happen if I agree to participate?

If you agree to participate, an interviewer will visit you at your home where s/he will help you to fill in a questionnaire. This should take about half an hour. You will be shown some examples of promotions, but you will not be asked to try any products or services. The interviewer will not ask aloud if you smoke.

All the information that you give is entirely anonymous and confidential. You will not be contacted with regard to any other studies.

You should ask to see the interviewer's identity card before commencing with the interview.

What if I change my mind?

You are not obliged to participate in this survey and you can choose to opt out at any time.

What do I get in return?

If you take part in the interview you will receive a gift token worth £5. Please indicate which gift token you would like on the consent form.

APPENDIX 5

Interviewer Administered Questionnaire

CENTRE FOR SOCIAL MARKETING
UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE
173 CATHEDRAL STREET
GLASGOW G4 0RQ
Tel: 0141 548 3192

OPINIONS OF MARKETING

October/November 1999

Name:

Address:

Tel No:

ID No (1-5):

Voucher:

I have received a £5 gift voucher from (*Boots/HMV*) on completion of interview

Signed:

Introduction

Good morning/afternoon/evening. My name is and I am working on the 'Opinions of Marketing' survey for the University of Strathclyde. I understand that you returned a consent form to the health authority in Newcastle. I am now conducting interviews with those people who agreed to take part, and can either interview you now or make an appointment to call back?

IF YOUNG PEOPLE (ID Code starts with 1)
PARENTAL PERMISSION (BEFORE START OF INTERVIEW):

Signature:

Relationship to child:

IF ADULT (ID Code starts with 2)

We are speaking to people who currently smoke cigarettes or tobacco. Can I just check, do you smoke either cigarettes or tobacco at all nowadays?

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | CONTINUE |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> | END, DO NOT INTERVIEW |

CARD 5
(44)
1
2

CENTRE FOR SOCIAL MARKETING
UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE
173 CATHEDRAL STREET
GLASGOW G4 0RQ
Tel: 0141 548 3192

OPINIONS OF MARKETING

October/November 1999

(1-5)

| | |
|------------------|--|
| Questionnaire No | |
|------------------|--|

(6-8)

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Interviewer ID No | |
|-------------------|--|

| | |
|------------------|------|
| Interviewer Name | Date |
| | |

(9-12)

This interview was conducted in accordance with the Market Research Society Code of Conduct and the instructions given for this survey. The respondent was unknown to me. All information given to me must remain confidential.

| | |
|-----------------------|------|
| Interviewer Signature | Date |
| | |

Marketing in General

Q1

First of all I'm interested in adverts that you might have seen or heard recently. Can you think of any products that you have seen or heard advertised recently?

PROBE FOR BRAND NAME. PRODUCT TYPE AND WHERE ADVERTISED
REPEAT FOR MAXIMUM OF 6 BRANDS

| | <u>Brand name</u> | <u>Product type</u> | <u>Where seen/heard</u> (eg. television, newspaper) | |
|----|-------------------|---------------------|--|-----------|
| 1. | | | | (13) (14) |
| 2. | | | | (15) (16) |
| 3. | | | | (17) (18) |
| 4. | | | | (19) (20) |
| 5. | | | | (21) (22) |
| 6. | | | | (23) (24) |

Q2

Now I'd like to find out what you think about adverts in general, not just the ones you've told me about. Can you look at this card (SHOWCARD 1) and tell me the number which best describes what you think about adverts in general. For example, if you think that most adverts are really good you would answer '1', if you think that most are really rubbish you would answer '5' and if you feel less strongly you would give a number in-between.

SHOWCARD 1

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------------------------|----|---|------|
| Most adverts are really good | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Most adverts are really rubbish | DK | 6 | (27) |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------------------------|----|---|------|

Q3

Companies sometimes use other ways to attract attention to or promote their products. Can you tell me any ways that you have come across companies trying to attract attention to or promote their products?

PROBE FULLY

- (28)
- (29)
- (30)
- (31)
- (32)

Q4

Thinking about products in general, can you tell me from this card (SHOWCARD 2) how much you like or dislike each of the following.

SHOWCARD 2
ROTATE AND TICK START
READ OUT

| | Like a lot | Like a little | Neither like nor dislike | Dislike a little | Dislike a lot | DK | |
|--|------------|---------------|--------------------------|------------------|---------------|----|------|
| Receiving free samples of products | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | (34) |
| Receiving free gifts from the shopkeeper or store when you buy a product | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | (35) |
| Being given free gifts which have a brand logo on them | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | (36) |
| Special price offers on products | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | (37) |
| Receiving promotional mail from companies informing you about their products | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | (38) |
| Products that have a well known brand logo on them | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | (39) |

Q5

Still thinking about products in general, can you tell me from this card (SHOWCARD 3) how likely or unlikely you are to do each of the following?

SHOWCARD 3
ROTATE AND TICK START
READ OUT

| | Very likely | Quite likely | Neither likely nor unlikely | Quite unlikely | Very unlikely | DK | |
|---|-------------|--------------|-----------------------------|----------------|---------------|----|------|
| Save coupons or tokens from a product to obtain gifts | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | (40) |
| Enter competitions linked to a particular product | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | (41) |
| Choose a product because of the package or the container it is in | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | (42) |

Tobacco Marketing

Now I'd like you to think specifically about cigarettes.

YOUNG PEOPLE ONLY: It doesn't matter whether you smoke or not we want to hear the views of everyone regardless of whether or not they smoke.

Q6 Can you think of any makes or brands of cigarettes that you have seen or heard advertised recently?

**PROBE FOR BRAND OF CIGARETTES AND WHERE ADVERTISED
REPEAT FOR MAXIMUM OF 6 BRANDS**

| <u>Brand name</u> | <u>Where seen/heard</u> (eg. billboard. newspaper) | |
|-------------------|--|----------|
| 1. | | (43)(44) |
| 2. | | (45)(46) |
| 3. | | (47)(48) |
| 4. | | (49)(50) |
| 5. | | (51)(52) |
| 6. | | (53)(54) |

Q7 Can you please look at this card (SHOWCARD 4) and tell me the number which best describes what you think about cigarette adverts.

SHOWCARD 4

DK

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|------|
| Most cigarette adverts are really good | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Most cigarette adverts are really rubbish | 6 | (57) |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|------|

Now I'd like you to think about other ways that cigarette companies attract attention to or promote their make or brand.

Q8

Can you think of any sports or games that are sponsored by or connected with any makes or brands of cigarettes?

FOR EACH SPORT or GAME MENTIONED, ASK: What make(s) or brand(s) is it connected with?

PROBE FOR SPORT/GAME AND MAKE(S)/BRAND(S)
REPEAT FOR MAXIMUM OF 6 SPORTS/GAMES

| | <u>Sport or Game</u> | <u>Make(s) or Brand(s)</u> | |
|----|----------------------|----------------------------|----------|
| 1. | | | (58)(59) |
| 2. | | | (60)(61) |
| 3. | | | (62)(63) |
| 4. | | | (64)(65) |
| 5. | | | (66)(67) |
| 6. | | | (68)(69) |

Q9

Can you think of any events or shows that are sponsored by or connected with any makes or brands of cigarettes?

FOR EACH EVENT or SHOW MENTIONED, ASK: What make(s) or brand(s) is it connected with?

PROBE FOR EVENT/SHOW AND MAKE(S)/BRAND(S)
REPEAT FOR MAXIMUM OF 6 EVENTS/SHOWS

| | <u>Event or Show</u> | <u>Make(s) or Brand(s)</u> | |
|----|----------------------|----------------------------|----------|
| 1. | | | (70)(71) |
| 2. | | | (72)(73) |
| 3. | | | (74)(75) |
| 4. | | | (76)(77) |
| 5. | | | (78)(79) |
| 6. | | | |

Q10 Can you please look at these cards (GREEN SHOWCARDS 1-3) and tell me the number which best describes what you think of cigarette companies sponsoring sports. CARD 2

GREEN SHOWCARDS
ROTATE START, TICK START

DK

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|------|
| 1 | Cigarette sponsorship is really good for sport | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Cigarette sponsorship is really bad for sport | 6 | (13) |
| 2 | It is the least successtul cigarette brands which sponsor sport | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | It is the most successtul cigarette brands which sponsor sport | 6 | (14) |
| 3 | Cigarette companies should be encouraged to sponsor sport | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Cigarette companies should be discouraged from sponsoring sport | 6 | (15) |

Q11 Some makes or brands of cigarettes put coupons or tokens in their cigarette packs. These coupons or tokens can be saved and exchanged for products chosen from a special catalogue. Have you ever heard of cigarette coupon schemes like this?

SINGLE CODE ONLY

Yes
No
DK

(16)
1
2
3

IF YES, CONTINUE WITH Q12
OTHERWISE GO TO Q16

Q12 Can you think of any makes or brands of cigarettes that put these coupons in their packs?

PROBE FOR NAME OF BRAND. IF RESPONDENT GIVES NAME OF SCHEME WRITE IN AND PROBE FOR ASSOCIATED BRAND

REPEAT FOR MAXIMUM OF 6 BRANDS

Brand Name and/or Associated Scheme

- 1. (17)
- 2. (18)
- 3. (19)
- 4. (20)
- 5. (21)
- 6. (22)

Q13 Which of these (SHOWCARD 5) best describes whether or not you have ever collected cigarette coupons? By collecting I mean collecting coupons from cigarettes that you might have smoked or from cigarettes that other people might have smoked. Just give the number next to your answer.

SHOWCARD 5
MULTI-CODE POSSIBLE

- 1. I have never collected cigarette coupons
- 2. I have collected cigarette coupons to pass to someone else
- 3. I have collected cigarette coupons for myself
- 4. I have collected cigarette coupons jointly with someone else
- DK

(23)
1
2
3
4
5

IF COLLECTED COUPONS FOR SELF OR JOINTLY (CODES 3 &4)
CONTINUE WITH Q14
OTHERWISE GO TO Q16

Q14 And from this card (SHOWCARD 6) can you tell me what best describes what you have done. Again just give me the number next to your answer.

SHOWCARD 6
MULTICODE POSSIBLE

- 1. I have not exchanged the coupons for anything
- 2. I have exchanged the coupons for gifts
- 3. I have exchanged the coupons for money
- DK

(24)
1
2
3
4

Q15 Looking at these cards, for each one can you tell me the number that best describes what you think of these cigarette coupon schemes?

YELLOW SHOWCARDS 1-4
ROTATE START, TICK START

DK

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|---|------|
| 1 | Cigarette coupon schemes are a really good idea | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Cigarette coupon schemes are a really bad idea | 6 | (25) |
| 2 | It's the least successful brands that have these coupon schemes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | It's the most successful brands that have these coupon schemes | 6 | (26) |
| 3 | The gifts from these coupon schemes are probably complete rubbish | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | The gifts from these coupon schemes are probably really good | 6 | (27) |
| 4 | The brands that have these coupon schemes are probably the most expensive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | The brands that have these coupon schemes are probably the least expensive | 6 | (28) |

Q16

I'm going to show you some cards (SHOWCARDS 7-21) with descriptions of some other ways that companies might try to attract attention to cigarettes. For each one can you tell me if you have seen anything like this.

a. SHOWCARD 7

Adverts for cigarettes on large posters or billboards in the street.

Yes
No
DK

(29)
1
2
3

IF YES, ASK: What make or brand was it connected with?
PROBE FOR ANY OTHER BRANDS

Brands

.....

(30)

.....

(31)

.....

(32)

b. SHOWCARD 8

Adverts for cigarettes in newspapers or magazines

Yes
No
DK

(34)
1
2
3

IF YES, ASK: What make or brand was it connected with?
PROBE FOR ANY OTHER BRANDS

Brands

.....

(35)

.....

(36)

.....

(37)

Q16 Continued

c. SHOWCARD 9

Signs or posters about cigarettes in shops or on shopfronts.

| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>DK</u> | |
|---|------------|-----------|-----------|------|
| on shop windows | 1 | 2 | 3 | (39) |
| on shop doors | 1 | 2 | 3 | (40) |
| on cigarette display units inside shops | 1 | 2 | 3 | (41) |
| on clocks inside shops | 1 | 2 | 3 | (42) |
| on staff aprons or overalls | 1 | 2 | 3 | (43) |
| on signing mats inside shops | 1 | 2 | 3 | (44) |
| some other sign or poster about cigarettes (in shops or on shopfronts) | 1 | 2 | 3 | (45) |

IF YES, ASK: What make or brand was it connected with?
PROBE FOR ANY OTHER BRANDS

Brands

- (46)
- (47)
- (48)

d. SHOWCARD 10

| | | |
|---|-----|------|
| Free trial cigarettes being given out or offers to send away for free cigarettes. | | (50) |
| | Yes | 1 |
| | No | 2 |
| | DK | 3 |

IF YES, ASK: What make or brand was it connected with?
PROBE FOR ANY OTHER BRANDS

Brands

- (51)
- (52)
- (53)

Q16 Continued

e. SHOWCARD 11

Free gifts from the shop keeper when people buy cigarettes.

Yes
No
DK

(55)
1
2
3

IF YES, ASK: What make or brand was it connected with?
PROBE FOR ANY OTHER BRANDS

Brands

.....

(56)

.....

(57)

.....

(58)

f. SHOWCARD 12

Free gifts when people save coupons or tokens from inside cigarette packs.

Yes
No
DK

(60)
1
2
3

IF YES, ASK: What make or brand was it connected with?
PROBE FOR ANY OTHER BRANDS

Brands

.....

(61)

.....

(62)

.....

(63)

g. SHOWCARD 13

Free gifts when people save parts of cigarette packs (eg. pack fronts).

Yes
No
DK

(65)
1
2
3

IF YES, ASK: What make or brand was it connected with?
PROBE FOR ANY OTHER BRANDS

Brands

.....

(66)

.....

(67)

.....

(68)

Q16 Continued

h. SHOWCARD 14

Free gifts, showing cigarette brand logos, being given out at events such as concerts, festivals or sports events.

Yes
No
DK

(70)
1
2
3

IF YES, ASK: What make or brand was it connected with?
PROBE FOR ANY OTHER BRANDS

Brands

.....

(71)

.....

(72)

.....

(73)

i. SHOWCARD 15

Special price offers for cigarettes.

Yes
No
DK

(75)
1
2
3

IF YES, ASK: What make or brand was it connected with?
PROBE FOR ANY OTHER BRANDS

Brands

.....

(76)

.....

(77)

.....

(78)

j. SHOWCARD 16

Promotional mail, from cigarette companies, being delivered to people's homes.

Yes
No
DK

CARD 3
(13)
1
2
3

IF YES, ASK: What make or brand was it connected with?
PROBE FOR ANY OTHER BRANDS

Brands

.....

(14)

.....

(15)

.....

(16)

Q16 Continued

k. SHOWCARD 17

Clothing or other items with cigarette brand names or logos on them.

Yes
No
DK

(18)
1
2
3

IF YES, ASK: What make or brand was it connected with?
PROBE FOR ANY OTHER BRANDS

Brands

- (19)
- (20)
- (21)

l. SHOWCARD 18

Competitions or prize draws linked to cigarettes.

Yes
No
DK

(23)
1
2
3

IF YES, ASK: What make or brand was it connected with?
PROBE FOR ANY OTHER BRANDS

Brands

- (24)
- (25)
- (26)

m. SHOWCARD 19

Famous people, in films or on TV, with a particular make or brand of cigarettes.

Yes
No
DK

(28)
1
2
3

IF YES, ASK: What make or brand was it connected with?
PROBE FOR ANY OTHER BRANDS

Brands

- (29)
- (30)
- (31)

Q16 Continued

n. SHOWCARD 20

New pack design or size.

Yes
No
DK

(33)
1
2
3

IF YES, ASK: What make or brand was it connected with?
PROBE FOR ANY OTHER BRANDS

Brands

..... (34)

..... (35)

..... (36)

o. SHOWCARD 21

Internet sites for cigarettes or smoking.

Yes
No
DK

(38)
1
2
3

IF YES, ASK: What make or brand was it connected with?
PROBE FOR ANY OTHER BRANDS

Brands

..... (39)

..... (40)

..... (41)

p. (NO SHOWCARD)

Have you come across any other ways that companies try to attract attention to
cigarettes?

Yes
No
DK

(43)
1
2
3

IF YES, ASK: Can you tell me a bit about what you have seen and the brand that it
was for?

Description of What Seen

Brands

..... (44)

..... (45)

..... (46)

Q17

Can you look at each of these cards and tell me which, if any, of these you have ever done? You just need to give me the numbers that match your answer.

PINK SHUFFLE CARDS
MULTICODE POSSIBLE

- | | |
|---|------|
| | (48) |
| 1. Received free trial cigarettes | 1 |
| 2. Received free gifts from the shop keeper when buying cigarettes | 2 |
| 3. Received free gifts as a result of self or someone else collecting coupons or tokens from inside cigarette packs | 3 |
| 4. Received free gifts as a result of self or someone else saving parts of cigarette packs (eg. pack fronts) | 4 |
| 5. Received free gifts, showing cigarette brand logos, given out at events such as concerts, festivals or sports events | 5 |
| 6. Received special price offers for cigarettes | 6 |
| 7. Received promotional mail from cigarette companies | 7 |
| 8. Owned clothing or other items with a cigarette brand name or logo | 8 |
| 9. Entered a competition that was linked to cigarettes | 9 |
| 10. Looked at an internet site for cigarettes or smoking | 0 |
| None of these | X |
| DK | V |

Packaging and Branding

Q18 Can you tell me the names of as many makes or brands of cigarettes that you have either seen or heard of?

RECORD UP TO MAXIMUM OF 8

Make or Brand

- | | | |
|---------|---------|------|
| 1. | 5. | (49) |
| 2. | 6. | (50) |
| 3. | 7. | (51) |
| 4. | 8. | (52) |

Q19 And can you tell me whether or not you have ever seen each of these makes of cigarettes? Have you ever seen?

SHOW CIGARETTE PACKS ONE AT A TIME

| | <u>Seen</u> | <u>Not seen</u> | <u>DK</u> | |
|------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------|------|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | (53) |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | (54) |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | (55) |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | (56) |

Q20 I'd like you to think about the style of box that these cigarettes are packaged in. I'm going to show you some cards and I would like you to tell me the number that best describes what you think about how the packet looks. There are no right or wrong answers, we are just interested in what you think about the design regardless of whether or not you smoke.

Read the statement on both sides and give me the number which best matches what you think about the packaging. Try your best to give me a number for each one but if you really don't know just say so.

OBTAIN RESPONSE FOR EACH BRAND
SHOWCARDS 22-29

(IND) SHOWCARD 22

| Looks boring | | | | | | Looks interesting | DK | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-------------------|----|------|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 | (57) |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 | (58) |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 | (59) |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 | (60) |

Q20 Continued

(IND)

SHOWCARD 23

| Looks like a mild cigarette | | | | | Looks like a strong cigarette | | DK |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|-------------------------------|--|----|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |

(61)

(62)

(63)

(64)

(IND)

SHOWCARD 24

| Looks expensive | | | | | Looks cheap | | DK |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|-------------|--|----|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |

(65)

(66)

(67)

(68)

(IMM)

SHOWCARD 25

| Looks like the sort of packet people my age would like | | | | | Looks like the sort of packet people my age would dislike | | DK |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|--|----|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |

(69)

(70)

(71)

(72)

(IMM)

SHOWCARD 26

| Smokers my age would probably like to be seen with this packet | | | | | Smokers my age would probably not like to be seen with this packet | | DK |
|--|---|---|---|---|--|--|----|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |

(73)

(74)

(75)

(76)

Q20 Continued

(IMM) SHOWCARD 27

| Looks like a younger person's cigarette | | | | | | Looks like an older person's cigarette | DK |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|----|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |

(77)
(78)
(79)
(80)

(WID) SHOWCARD 28

CARD 4

| It's not a packet you see adult smokers with | | | | | | It's a packet you see adult smokers with | DK |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|--|----|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |

(13)
(14)
(15)
(16)

(WID) SHOWCARD 29

| It's a packet you always see around here | | | | | | It's a packet you never see around here | DK |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 |

(17)
(18)
(19)
(20)

Q21

I would now like to find out what you think about each of these makes of cigarettes in general. There is no right or wrong answer. I just want to know what you think regardless of whether or not you smoke. Even if you know nothing about each one try to give an answer based on what each make of cigarette looks like.

Read the statement on both sides carefully and then tell me the number that best describes your view about each one. Try your best to give a number for each one but again if you really don't know just say so.

SHOWCARDS 30-37

(IND) SHOWCARD 30

| A top quality brand | | | | | | A poor quality brand | DK |
|---------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------------|--------|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (21) |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (22) |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (23) |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (24) |

(IND) SHOWCARD 31

| Poor value for money | | | | | | Good value for money | DK |
|----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------------|--------|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (25) |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (26) |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (27) |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (28) |

(IMM) SHOWCARD 32

| A brand people my age would like | | | | | | A brand people my age would dislike | DK |
|----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|--------|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (29) |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (30) |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (31) |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (32) |

(IMM) SHOWCARD 33

| A fashionable brand | | | | | | An unfashionable brand | DK |
|---------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------------|--------|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (33) |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (34) |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (35) |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (36) |

Q21 Continued

(IMM) SHOWCARD 34

| This brand is not at all popular with people my age | | | | | This brand is very popular with people my age | | DK |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|--------|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (37) |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (38) |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (39) |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (40) |

(WID) SHOWCARD 35

| A well known brand | | | | | An unknown brand | | DK |
|--------------------|---|---|---|---|------------------|--|--------|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (41) |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (42) |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (43) |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (44) |

(WID) SHOWCARD 36

| Few smokers smoke this brand | | | | | Most smokers smoke this brand | | DK |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|---|-------------------------------|--|--------|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (45) |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (46) |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (47) |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (48) |

(WID) SHOWCARD 37

| You often see this brand on TV or in films | | | | | You never see this brand on TV or in films | | DK |
|--|---|---|---|---|--|--|--------|
| Kensitas Club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (49) |
| Embassy Regal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (50) |
| Superkings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (51) |
| Lambert & Butler | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 6 (52) |

Q22

Thinking now about the advertising you might have seen for these cigarette brands.

Have you seen any adverts for...

SHOW CIGARETTE PACKS

a) Kensitas Club Yes
1 No
2 DK
3 (53)

IF YES, SHOWCARD 38. ASK: Can you look at this card and tell me the number that best describes the advert or adverts that you have seen for these cigarettes?

DK

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------------------------|---|
| Really good advert or adverts | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Really rubbish advert or adverts | 6 |
|-------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------------------------|---|

b) Embassy Regal Yes
1 No
2 DK
3 (55)

IF YES, SHOWCARD 38. ASK: Can you look at this card and tell me the number that best describes the advert or adverts that you have seen for these cigarettes?

DK

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------------------------|---|
| Really good advert or adverts | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Really rubbish advert or adverts | 6 |
|-------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------------------------|---|

c) Superkings Yes
1 No
2 DK
3 (57)

IF YES, SHOWCARD 38. ASK: Can you look at this card and tell me the number that best describes the advert or adverts that you have seen for these cigarettes?

DK

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------------------------|---|
| Really good advert or adverts | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Really rubbish advert or adverts | 6 |
|-------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------------------------|---|

d) Lambert & Butler Yes
1 No
2 DK
3 (59)

IF YES, SHOWCARD 38. ASK: Can you look at this card and tell me the number that best describes the advert or adverts that you have seen for these cigarettes?

DK

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------------------------|---|
| Really good advert or adverts | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Really rubbish advert or adverts | 6 |
|-------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------------------------|---|

ADULTS GO TO Q30

15 YEAR OLDS CONTINUE

| |
|--------------------------|
| YOUNG PEOPLE ONLY |
|--------------------------|

Q23

We are interested in what you think about smokers and smoking. Again, there are no right or wrong answers. It is just your opinions that we are interested in.

I am going to show you some cards and I would like you to tell me the number that best matches your opinions about smokers and smoking. Read the statement on both sides and give me the number which best matches what you think about smokers and smoking.

ORANGE SHOWCARDS 1-14
ROTATE START. TICK START

| | | | | | | | | | DK | N/A | |
|-----|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|-----|------|
| IND | 1 | Smoking helps people who feel stress | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Smoking does not help people who feel stress | 6 | | (61) |
| IND | 2 | Smoking does not help people to feel more relaxed | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Smoking helps people to feel more relaxed | 6 | | (62) |
| IND | 3 | Smoking helps people to control their weight | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Smoking does not help people to control their weight | 6 | | (63) |
| IND | 4 | Smoking looks unattractive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Smoking looks attractive | | | (64) |
| IND | 5 | In general, smokers have a better image than non-smokers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | In general, non-smokers have a better image than smokers | 6 | | (65) |
| IMM | 6 | Smoking makes it easier to make new friends | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Smoking makes it more difficult to make new friends | 6 | | (66) |
| IMM | 7 | In general, my older brother(s) / sister(s) approve of smoking | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | In general, my older brother(s) / sister(s) disapprove of smoking | 6 | 7 | (67) |
| IMM | 8 | Most people my age smoke | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Hardly anyone my age smokes | 6 | | (68) |
| IMM | 9 | It is usually the least popular people who smoke | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | It is usually the most popular people who smoke | 6 | | (69) |
| WID | 10 | On the whole people are encouraged to smoke these days | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | On the whole people are discouraged from smoking these days | 6 | | (70) |
| WID | 11 | You always see smoking in films | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | You never see smoking in films | 6 | | (71) |
| WID | 12 | The people who make cigarettes should be allowed to advertise them as they please | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | The people who make cigarettes should not be allowed to advertise them as they please | 6 | | (72) |
| WID | 13 | Most people my parents age smoke nowadays | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Hardly any one my parents age smokes nowadays | 6 | | (73) |
| | 14 | Smoking is worse for health than people say | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Smoking is not as bad for health as people say | 6 | | (74) |

YOUNG PEOPLE DEMOGRAPHICS

Now I would like to take some details from you.

CARD 5
(13)
1
2

Q24 Sex of respondent Male
Female

Q25 What age were you on your last birthday?

| | |
|------|------|
| (14) | (15) |
| | |

Q26 And what is your date of birth?

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| (16) D | (17) D | (18) M | (19) M | (20) Y | (21) Y |
| | | | | | |

Q27 And now to help us understand how similar or different people's lives are, I'd like to ask a final question about school.

What do you think you will do when you leave school?

SHOWCARD 39

- Be unemployed
- Look after home or family
- Get a full-time job
- Get a part-time job
- Go to college
- Go to university
- Go on a government training scheme (eg. Skillseekers)
- Something else (*please write in*)

(22)
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

8
9

.....
DK

Now I would like to give you some short questions to answer by yourself. I will not see the answers you give. When you have finished, please seal it in the envelope and hand it back to me. If you have any questions just ask me, I'll just be doing some paperwork here.

INTERVIEWER: Guide respondents through questions on front page. Complete Q28 and Q29 with parent/guardian and remember to code parental presence.

ASK OF PARENT

Q28 Which of these describe you?
 SHOWCARD 40 Married
 Living with partner
 Single (never married and not living with partner)
 Divorced
 Separated
 Widowed

(23)
 1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6

Q29 And what is the occupation of the person in the household who has the largest income either from employment, pensions, state benefits, investment or any other sources?

INTERVIEWER: Code Social Class of Chief Income Earner

| <u>Social Class</u> | (24) |
|---------------------|------|
| A | 1 |
| B | 2 |
| C1 | 3 |
| C2 | 4 |
| D | 5 |
| E | 6 |

PARENTAL PRESENCE

| <u>Parental presence during interview</u> | (25) |
|---|------|
| Present all of the time | 1 |
| Present some of the time | 2 |
| Not present | 3 |

Notes:

| <u>Parental presence during self-completion</u> | (26) |
|---|------|
| Present - close to respondent / potential to see answers | 1 |
| Present - distant from respondent / no potential to see answers | 2 |
| Not present | 3 |

Notes:

END OF YOUNG PERSON'S QUESTIONNAIRE
 Thank respondent and obtain signature for
 voucher on front

| |
|--------------------|
| ADULTS ONLY |
|--------------------|

Q30 We are interested in what you think about smokers and smoking. Again, there are no right or wrong answers. It is just your opinions that we are interested in.

I am going to show you some cards and I would like you to tell me the number that best matches your opinions about smokers and smoking.

Read the statement on both sides and give me the number which best matches what you think about smokers and smoking.

CREAM SHOWCARDS 1-17
ROTATE START, TICK START

DK

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|------|
| IND | 1 | Cigarettes are worth spending money on | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Cigarettes are not worth spending money on | 6 | (27) |
| IND | 2 | It is easy to find money for cigarettes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | It is difficult to find money for cigarettes | 6 | (28) |
| IND | 3 | Smoking helps me to cope with every day life | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Smoking does not help me to cope with every day life | 6 | (29) |
| IND | 4 | I always worry about the health risks of smoking | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | I never worry about the health risks of smoking | 6 | (30) |
| IND | 5 | Smoking cigarettes is my only pleasure | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Smoking cigarettes is not my only pleasure | 6 | (31) |
| IND | 6 | Smoking cigarettes helps me to deal with stress | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Smoking cigarettes does not help me to deal with stress | 6 | (32) |
| IND | 7 | I often feel ashamed of being a smoker | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | I often feel proud of being a smoker | 6 | (33) |
| IMM | 8 | On the whole, smoking is socially acceptable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | On the whole, smoking is not socially acceptable | 6 | (34) |
| IMM | 9 | My close family approve of my smoking | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | My close family disapprove of my smoking | 6 | (35) |
| IMM | 10 | Most people I know are smokers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Most people I know are non-smokers | 6 | (36) |
| IMM | 11 | I always feel under pressure to stop smoking | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | I never feel under pressure to stop smoking | 6 | (37) |
| WID | 12 | On the whole people are encouraged to smoke these days | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | On the whole people are discouraged from smoking these days | 6 | (38) |
| WID | 13 | The people who make cigarettes should be allowed to advertise them as they please | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | The people who make cigarettes should not be allowed to advertise them as they please | 6 | (39) |
| WID | 14 | Cigarettes are too expensive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Cigarettes are too cheap | 6 | (40) |
| WID | 15 | Most people smoke these days | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Hardly anyone smokes these days | 6 | (41) |
| WID | 16 | There are too many restrictions on where people can smoke | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | There are not enough restrictions on where people can smoke | 6 | (42) |
| | 17 | Smoking is not as bad for health as people say | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Smoking is worse for health than people say | 6 | (43) |

(44)

1
2

Q31 How often do you smoke cigarettes nowadays?

SHOWCARD 41
SINGLE CODE ONLY

(45)

Every day
Most days
2 or 3 days a week
Once a week
Less than once a week
Not sure1
2
3
4
5
6Q32 How many cigarettes do you usually smoke per day?
(if hand rolled cigarettes, ask how many)SHOWCARD 42
SINGLE CODE ONLY

(46)

Less than 1 per day
1-10
11-20
21-30
31-40
41-50
51-60
More than 60 a day1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8

Q33 When do you usually have your first cigarette (or hand-rolled cigarette) of the day?

SHOWCARD 43
SINGLE CODE ONLY

(47)

Before getting out of bed
Within 5 minutes of getting up
Within half an hour of getting up
Within 1 hour of getting up
More than 1 hour after getting up
Not sure1
2
3
4
5
6

Q34 Which of the following do you smoke most often?

SHOWCARD 44
IF SMOKE MORE THAN ONE EQUALLY THEN MULTICODE

- Regular tar cigarettes with filter (48) 1
- Low tar cigarettes with filter 2
- Regular tar cigarettes without filter 3
- Low tar cigarettes without filter 4
- Hand-rolled cigarettes 5
- Not sure 6

Q35 What brand of cigarettes or hand-rolled tobacco do you smoke most often?

PLEASE WRITE IN BOTH THE BRAND AND TYPE OF CIGARETTE, eg. Marlboro
Lights
PROBE FULLY

..... (49)

..... (50)

Q36 What other brand(s) of cigarettes or hand-rolled tobacco do you normally smoke?

PLEASE WRITE IN BOTH THE BRAND AND TYPE OF CIGARETTE, eg. Marlboro
Lights
PROBE FULLY

..... (51)

..... (52)

ADULT DEMOGRAPHICS

Now I would like to take some details from you.

Q37 Sex of respondent

- Male (53) 1
- Female 2

Q38 What age were you on your last birthday?

| | |
|------|------|
| (54) | (55) |
| | |

Q39 And your date of birth?

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| (56) D | (57) D | (58) M | (59) M | (60) Y | (61) Y |
| | | | | | |

Q40 Which of the following describes you?

SHOWCARD 45
MULTICODE POSSIBLE - CHECK CONSISTENCY

- Unemployed (ie. seeking work, prevented by temporary sickness from seeking work or waiting to take up a job already accepted)
- On a government training / employment scheme
- Full-time work (30 or more hours/week)
- Part-time work (less than 30 hours/week)
- Full-time education
- Part-time education
- Permanently sick
- Retired
- Non-working (eg. looking after home or family and not in paid employment)

(62)

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9

Q41 Which of these describe you?

SHOWCARD 46

- Married
- Living with partner
- Single (never married and not living with partners)
- Divorced
- Separated
- Widowed

(63)

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6

Q42 And what is the occupation of the person in the household who has the largest income either from employment, pensions, state benefits, investment or any other sources?

.....

.....

INTERVIEWER: Code Social Class of Chief Income Earner

| | |
|---------------------|------|
| <u>Social Class</u> | (64) |
| A | 1 |
| B | 2 |
| C1 | 3 |
| C2 | 4 |
| D | 5 |
| E | 6 |

END OF ADULT'S QUESTIONNAIRE
Thank respondent and obtain signature for
voucher on front

APPENDIX 6

Self-Completion Questionnaire

IN CONFIDENCE

OPINIONS OF MARKETING

October/November 1999

Self-Completion Booklet

We would like to find out about young people's smoking behaviour. These questions are for you to answer on your own. Please answer honestly. We will not tell anyone what your answers are.

Please read the instructions on the next page to find out what to do. If there is anything that you do not understand please ask the interviewer to help you.

Instructions

Please read each question carefully.

Most of the questions can be answered by ticking the box next to the answer that applies to you.

Example:

(Please tick one box only)

Yes

No

Some questions allow you to give more than one answer.

Example:

(Please tick all that apply)

Red

Green

Yellow

Blue

Sometimes you are asked to write a number instead.

Example:

(Please write in)

.....4.....

Next to the boxes there are arrows and instructions. They tell you which question to answer next. If there are no special instructions, you should answer the next question.

Example:

(Please tick one box only)

No → GO TO Q4

Yes → GO TO Q3

We would like to ask some questions about cigarette smoking. By cigarettes we mean the ones you can buy in packets and the ones you roll-up.

CARD 8

Q1

Which of the following best describes you?
(Please tick one box only)

(65)

- I have never smoked → GO TO Q2
- I have only ever smoked once
- I used to smoke sometimes, but I never smoke cigarettes now
- I sometimes smoke cigarettes now, but I don't smoke as many as one a week
- I usually smoke between one and six cigarettes a week
- I usually smoke more than six cigarettes a week

1
2
3
4
5
6

Q2

Just to check, could you indicate which of the following best describes you?
(Please tick one box only)

(66)

- I have never tried smoking, not even a puff or two
- I did once have a puff or two of a cigarette, but I never smoke now
- I do sometimes smoke cigarettes

1
2
3

Q3

How many cigarettes do you usually smoke in one week?
(Please tick one box only)

- Less than 1
- 1 - 4
- 5 - 9
- 10 - 19
- 20 - 29
- 30 - 39
- 40 - 49
- 50 or more
- I'm not sure

(67)

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

Q4

How often do you smoke?
(Please tick one box only)

- Every day
- Most days
- 2 or 3 days a week
- One day a week
- Less than once a week
- I'm not sure

(68)

1

2

3

4

5

6

Q5

Which brand(s) of cigarettes have you smoked over the past 4 weeks?
(Please tick all the brands you have smoked over the past 4 weeks)

Benson & Hedges

Berkeley

Camel

Dunhill

Embassy No. 1

Embassy Regal

Kensitas Club

Lambert & Butler

Marlboro

Mayfair

Royals

Silk Cut

Sovereign

Others (please write in)

.....

.....

.....

(69)

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

X

V

(70)

1

2

3

4

5

Q6

Which brand of cigarettes do you smoke most often
(Please tick one box only)

Benson & Hedges

Berkeley

Camel

Dunhill

Embassy No. 1

Embassy Regal

Kensitas Club

Lambert & Butler

Marlboro

Mayfair

Royals

Silk Cut

Sovereign

Other (please write in)

.....

(71)

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

X

V

(72)

1

2

3

Q7

Which of these best describes whether or not you think you will be smoking cigarettes when you are 18 years old?
(Please tick one box only)

When I'm 18, I definitely will not be smoking

When I'm 18, I probably will not be smoking

When I'm 18, I probably will be smoking

When I'm 18, I definitely will be smoking

I'm not sure



(73)

1

2

3

4

5

Q8

What make or brand of cigarettes do you think you will be smoking when you are 18 years old?
(Please tick all that apply)

Benson & Hedges

Berkeley

Camel

Dunhill

Embassy No. 1

Embassy Regal

Kensitas Club

Lambert & Butler

Marlboro

Mayfair

Royals

Silk Cut

Sovereign

Other (please write in)

.....

I'm not sure

(74)

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

X

V

(75)

1

2

3

4

The following questions are about other people who smoke.

- Q9 As far as you know, how many of your closest friends smoke at least one cigarette a week?
(Please tick one box only) (76)
- | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|---|
| All of them | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Most of them | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| About half of them | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| A few of them | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| None of them | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
| I'm not sure | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6 |
- Q10 Do you have any brothers or sisters who smoke?
(Please tick one box only) (77)
- | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|---|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| I'm not sure | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
- Q11 Does your mum smoke at all nowadays?
(Please tick one box only) (78)
- | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| I do not have a mum | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| I'm not sure | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
- Q12 Does your dad smoke at all nowadays?
(Please tick one box only) (79)
- | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| I do not have a dad | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| I'm not sure | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |

END OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Thank you for answering these questions.
Please now seal it in the envelope and hand it to the interviewer.

APPENDIX 7

**MacFadyen L, Hastings GB, MacKintosh AM (2001)
Cross-sectional study of young people's awareness of
and involvement with tobacco marketing. *British
Medical Journal*, 322(7285): 501-564.**

Cross sectional study of young people's awareness of and involvement with tobacco marketing

Lynn MacFadyen, Gerard Hastings, Anne Marie MacKintosh



Abstract

Objectives To examine young people's awareness of and involvement with tobacco marketing and to determine the association, if any, between this and their smoking behaviour.

Design Cross sectional, quantitative survey, part interview and part self completion, administered in respondents' homes.

Setting North east England.

Participants Stratified random sample of 629 young people aged 15 and 16 years who had "opted in" to research through a postal consent procedure.

Results There was a high level of awareness of and involvement in tobacco marketing among the 15-16 year olds sampled in the study: around 95% were aware of advertising and all were aware of some method of point of sale marketing. Awareness of and involvement with tobacco marketing were both significantly associated with being a smoker: for example, 30% (55/185) of smokers had received free gifts through coupons in cigarette packs, compared with 11% (21/199) of non-smokers ($P < 0.001$). When other factors known to be linked with teenage smoking were held constant, awareness of coupon schemes, brand stretching, and tobacco marketing in general were all independently associated with current smoking status.

Conclusions Teenagers are aware of, and are participating in, many forms of tobacco marketing, and both awareness and participation are associated with current smoking status. This suggests that the current voluntary regulations designed to protect young people from smoking are not working, and that statutory regulations are required.

Introduction

The role of mass media advertising in encouraging smoking is now well established. Econometric studies, which model the effects of advertising expenditure on aggregate consumption, generally show that prevalence increases as the amount of advertising increases and reduces when advertising is banned.¹ Consumer studies show that young people who smoke are more likely to appreciate and to be aware of tobacco advertising,²⁻¹² sponsorship,¹³⁻¹⁵ and merchandising.¹⁶⁻²⁰ Furthermore, cohort studies have shown that awareness and

involvement with these forms of marketing predicts future smoking behaviour among young people.²⁰

However, less is known about young people's experiences of other marketing devices, such as point of sale promotion, coupon schemes, brand stretching (the attachment of tobacco brands to non-tobacco products), or the internet. This study presents data from a cross sectional study of young people's experiences with the full range of such devices. While it cannot prove causal effects, it does show the scope and reach of tobacco marketing and provides support for tight and comprehensive regulation.

This is particularly relevant at present, as the detailed provisions of the UK government's primary legislation to ban tobacco advertising and promotion are currently being reviewed.²¹

Methods

The research examined young people's awareness of and involvement with a broad range of tobacco marketing activities. In line with previous studies on tobacco advertising, sponsorship, and merchandising, we expected that young people would be aware of and involved in other forms of tobacco marketing, and that this awareness and involvement would be positively associated with smoking status.

Setting and data collection

A random sample of 15 year olds, stratified by sex and postcode sector, was drawn from the patient registration database of a health authority in the north of England. Ethics committee approval was granted but required that names and addresses be passed to the researchers only after potential respondents had consented. Initially, therefore, a sample of 2400 was invited to participate in the research, which it was hoped would yield at least 280 smokers. Via their parents, all were sent an information sheet, questionnaire (to establish smoking status), consent form to be countersigned by a guardian, and a freepost return envelope. Two reminders were sent.

A total of 1062 young people consented, a response rate of 48% after redundant addresses were discounted. Other studies have shown that around one in five 15 year olds smoke,²² and in our sample 214 (20%) were regular smokers; 825 (78%) were not regular smokers, and 23 (2%) did not state their smoking status. The consent process provided a more than

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BMJ 2001;322:515-7

Table 1 Profile of sample of young people consenting to survey of awareness of and involvement in tobacco marketing. Values are numbers (percentages)

| Characteristic | Total (n=629) | Boys (n=263) | Girls (n=376) |
|------------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| Age at survey (years) | | | |
| 14 | 1 (<1%) | 0 (0) | 1 (<1%) |
| 15 | 407 (65) | 173 (68) | 234 (62) |
| 16 | 220 (35) | 80 (32) | 140 (37) |
| 17 | 1 (<1%) | 0 (0) | 1 (<1%) |
| Socioeconomic group | | | |
| A, B, C1 | 265 (42) | 107 (42) | 158 (42) |
| C2, D, E | 364 (58) | 146 (58) | 218 (58) |
| Smoking status* | | | |
| Non-smoker | 201 (32) | 89 (35) | 112 (30) |
| Tried smoking | 234 (37) | 88 (35) | 146 (39) |
| Current smoker | 185 (29) | 70 (28) | 115 (31) |
| Not stated | 9 (1) | 6 (2) | 3 (1) |

*Non-smokers="never tried smoking, not even a puff"; tried="only ever smoked once" or "used to smoke sometimes but never smoke now"; current="usually smoke more than 6 cigarettes per week" or "usually smoke between 1 and 6 cigarettes per week" or "sometimes smoke cigarettes now but not as many as 1 a week."

adequate sample of young people who were not regular smokers so, to minimise costs, we used random numbers to reduce this portion of the sample by 373.

Ultimately 686 names and addresses were allocated to professional interviewers, who were briefed and instructed to make at least four attempts to contact and interview respondents. Interviewers were given no information concerning the smoking status of sample members. Parental permission was again obtained before the interview. Each respondent received a £5 gift voucher.

In all, 629 interviews were successfully completed. The time lapse between the initial sample selection and administering the survey meant that a third of respondents had reached age 16. Two respondents (ages 14 and 17) were excluded from the later analysis. Young women were overrepresented in the sample (table 1).

Marketing techniques used to promote smoking in Britain

- Advertising: Billboards and press advertising
- Sponsorship: Sports—Formula 1, snooker, golf, rugby; arts—Fringe Comedy Festival
- Point of sale: Promotional material in shops—branded gantry, clocks, signage, staff clothing
- Coupon schemes: Coupons included in packs of cigarettes that can be collected and exchanged for free gifts
- Merchandising: Production of low cost items (pens, lighters, or T shirts); competitions; other free gifts, including free cigarettes
- Special price offers: Short term offers of lower price advertised in-store, on pack flashes, or in packs
- Promotional mail: Any communication to customers including offers of cheaper cigarettes, information about new brands, new coupon schemes or others
- Brand stretching: Production of non-tobacco products with tobacco branding—Marlboro Classics clothes, Camel boots
- Pack design: Carefully designed to communicate brand image and to add value
- Internet sites: Websites promoting tobacco companies, cigarette brands, or smoking
- Product placement: Paid-for placement of cigarette brands by celebrities or characters in films or television

Extensive exploratory research and qualitative piloting informed the development and refinement of a two part questionnaire. The first part was suitable for a face to face interview; the second sought information on smoking status and was completed by the respondent. Show cards and coded answering procedures were used to enable the young people to respond freely even if parents were present during the interview, as happened in 44% of cases. Analysis showed that parents' presence did not influence response.

Measures

The questionnaire examined awareness of and involvement with different types of tobacco marketing (box); smoking status; and other variables known to be related to adolescent smoking (including intentions for future smoking and education; smoking by peers, siblings, and parents; gender; and social class).

Statistical analysis

We used bivariate analysis, including the χ^2 test for trend and Kruskal-Wallis tests, to examine variations, by smoking status, in awareness of and involvement with tobacco marketing. Two logistic regression models were constructed to examine whether or not any association existed between awareness of tobacco marketing and smoking status, independently of other variables known to influence smoking. The first model examined marketing techniques separately; the second assessed their cumulative impact.

Results

Awareness of tobacco marketing communications

Young people are very aware of tobacco marketing. Table 2 shows "prompted" awareness of different marketing techniques—that is, respondents were asked whether they had come across specific, named types of marketing, such as advertisements in magazines or newspapers or special price offers for cigarettes.

Nearly all had seen cigarette advertising on billboards, and over half had come across it in the press. All had seen some form of advertising at point of sale, and around half were aware of coupon schemes and special price offers for cigarettes.

Other forms of promotion were less familiar. Around a fifth of the sample had come across brand stretching (clothing or other items with cigarette logos on), new pack designs or sizes, free gifts offered on packets, competitions, and famous people smoking in films and on television. There was also awareness, at a lower level, of free gifts from the shopkeeper, promotional mail from cigarette companies, internet sites, and the distribution of free cigarettes.

Young smokers were more aware of virtually all forms of tobacco marketing than were non-smokers or those who had tried smoking (table 2). This trend was particularly noticeable for free gifts, special price offers, promotional mail, and pack design.

Involvement with tobacco marketing

Involvement with tobacco marketing was broadly similar for both male and female respondents (table 3). Many had actively participated in tobacco marketing—for example, by using coupon schemes or receiving

Table 2 Number (percentage) of 15 and 16 year olds aware of tobacco marketing

| | Smoking status | | | P value (χ^2 test for trend) |
|--|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | Non-smoker (n=199) | Tried smoking (n=234) | Current smoker (n=185) | |
| Advertising | 188 (94) | 220 (94) | 176 (95) | 0.783 |
| Any advertising | | | | |
| Advertisements for cigarettes in newspapers or magazines | 104 (52) | 136 (58) | 116 (63) | 0.055 |
| Advertisements for cigarettes on large posters or billboards on the street | 180 (90) | 207 (88) | 172 (93) | 0.287 |
| Point of sale marketing | | | | |
| Any point of sale marketing | 199 (100) | 234 (100) | 185 (100) | — |
| Cigarette signs or posters on clocks inside shops | 76 (38) | 91 (39) | 93 (50) | 0.018 |
| Free gifts when people save coupons or tokens from inside cigarette packs | 105 (53) | 130 (56) | 138 (75) | <0.001 |
| Free gifts when people save parts of the cigarette packs | 38 (19) | 49 (21) | 74 (40) | <0.001 |
| Free gifts showing cigarette brand logos given out at events such as concerts, festivals, or sports events | 26 (13) | 30 (13) | 32 (17) | 0.410 |
| Free gifts from the shopkeeper when people buy cigarettes | 15 (8) | 17 (7) | 24 (13) | 0.114 |
| Special price offers for cigarettes | 93 (47) | 121 (52) | 112 (61) | 0.005 |
| Clothing or items with cigarette brand names or logos on them | 41 (21) | 41 (18) | 56 (30) | 0.035 |
| Promotional mail from cigarette companies being delivered to people's homes | 15 (7) | 36 (15) | 35 (19) | 0.001 |
| Competitions or prize draws linked to cigarettes | 28 (14) | 36 (15) | 36 (19) | 0.300 |
| New pack design or size | 34 (17) | 26 (11) | 54 (29) | 0.017 |
| Famous people in films or on television with a particular brand of cigarettes | 31 (16) | 48 (21) | 44 (24) | 0.132 |
| Internet sites for cigarettes or smoking | 8 (4) | 14 (6) | 7 (4) | 0.358 |
| Free trial cigarettes being given out or offers to send away for free cigarettes | 8 (4) | 18 (8) | 21 (11) | 0.013 |
| Average number of marketing techniques aware of | 6.4 | 6.7 | 8.1 | <0.001* |

*One way analysis of variance. $F=15.257$, $df=2$, $P<0.001$.

direct mail. Over half of current smokers had participated in tobacco marketing of one form or another, compared with around a quarter of non-smokers and those who had tried smoking. Almost a third of smokers had received free gifts through coupon schemes, over a quarter had received special price offers for cigarettes and around a tenth had received free gifts at events or had been exposed to promotional mail.

Association between awareness of tobacco marketing and smoking status

Table 4 shows the association between awareness of each tobacco marketing technique and current smoking status when other variables that are known to be linked with teenage smoking were controlled for. Awareness of coupon schemes and brand stretching were both associated with the greater probability of being a current smoker, as was having friends, siblings, or a mother who smoked. In this model, having friends

who smoke was most strongly associated with being a current smoker.

The number of tobacco marketing techniques of which young people were aware was positively related to current smoking status (table 5). Having friends, siblings, or a mother who smoked was associated with a greater probability of being a current smoker.

Discussion

Young people aged 15-16 are aware of, and participating in, many forms of tobacco marketing, and this phenomenon is consistently associated with being a smoker. When other factors that are known to be linked with teenage smoking are held constant, awareness of coupon schemes and brand stretching, and tobacco marketing in general, are all independently associated with current smoking.

In some instances this may be explained by the greater exposure that young smokers are likely to have

Table 3 Number (percentage) of 15 and 16 year olds involved with tobacco marketing

| | Smoking status | | | P value (χ^2 test for trend) |
|---|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | Non-smoker (n=199) | Tried smoking (n=234) | Current smoker (n=185) | |
| Received free gifts as a result of self or someone else collecting coupons or tokens from inside cigarette packs | 21 (11) | 38 (16) | 55 (30) | <0.001 |
| Received free gifts as a result of self or someone else saving parts of cigarette packs (eg pack fronts) | 11 (6) | 14 (6) | 31 (17) | <0.001 |
| Received special price offers for cigarettes | 7 (4) | 12 (5) | 51 (28) | <0.001 |
| Received promotional mail from cigarette companies | 6 (3) | 11 (5) | 16 (9) | 0.015 |
| Received free gifts showing cigarette brand logos given out at events such as concerts, festivals, or sports events | 6 (3) | 10 (4) | 16 (9) | 0.014 |
| Owning clothing or other items with a cigarette brand name or logo | 3 (2) | 9 (4) | 15 (8) | 0.002 |
| Looked at an internet site for cigarettes or smoking | 3 (2) | 5 (2) | 5 (3) | 0.415 |
| Received free gifts from the shopkeeper when buying cigarettes | 1 (<1) | 5 (2) | 5 (3) | 0.101 |
| Entered a competition that was linked to cigarettes | 2 (1) | 4 (2) | 10 (5) | 0.007 |
| Received free trial cigarettes | 0 (0) | 2 (1) | 10 (5) | <0.001 |
| Done any of these | 45 (23) | 65 (28) | 97 (52) | <0.001 |

Table 4 Logistic regression analysis of variables associated with odds of being a current smoker in relation to types of tobacco marketing

| Variable (reference category) | No | Odds ratio (95% CI) | P value |
|---|-----|------------------------|---------|
| Awareness of coupon schemes. | | | |
| Yes (no) | 395 | 1.90 (1.18 to 3.05) | 0.008 |
| Awareness of clothing or other items with cigarette logos on them: | | | |
| Yes (no) | 139 | 1.78 (1.11 to 2.88) | 0.018 |
| Number of friends who smoke: | | | |
| All of them (none of them) | 43 | 36.50 (9.33 to 142.81) | <0.0001 |
| Most of them (none of them) | 205 | 18.41 (5.49 to 61.78) | <0.0001 |
| About half of them (none of them) | 146 | 7.52 (2.18 to 25.97) | 0.001 |
| A few of them (none of them) | 126 | 2.08 (0.55 to 7.86) | 0.282 |
| Not sure (none of them) | 19 | 8.19 (1.54 to 43.42) | 0.013 |
| Any siblings who smoke. | | | |
| Yes (no) | 185 | 2.78 (1.80 to 4.30) | <0.0001 |
| Not sure (no) | 47 | 2.71 (1.14 to 6.46) | 0.025 |
| Mother smokes | | | |
| Yes (no) | 231 | 1.91 (1.26 to 2.92) | 0.003 |
| No mother (no) | 9 | 3.48 (0.81 to 15.01) | 0.095 |
| Not sure (no) | 20 | 0.19 (0.03 to 1.00) | 0.050 |
| Constant | | 0.013 | <0.0001 |

Variables were included in the analyses in a forward stepwise procedure. A probability of 0.05 was used for a variable to enter the equation and a probability of 0.10 to be removed. The dependent current smoker (1) was compared against non-smokers and tried smokers (0). The independents included all marketing variables (advertising, point of sale, coupon schemes, sponsorship, promotions, special price offers, promotional mail, brand stretching, famous people in TV and films, new pack design or size, and internet sites) and all controls (including gender, age, friends' smoking, sibling's smoking, mother's smoking, father's smoking, socioeconomic group, marital status of parents, future education intentions, and parental presence during interview).

to certain forms of tobacco marketing (package design or price promotions, for example), but not in others (brand stretching and shop advertising). In any case, it is likely that young people, and especially young smokers, are getting some kind of benefit or reassurance from these different forms of tobacco marketing. Previous researchers have drawn a link between this type of reward and the reinforcement of smoking.²⁰

This confirms the need for statutory controls on tobacco marketing; the current voluntary regulations designed to protect young people are clearly not working. It also suggests that the Tobacco Advertising and Promotion Bill should be comprehensive: it should

Table 5 Logistic regression analysis of variables associated with odds of being a current smoker in relation to amount of tobacco marketing

| Variable (reference category) | No | Odds ratio (95% CI) | P value |
|---|-----|------------------------|---------|
| Total number of tobacco marketing techniques of which aware | | 1.13 (1.06 to 1.20) | <0.0001 |
| Number of friends who smoke | | | |
| All of them (none of them) | 43 | 29.38 (7.56 to 114.12) | <0.0001 |
| Most of them (none of them) | 205 | 16.05 (4.82 to 53.50) | <0.0001 |
| About half of them (none of them) | 146 | 6.72 (1.95 to 23.07) | 0.002 |
| A few of them (none of them) | 126 | 1.92 (0.51 to 7.21) | 0.336 |
| Not sure (none of them) | 19 | 7.21 (1.37 to 37.92) | 0.020 |
| Any siblings who smoke | | | |
| Yes (no) | 185 | 3.01 (1.94 to 4.66) | <0.0001 |
| Not sure (no) | 47 | 2.93 (1.26 to 6.82) | 0.013 |
| Mother smokes | | | |
| Yes (no) | 231 | 1.97 (1.29 to 2.98) | 0.002 |
| No mother (no) | 9 | 3.26 (0.77 to 13.82) | 0.109 |
| Not sure (no) | 20 | 0.21 (0.04 to 1.13) | 0.069 |
| Constant | | 0.01 | 0.010 |

Variables were included in the analyses in a forward stepwise procedure. A probability of 0.05 was used for a variable to enter the equation and a probability of 0.10 to be removed. The dependent current smoker (1) was compared against non-smokers and tried smokers (0). The analysis included the following controls: gender, age, friends' smoking, sibling's smoking, mother's smoking, father's smoking, socioeconomic group, marital status of parents, future education intentions, and parental presence during interview.

What is already known about this topic

Tobacco advertising, sponsorship, and merchandising encourage teenage smoking

The effect of other forms of tobacco marketing, such as brand stretching or coupon schemes, is unknown

What this study adds

15-16 year olds are aware of and participate in these other forms of tobacco marketing, and this phenomenon is consistently associated with being a smoker

When other factors known to be linked with teenage smoking are held constant, awareness of coupon schemes, brand stretching, and tobacco marketing in general are all independently associated with current smoking

This suggests that young people, and especially young smokers, are getting some kind of benefit or reward from tobacco marketing

outlaw not just the specific practices of couponing and brand stretching, but all forms of tobacco marketing.

Finally, flexibility is also likely to be important; there is a need to combat the marketing innovations that will undoubtedly emerge as the bill takes effect. The establishment of a Tobacco Regulatory Authority, as proposed by last year's Select Committee report,²¹ is the obvious way to achieve this.

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Adverse events in British hospitals: preliminary retrospective record review

Charles Vincent, Graham Neale, Maria Woloshynowych

Abstract

Objectives To examine the feasibility of detecting adverse events through record review in British hospitals and to make preliminary estimates of the incidence and costs of adverse events.

Design Retrospective review of 1014 medical and nursing records.

Setting Two acute hospitals in Greater London area.

Main outcome measure Number of adverse events.

Results 110 (10.8%) patients experienced an adverse event, with an overall rate of adverse events of 11.7% when multiple adverse events were included. About half of these events were judged preventable with ordinary standards of care. A third of adverse events led to moderate or greater disability or death.

Conclusions These results suggest that adverse events are a serious source of harm to patients and a large drain on NHS resources. Some are major events; others are frequent, minor events that go unnoticed in routine clinical care but together have massive economic consequences.

Introduction

Retrospective studies of hospital case records in the United States and Australia have shown a substantial rate of adverse events, defined as unintended injuries caused by medical management rather than the disease process. The Harvard medical practice study found that 3.7% of hospital admissions led to adverse events.^{1,2} In 70% of these patients the adverse event led to slight or short lived disabilities, but in 7% the disabilities were permanent and in 14% they contributed to death. Similar rates were found in a study from Colorado and Utah.^{3,4} The quality in Australian healthcare study identified adverse events in 16.6% of admissions, half of which were considered preventable.⁵ This study included a wider range of adverse events of minor or moderate severity. Other methodological differences also exaggerate the difference between the United States and Australian

figures.¹⁻⁵ The Australian study estimated that adverse events accounted for 8% of hospital bed days and cost the Australian healthcare system \$4.7bn a year. Adverse events also result in huge personal cost to the affected individuals, both patients and staff.⁶

The epidemiology of adverse events has not been studied in Britain. We report preliminary findings from a pilot study that examined the feasibility of applying United States and Australian methods and the potential value of a parallel study in the United Kingdom.

Methods

Design and procedure

The study was carried out at two acute hospitals in the London area. We reviewed 500 randomly drawn records from site 1 between July and September 1999 and 514 records from site 2 between December 1999 and February 2000. In both sites the index admissions studied occurred in two months in 1998, about a year before the review periods. We reviewed 273 (26.9%) records from general medicine (including geriatrics), 290 (28.6%) from general surgery, 277 (27.3%) from orthopaedic surgery, and 174 (17.2%) from obstetrics. Admissions to the four specialties studied in 1998-9 were 19 397 in site 1 and 18 335 in site 2. The proportions of admissions studied were 2.6% and 2.8% respectively.

Review process

The review team consisted of an experienced nurse who worked as project manager with four part time research nurses. A consultant physician acted as lead medical assessor, working with five part time surgical and obstetric colleagues, each of whom had been qualified for a minimum of 10 years. Each reviewer screened sets of notes under supervision until they were judged to be fully conversant with the review process.

The nurse reviewers used 18 predefined screening criteria to assess the case records. Records that

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The criteria for adverse events and tables of results is available on the BMJ's website

APPENDIX 8

MacFadyen L and Hastings GB (1999). Integrated Marketing Communications: A new paradigm for researching tobacco marketing and adolescent smoking. Chapter 14 in Tudor-Smith C (ed), *Working Together For Better Health; Tackling Tobacco*. Cardiff: Health Promotion Wales.

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Integrated marketing communications: a new paradigm for researching tobacco marketing and adolescent smoking

Lynn MacFadyen and Gerard Hastings

Summary

Marketers no longer use advertising or sponsorship in isolation, they use 'integrated marketing communications'. This paper examines the research implication of new developments in marketing communications theory and practise for researching the influence of tobacco marketing communications on adolescent smoking beliefs and behaviour. A new theoretical paradigm is presented for meeting this challenge.

Introduction

In recent years there has been a marked change in the way the tobacco marketers spend their promotional budgets. Cigarette advertising in the UK now accounts for approximately 20 per cent of companies' total spending, compared to more than 50 per cent in the early 1990s (Grant, 1997). This is a good example of a general shift that has taken place in marketing over the last 10 years from a heavy reliance on one or two major channels of communication - most typically mass media advertising - towards 'integrated marketing communications', or the synergistic and harmonious use of all promotional tools (Hutton, 1996): packaging, point of sale, sales promotions, direct promotion, loyalty schemes, brand stretching, the use of the internet and product placement.

This general trend has been driven by a need for greater organisational efficiency and more effective planning and the threat posed by increasingly literate, discerning and fragmented advertising audiences (Kitchen, 1994; Smith, 1996; Schultz et al, 1997). In addition, the tobacco industry has faced increased controls on its promotional activity, culminating in the advertising ban recently ratified by the European Commission. This has encouraged the industry to be particularly innovative and forward thinking in its move towards integrated marketing communications.

These changes have been informed by developments in communication and advertising theory, which increasingly see the audience as an active and empowered participant in the communication process. In this new paradigm the function of communication is not so much to do things to consumers, as to build mutually rewarding relationships with them. Consequently, as Judy Lannon expressed it, it has become as important to understand, 'what people do with marketing communications', as, 'what does marketing communications do to people'. (Lannon and Cooper, 1983).

Tobacco control research needs to keep pace with these developments. To date it has concentrated primarily on advertising and, when these have been made explicit at all, it has tended to use what are now felt to be naive linear-sequential models of advertising effect. The result has been a valuable pool of data and a general consensus in the scientific and political community that tobacco advertising *does* influence young people to smoke. Furthermore it has directly fed demands for the tobacco control measures, such as the EC ban, which are now being implemented.

However research approaches need to become broader and conceptually more sophisticated if they are to match developments in marketing communications theory and practise. The urgency of this task is underlined by the fact that, despite the greater controls on tobacco promotion, smoking prevalence among young people in Britain continues to increase. Figures from the Office for National Statistics show that in July 1997, 13 per cent of 11 to 15 year olds smoked, compared with 10 per cent in 1990 (ONS, 1997).

This paper presents new paradigms for meeting this research challenge. First, developments in marketing communications and media theory are reviewed to highlight the limitations of linear-sequential models of effect. Secondly, past research on the relationship between tobacco promotion and young people's smoking is reviewed, to demonstrate its valuable contribution to the tobacco control debate, but also its notably overly narrow focus on advertising and dependence on linear-sequential models of effect. The third section demonstrates the industry's move from advertising to integrated marketing communications. Finally, the last section presents a theoretical model of the influence of tobacco marketing communications on young people and discusses its research implications.

Marketing communications and media theory

One weakness of past research on tobacco promotion is that it is either explicitly or implicitly grounded in linear sequential models of advertising. This section will discuss the limitations of these models and will discuss what can be learned from contemporary conceptions of marketing communications.

Linear-sequential models of advertising

These models of advertising are some of the most prevailing and influential as well as some of the most criticised schools of thought. Many different models in this genre exist, but each has proposed a series of cognitive, affective and behavioural stages which occur in sequence from exposure to advertising to behavioural outcomes.

Typically, linear-sequential models describe the process through which marketing communications influences behaviour, from drawing 'attention' to the product or idea, through creating 'interest', 'preference', or 'desire' for it, to achieving 'conviction', 'action' and/or 'satisfaction' with the behaviour (Lavidge and Steiner, 1961; Preston and Thorson, 1984). There has been significant disagreement amongst proponents of these models as to the orders of the stages. From this debate, it is recognised that communications can produce effects in different sequences, for example, cognitive - behaviour - affect (Krugman, 1965), where consumers make low involvement decisions to purchase products and decided after purchase whether or not they like them. Alternatively, purchase decisions could be made on purely on affective basis, producing an affective - behaviour- cognitive sequence (Zajonc, 1982, 1984).

Despite their longevity, linear-sequential models of communication are problematic. They have been criticised for over-simplifying the process and effects of communication. This simple approach sees communications as having a direct and inevitable effect on their target audience, and operating in a vacuum. Most problematic is the assumption that the audience are passive receivers of communications. Contemporary conceptions of communication assumes the audience to be sophisticated, judgmental and free to accept or reject messages.

Linear-sequential models of advertising have been in existence since early in the twentieth century. Since this time, 'advertising' has grown to 'marketing communications', and our theoretical understanding has grown considerably. Specifically three main developments have occurred.

1. Personal influence is important

There are a group of models which examine the role of personal influence in communication. In these approaches, the social context of the audience has a crucial role to play in how and if the communications messages are received.

For example, as long ago as 1955 Katz and Lazarsfeld proposed that interpersonal networks of opinion leaders and formers existed and had a strong influence over the flow of information from the media. Opinion leaders are particularly receptive to the mass media. They filter and pass on the communication to other group members, and so media influence becomes indirect.

Others have agreed that word of mouth communications provide important information and support for purchase decisions and that consumers discuss and enjoy discussing advertising and marketing communications with each other (Dichter, 1966).

2. Audiences are adept at processing advertising

Rational models of communication assume that the audience are logical decision makers who use information supplied by the media and marketing communications to assist their decision making. For example, the 'cognitive information processing' model assumes that the audience is motivated to sort and order environmental information and to store it in the memory structures for processing and use when appropriate (Crosier, 1983). Here the audience are active information seekers, and may use information to entertain, for product information or to add value to products. Equally, they may choose not to use the communications and reject it if it does not offer any apparent benefit. Similarly, the 'uses and gratifications' approach assumes that people use advertising and marketing and put this to use in their lives or to gratify particular interests.

3. Communication in post-modern culture is more complex

Other research in symbolism, culture and post-modernism has examined groups of individuals and their interaction with marketing communications in the context of symbolism and cultural myth and ritual. Here the media and marketing communications are seen as part of a shared culture which interacts with other personal and cultural influences to add meaning to consumption (Solomon, 1983; Belk et al, 1982). Products or 'brands' have symbolic and emotional meanings which are shared and reinforced by marketing communications; in turn use of these products have particular symbolic and emotional benefits (Lannon and Cooper, 1983). In this way advertising operates at an intuitive and symbolic level, rather than rational and informative, and has an important role to play in assigning attractive meaning to the consumption of products such as cigarettes and alcohol.

Emerging lessons

From this review we can see that thinking on the role and influence of marketing communications has evolved considerably from the simple linear-response models of marketing communications. Marketing communications do not have a simple stimulus and response effect. The communications process is more complex and must be seen as a two-way process, between the communicator and the audience. Both the communicator and the audience have motivations and rewards which can influence their involvement in the communication process, and both are free to accept or reject the offer of communication. Furthermore, there are other parties in the social and wider context who influence the communication process.

Past research on tobacco marketing

Past research has focused primarily on the relationship between tobacco advertising and young people's smoking attitudes and behaviour. Three broad types of research have been conducted: econometric studies, studies of advertising bans and consumer studies. The first approach models tobacco consumption and tobacco advertising, the second compares consumption before and after the implementation of an advertising ban and the third examines the issue from the perspective of the young person, correlating advertising awareness and appreciation with smoking behaviour. A small subset of these consumer studies have looked at sports sponsorship as well as advertising.

These three types of study will be discussed in turn.

Econometric studies

Two main approaches have been used in this area: cross-sectional studies of countries with different levels of tobacco control; and studies which model the effects of changes over time in advertising expenditure and tobacco consumption within one particular country.

Cox et al (1984) conducted time series regression for a number of countries over similar time periods, where tobacco consumption was modelled in terms of price, income and time trend. The authors compared a legislative approach to advertising with voluntary agreements and concluded that a legislative approach was more effective in reducing cigarette consumption. Laugesen and Meads (1991) conducted a similar study which aimed to identify the factors determining tobacco consumption in 22 OECD countries and used a pooled cross-section time-series analysis. Their model concluded that declining tobacco consumption in these countries was associated with increasing advertising restrictions and rising prices.

Another group of studies examined the effect of fluctuations in tobacco advertising expenditure on smoking behaviour by conducting time-series analysis within one particular country. Many of these studies concluded that reductions in advertising expenditure reduced cigarette consumption and vice versa (McGuinness and Cowling, 1975; Witt and Pass, 1981; Radfar, 1985; Godfrey, 1986).

McGuinness and Cowling (1975) conducted one of the first and most influential studies in the UK. They modelled aggregate demand for cigarettes in terms of price, income and advertising. Their findings suggested that advertising does have a significant effect on cigarette sales and that health publicity had reduced the sales effect of cigarette advertising.

The Metra study (1979) was commissioned by the tobacco industry in response to McGuinness and Cowling's work. They criticised the construction of McGuinness and Cowling's model and conducted their own research using data from 1958-1978. The Metra researchers' model produced statistically insignificant results (albeit in the right direction) and concluded that McGuinness and Cowling's work was flawed. Clive Smee's analysis of these studies observed that the Metra researchers had access to more reliable data and conducted more sensitive analysis. However, the Metra team did not present errors of estimates, allow for the effect of specific health scares or examine the potential confounding effects of multicollinearity.

Witt et al's research (1981) used annual data from 1955 and 1975, and concluded that a ban on tobacco advertising would produce a 7 per cent reduction in cigarette consumption. Radfar (1985) replicated the work of McGuinness and Cowling and produced similar results. Godfrey (1986) constructed different models which allowed for different responses to fluctuations in price. Her study produced a large range of results according to the measure of cigarette consumption used.

Econometric studies have produced a wide range of sometimes inconclusive findings. This probably reflects the great complexities of the task involved. The models must account for a large number of other social, political, and economic factors which may have confounding effects.

Furthermore, there is much debate about the short or long-term effects of advertising on sales. Add to this the fact that the necessary data are usually incomplete - in the UK for example, complete information on tobacco advertising and promotion is not readily available.

Nonetheless, the majority of studies have found at least a small or short-term relationship between tobacco advertising and demand for tobacco products. Thus, of all studies which have conducted a time series examination of tobacco advertising expenditure and consumption, 171 have found that advertising has a positive influence on demand (of these 68 are statistically significant and 103 are not) and 41 studies found advertising does not have an influence on demand (of these, 2 were statistically significant and 39 were not).

Econometric studies have been criticised for forcing the essentially qualitative nature of advertising into positivist, econometric analysis (Chapman, 1989). Measuring the effect of aggregate advertising expenditure on aggregate sales cannot detect the other effects of advertising on smoking attitudes and beliefs or in creating positive brand associations. The Institute of Practitioners of Advertising (IPA) believe that advertising is good at tackling more than sales, it can also change and reinforce attitudes, encourage, alter and extend usage of products, promote awareness of brands and add value to the consumption of a product or brand.

There are also many other forms of advertising and promotion which are not measured by these studies including direct promotion, packaging, point-of-sale and couponing, and these are discussed in more detail in the following section.

Ad ban studies

The most reliable evidence here comes from Norway and Finland, where tobacco advertising bans have been in place for over 20 years.

The authors of the Smee report (1992) conducted their own analysis of Norway's Tobacco Act (1975) modelling both prevalence and the amount smoked per smoker. Their findings suggested that the Norway Tobacco Act had little effect on the latter, but reduced prevalence by between 9 and 16 per cent.

Perkurinen (1989) conducted a study of the effects of the 1971 Finland Tobacco Act in analysing data from 1960 to 1987. This study concluded that the advertising ban produced a long term reduction of 6.7 per cent in the prevalence of cigarette smoking.

As with econometric studies, research into the effects of advertising bans assumes cigarette advertising has a direct relationship with cigarette sales, but cannot examine other qualitative effects of advertising on beliefs, imagery and brands. Furthermore, these studies need to examine what other promotional activities the industry engages in after the ban, such as more creative packaging or point-of-sale material, or other sales promotion activities.

Consumer studies

Consumer researchers have assessed the influence of tobacco advertising (and, to a much lesser extent, sponsorship) on knowledge, attitudes and beliefs. This research operates on the principle that if tobacco advertising is having an effect, then young people should be aware and appreciative of it, and those who smoke - or will smoke in the future - will be more aware and appreciative of it than their non smoking peers.

Numerous studies have demonstrated these patterns and they provide a compelling argument that tobacco advertising does encourage smoking amongst the young.

1. Advertising awareness

Consumer researchers have used a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches to investigate awareness of tobacco advertising. The majority of this research has been conducted by research teams in the UK and US.

Aitken et al (1985) conducted qualitative work which found that even children as young as six are aware of cigarette advertising. This initial exploratory work found that primary school children had learned the brand imagery or personality of leading brands from cigarette advertisements. Similarly, a series of qualitative in-depth interviews with children in Glasgow concluded that young smokers were more adept at recognising cigarette brands from disguised advertisements, were generally more aware of cigarette advertising and could discuss each brand's 'personality' more readily than young non-smokers (Aitken et al, 1987).

Charlton (1986) conducted a quantitative study of 9 and 10 year old and 12 and 13 year old children in England. She found that 17 per cent of the younger and 23 per cent of the older group could name a favourite cigarette advertisement. The brands most frequently named were also the most heavily advertised in the area at that time (Benson and Hedges, John Player Special, Regal King Size and Embassy). In addition, she found that the children who named favourite cigarette advertisements were more likely to agree with some positive statements about smoking and the image of smokers. She concluded that children are receiving positive messages about smoking behaviour from advertising which may reinforce their decision to start smoking during experimentation.

In the US, Fisher examined cigarette brand recognition among very young children and demonstrated that children as young as three exhibited high levels of brand logo recognition. Children were shown a number of brand logos and characters and asked to match them to the pictures of the products they were associated with. This controversial study found that 30 per cent of three year old and 91 per cent of six year old children could recognise the Old Joe (Camel) brand logo. Similarly, DiFranza et al (1995) concluded that children were more likely to report prior exposure to Old Joe Camel and were more adept at recognising the type of product being advertised than adults.

Young smokers tend to be most aware of the most heavily advertised brands, and these in turn dominate the under-age market. In the US, Pierce et al (1991) found that teenagers were more perceptive about which cigarette brands in the US were most heavily advertised (Marlboro and Camel) and these were more likely to be the brands of choice amongst teenagers than adults. They concluded that Marlboro and Camel have been highly effective in targeting the adolescent markets. These findings are supported by research conducted by the Centres for Disease Control (CDC) in 1994. Here, the three most heavily advertised brands in the US in 1993 (Camel, Marlboro and Newport) were also the three most likely to be purchased by adolescents. Pollay et al (1996) found that: adolescents are significantly more sensitive to cigarette advertising than are adults; brand 'share of voice' is closely related to market share; and, teenagers are three times more likely to buy heavily advertised brands than adults.

2. Advertising appreciation

Primary school age children tended to be more moralistic about cigarette advertising and concerned about the health effects of smoking than children in secondary school. During their teens, they become more relaxed about advertising and are more likely to identify with its themes (Aitken et al, 1987).

Evans et al (1995) found that both exposure to other smokers and receptivity to tobacco marketing were both independently associated with susceptibility to smoking. Over three-quarters of respondents agreed that cigarette advertisements promote at least one message that smoking is enjoyable and helps people feel comfortable in social situations. Aitken et al (1987) investigated children's and adolescents' opinions on a ban on tobacco advertising. They found

that children who smoke or who express an intention to smoke in the future are more likely to oppose a ban on cigarette advertising.

Aitken and Eadie (1990) found consistent differences between adolescent smokers and non-smokers recall, recognition and appreciation of cigarette advertising. They concluded that young smokers must be paying more attention to advertising than young non-smokers and that they must be deriving some pleasure or reward from their involvement with the advertising. This reward may be the reassurance that they are engaged in a normal or attractive behaviour, thus reinforcing their smoking behaviour.

A number of other studies reached the same conclusion: O'Connell et al (1989) found that 10-12 year olds who liked cigarette advertisements are more likely to smoke. Children are often more likely to find cigarettes more appealing than adults (DiFranza et al, 1995). Finally, Potts et al (1986) found that 15 and 16 year old smokers were more likely to rate cigarette advertisements as eye-catching, interesting and exciting than non-smokers of the same age, reinforcing their perceptions of the attractive qualities of smoking and smokers.

3. Predicting the onset of smoking

Cohort studies show that advertising sensitivity is predictive of the onset of smoking. Aitken et al (1991) conducted a longitudinal study which found that those children whose intention to smoke when older had strengthened between two interviews were more likely to like cigarette advertising at the first interview. This suggests that would-be smokers were getting reassurance and support from tobacco advertising for their decision to take up smoking.

While et al (1996) conducted a similar study measuring 11 and 12 year olds' awareness of cigarette advertising in relation to changes in their smoking behaviour. The research produced similar findings to Aitken et al (1991), but found some gender specific differences in relation to advertising sensitivity. Girls who were most aware of cigarette advertising at first interview, were more likely to be smokers at the time of the second interview. Similar, but weaker patterns emerged for boys.

Alexander et al (1983) conducted a school based longitudinal study to assess the relative importance of a number of personal and social factors on the uptake of smoking. They found that children who approved of cigarette advertising in the baseline were more likely to have become smokers in the follow-up year than those who disapproved.

These studies make a very valuable contribution to the evidence that tobacco advertising supports the decision to take up smoking, but they are open to criticism that they are grounded in linear-response models of advertising. Linear-response models assume that advertising works by producing cognitive, affective and behavioural change in sequence. As the third section of this paper discusses, this view of advertising is limited. The inherent premise that attitudinal change always precedes behaviour change, that behaviour is inevitable on exposure to advertising, and that the audience plays a passive role have been questioned by marketing academics.

4. Sports sponsorship

There have also been some studies conducted which have reviewed the influence of tobacco sponsorship on young people. This work has made the same assumptions and used similar research methodologies as the consumer research of advertising effects.

Ledwith (1984) studied the effects of snooker sponsorship on children's recall and brand knowledge. It demonstrated increased brand awareness of the sponsoring cigarette companies by those children who had viewed the snooker tournament. Other research has replicated this study. For example, Piepe et al (1986) found that there were strong associations between exposure to sponsored sport and recall of branded cigarettes. Furthermore, positive associations

were found between recall of branded cigarettes and smoking frequency among children. This association was consistently maintained when other factors known to influence smoking behaviour were controlled.

Aitken et al (1986) examined children's awareness and perceptions of sports sponsorship. The study concluded that sports sponsorship placed cigarette brand names and associated sports imagery into children's memories. For example, 47 per cent of children in the survey described brands sponsoring racing cars as being liked by someone 'who likes excitement and fast racing cars'. These associations were often held unconsciously by the children. A study conducted in New Zealand of 203 young males aged 12 to 18 years, found that a single exposure to a Rothmans's cricket sponsorship advertisement could achieve the following effects: reinforce existing smoking behaviour, create more favourable attitudes towards smoking among non-smokers, increase awareness of cigarette brands among non-smokers and influence liking of brands by non-smokers (Huek et al, 1993).

Finally, Charlton and colleagues conducted a cohort study of response to sports sponsorship (Formula One). Their analysis found that a preference for formula one racing was a significant independent variable in progression from occasional to regular smoking (Charlton et al, 1997).

As with consumer studies of advertising, these studies of sponsorship have a crucial contribution to make to the debate, but are also open to the same criticisms regarding their theoretical underpinnings.

Emerging lessons

Past research on tobacco advertising has provided a good basis for understanding the relationship between tobacco advertising and young people's smoking. It has also made a significant contribution to policy in this area. However it has two major weaknesses. First it focuses almost exclusively on advertising. As the next section demonstrates, the industry is now using a much broader array of communication tools than this. Second it is firmly grounded in linear-sequential models of advertising effect.

The industry's use of integrated marketing communications

As noted in the introduction, the tobacco industry, in common with other consumer marketers, has responded to a range of market pressures by moving from a reliance on conventional advertising to communicate with its customers, to a much broader, but synergistic package of communication channels. Indeed, the special strictures on the tobacco industry have put it at the vanguard of this movement.

The integrated marketing communication's paradigm encourages marketing to integrate and harmonise the use of all forms of communication in the 'marketing communications mix'. The marketing communications mix is the range of communications tactics used by marketers to support the promotion of their brand - including point-of-sale material, sales promotion, loyalty schemes, direct promotion, brand stretching, product placement and internet communications.

This section shows how the tobacco industry is using the full range of marketing communications mix tactics.

Cigarette coupons

While brand switching is remarkably low in the tobacco industry, couponing schemes have been an integral part of marketing communications initiatives for many years. Cigarette trading cards inserted into packets have been around for 50 years (Altman et al, 1996; Blum, 1995). For example, in the US, industry spending on sales promotions (including cents off coupons, multiple

price breaks, offers of speciality items through coupon redemption/point-of-sale) has increased from 20 per cent of total marketing spending in 1984 to 42 per cent of spending in 1993 (FTC, 1995).

Typical schemes involve the collection of coupons inserted in cigarette packets which can be redeemed for a number of household products and gifts selected from a branded catalogue. Participation has allowed companies to build databases of loyal customers. These can then be used for direct marketing initiatives, such as brand magazines, special offers, newsletters and for gathering consumer research.

Couponing initiatives have obvious strengths. First, these schemes offer added value to consumers and help to counter some of the effects of taxation and escalating prices. When used as part of a long-term customer programme, they can assist the development of consumer databases and the development of direct marketing initiatives.

Free trial packs

Another major sales promotions initiative conducted by the tobacco marketers is the distribution of free product samples. Sampling teams offer consumers free sample packs of cigarettes or offer to swap a smoker's current brand with those on offer. Sampling teams often tap into youth culture and target bars, clubs, music concerts and festivals or sponsor their own events.

For example, in the summer of 1996, Gailaher's Silk Cut brand ran its '*Silk Cut Renaissance Tour*'. This was a custom-made social experience for young clubbers. The club night was sponsored and advertised by the brand and featured popular DJs, free music CDs and cigarettes (Grant, 1997). UK regulation stipulates that free samples can only be given to smokers over the age of 18. But this type of initiative is hard to police (Anon, 1992) and likely to be a very effective means by which to target teenagers and young adults. As Silk Cut's advertising agency says, 'the general style and decor [of the Renaissance tour] was amazing, just what we wanted. We were looking for a vehicle into youth culture and sponsoring the tour gave us the perfect opportunity to gain that exposure'. Similarly, the brand manager of Dunhill cigarettes says of sampling, 'sampling in this way is one of the few ways of reaching our target audience. It's very effective' (Grant, 1997).

Brand stretching

Using a cigarette brand name on other promotional items or to sell other non-tobacco products is also used by the industry to create brand awareness and build brand imagery. Promotional items such as branded lighters, T-shirts, base-ball caps and badges are distributed at the point-of-sale, special events, through competitions and so on.

There is some tentative evidence from the US that such promotional items can be used to target adolescents. One study (Coeytaux et al, 1995) examined adolescents' and young adults' participation in coupon redemption schemes and ownership of promotional items. It concluded that many minors were in receipt of promotion items despite regulations surrounding their distribution. Furthermore, Altman et al (1996) found that experience with tobacco promotions and susceptibility to tobacco use were positively and significantly related. In addition, analysis of Californian population surveys indicated that whilst young adults (18-24 years) were most likely to possess promotional items in 1994, 18 per cent of 15 to 17 year olds and 7 per cent of 12 to 14 year olds reported owning them. Two significant findings were drawn from this study. Firstly, while those aged 18 to 24 were most likely to own a promotional item, the willingness to use such an item was highest among the 15 to 17 year olds (35 per cent). Secondly, ownership of promotional items had a reinforcing effect on smoking behaviour. Ownership was significantly higher among smokers than non-smokers (Gilpin et al, 1997).

Packaging

Product packaging has an obvious functional role, but it can also serve an important communications purpose by reinforcing a brand's identity. This is likely to be particularly important for the young smoker: cigarettes are badge products used by adolescents to bolster their own image of themselves and their links with their peers (Beede and Lawson, 1992). Furthermore, attractive packaging may dilute the influence of health warnings made on cigarette packs. A packaging trade journal says of cigarette packaging:

'Its significance as a promotional instrument has increased considerably around the world, wherever legislation bans advertising or restricts it to the point-of-sale.' (Froese et al, 1996).

Point-of-sale

Marketers develop point-of-sale promotional material to stimulate impulse sales of a product or to communicate special sales promotions. Virtually no research has been conducted on the role and function of point-of-sale material for cigarette brands. There is some suggestive evidence from the United States that there are greater levels of point of purchase advertising in areas where there is likely to be a high prevalence of smoking, such as deprived or ethnic minority areas (Woodruff et al, 1995).

Product placement

An innovative and controversial marketing communications tactic is the paid-for placement of cigarette products in film and TV broadcasts. Product placement can offer the marketer an inexpensive means of obtaining brand awareness on broadcast media. Its potential reach is high: films shown originally at the cinema are typically then offered for both video and TV release. Attractive characters can be used to endorse products and consumers do not generally object to product placement in films (Sharkey, 1988).

Product placement is also a means of achieving broadcast coverage for tobacco products even when this is outlawed (Stockwell and Glantz, 1997). ASH in the UK says of product placement, '...there's a feeling that there's an unholy alliance between tobacco and some aspects of the film industry. It's common to pay half a million dollars to place a particular brand in a shot' (Grant, 1997). Other writers have noted that in the US, a number of product placement firms have been set up to act as talent agents for products and identify appropriate broadcasts for brand exposure (Hart, 1996).

Internet advertising

The internet has been used in a number of different ways by the tobacco industry. Tobacco companies have set up their own home pages which communicate background information about their company and performance, and new products. More interestingly, some companies or brands have sponsored other unrelated web sites, eg Brown and Williamson sponsor an on-line magazine called 'Circuit breaker' which covers music, cinema, food and fashion and is targeted at a youth audience. Similarly, Camel have their own 'Camel Party Line' which discusses similar topics. Other tobacco related web sites support other marketing communications initiatives, such as sports sponsorship: for example, Rothman's 'Autoweb', a Formula One racing site. Finally, there are other sites which are supportive of cigarette smoking, but are not directly sponsored by the industry. For example, the 'Smoking Causes' web sites or the 'Save Joe Camel' web site. These sites often have links to other industry sponsored sites and home pages.

Emerging lessons

This section has shown that the tobacco industry is using an increasing number of marketing communications tactics that are more personal, innovative and creative in exploiting new communications technology. Mass media advertising delivers single messages intended for mass audiences. However, as other marketers of consumer goods are discovering, there is potential to exploit new communications tactics which can deliver more relevant, direct and personalised messages. Furthermore, communications tactics can work together to support the development of more personalised communications. For example, loyalty cards or couponing schemes can be used to build consumer databases which can then be used to build profiles of consumer groups and to develop more effective targeting and promotional activities. Other communications tactics, such as point-of-sale or packaging can be used to reinforce the message, using identical imagery and iconography.

It is obviously important to assess the influence of the tobacco industry's increasing use of integrated marketing communications on young people's smoking behaviour. This type of data collection would be invaluable for monitoring and controlling tobacco industry activities. Furthermore, it is important to assess how the individual marketing communications work together and support each other in the overall communication of the brand.

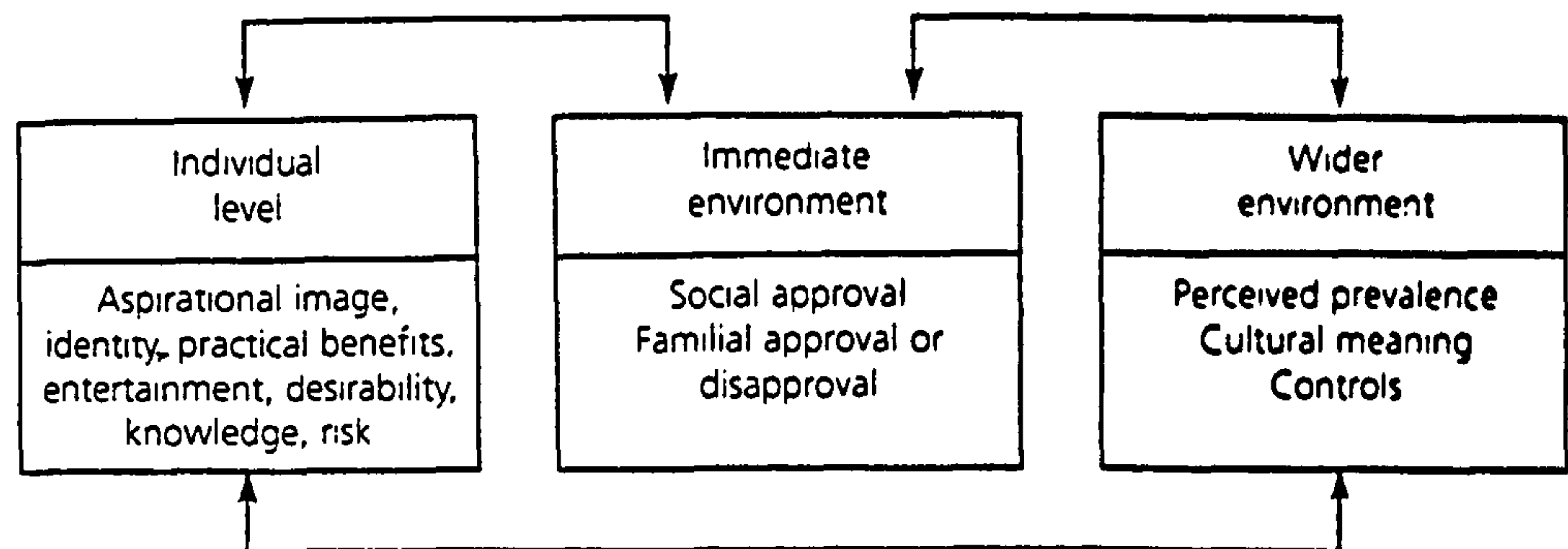
The final part of this paper discusses how these changes in marketing communication practice, along with theoretical developments discussed in the previous section, should influence future research on tobacco marketing. Specifically, it presents a research model focusing on one key group in the tobacco control debate: adolescents.

A model of integrated tobacco marketing communications and adolescents

The research model is based on the following six principles:

- (i) Exposure to tobacco marketing communications is not in itself enough to determine effect (Crosier, 1983; Dichter, 1966; Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955; Lannon and Cooper, 1983).
- (ii) Affective responses matter - the appreciation of tobacco marketing communications is important (Zajonc, 1982, 1984).
- (iii) Adolescent audiences are not passive, but discerning consumers of tobacco marketing communications. In this way, adolescents can ignore or reject communications they find dull, boring or useless. Similarly, they can become involved with those they find stimulating, relevant and enjoyable (Crosier, 1983; Lannon and Cooper, 1983).
- (iv) Others influence the marketing communication process. Peer groups and family effect how and if marketing communications are attended to, and provide cues as to how to respond (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955). For example, the collection of cigarette coupons may be influenced by peer group perceptions of utility and image. Similarly, having parents or elder brothers or sisters who are involved in couponing may provide important messages about the normality or acceptability of such promotions.
- (v) Marketing communications operate at three different levels: the individual, the immediate and wider environmental contexts (Bandura 1986; Littlejohn 1992). (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1: How marketing communications may influence different contexts of behaviour change



At the individual level, behaviour change is influenced by personal factors such as knowledge, skills, self-efficacy, expectations and personal goals (Bandura, 1986). Tobacco marketing communications can influence these by providing cues about aspirational image, identity, practical benefits, entertainment and enjoyment, beliefs about the desirability of smoking, knowledge of brands or personal risk.

At the immediate level, behaviour is influenced by local, social and family networks, eg the peer group or parents. Tobacco marketing communications can influence this by suggesting social or familial approval. For example, point-of-sale communications in local tobacconists is effective in reinforcing the social context of smoking behaviour and family participation in couponing schemes may help shape perceptions of the acceptability and expectations of smoking.

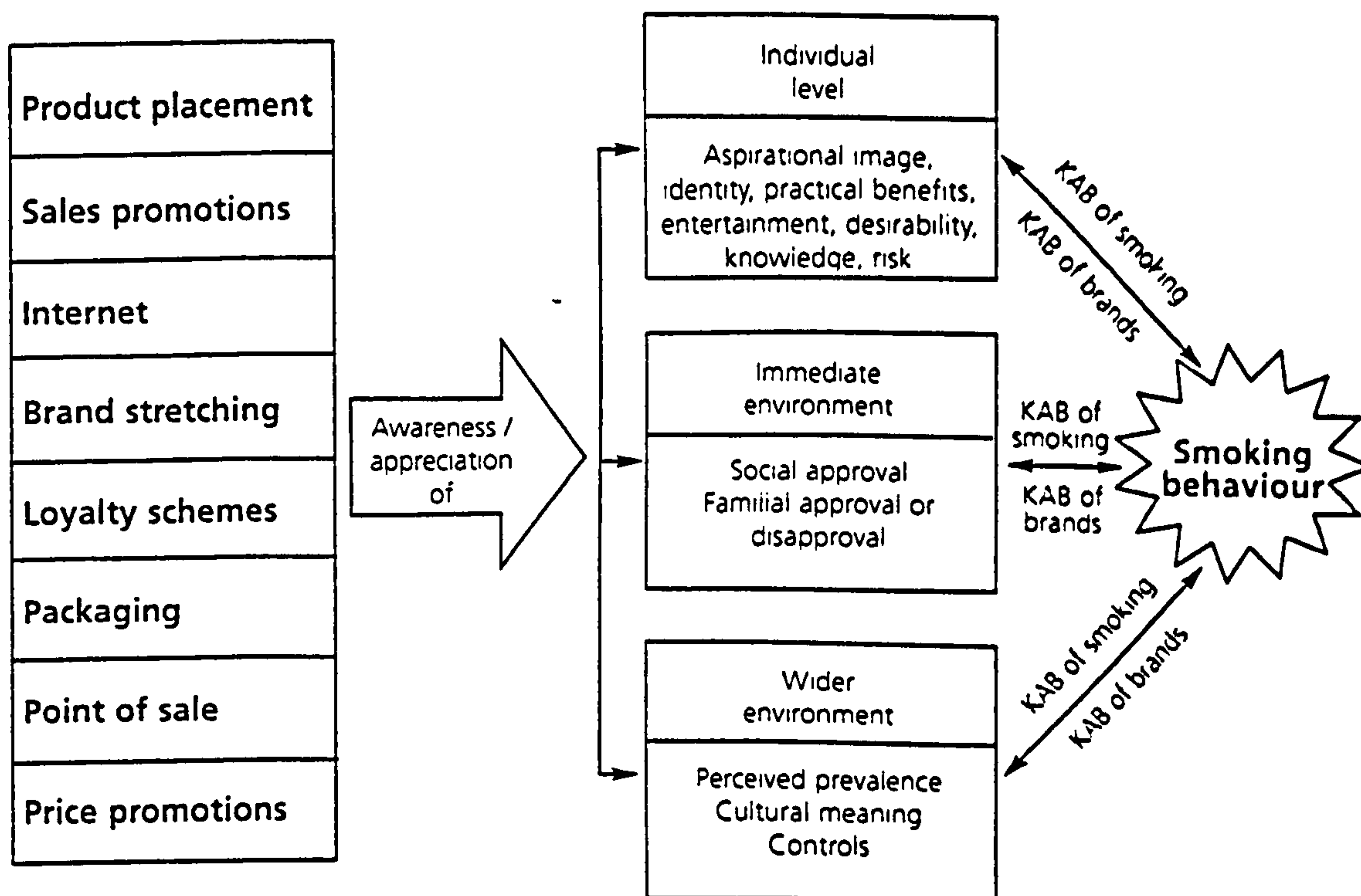
Finally, at the wider level, behaviour is influenced by such cues as cultural norms, social structure, and government regulation and control. Tobacco marketing communications can manipulate these by influencing the perceived prevalence of smoking, its cultural meaning, or perceived risks. For example, the absence of controls on smoking behaviour and its promotion may influence perceptions of risk. Similarly, the manner in which smoking is portrayed in the wider media may influence the perceived prevalence of smoking and its shared cultural meanings.

- (vi) Each element of integrated tobacco marketing communications (product placement, sales promotions, the use of the internet, brand stretching, loyalty schemes, packaging, point-of-sale and price promotions) will act in concert, each reinforcing each other. However each will have a greater or lesser effect on the individual, immediate and wider contexts of smoking behaviour. The potential influence of each element of the marketing communications mix can be measured by assessing awareness and appreciation of each. Similarly, the influence of each on smoking behaviour can be assessed by establishing knowledge, attitudes and behaviour with regard to smoking and cigarette brands.

The model is presented in Figure 2. It will be operationalised in fieldwork conducted in early 1999, which will investigate the potential influence of integrated tobacco marketing communications on adolescents' smoking behaviour in England.

This research model has three specific implications for researching the influence of tobacco marketing on adolescents. First, research must examine responses to integrated marketing communications, rather than individual marketing tactics. Secondly, it is as important to examine the effects of marketing communications on the immediate social environment as on the wider environment, as both have implications for the individual. Finally, personal, immediate and wider forces influence knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of cigarette brands and smoking.

FIGURE 2: How marketing communications influence smoking behaviour



Conclusion

The tobacco industry's efforts to communicate with its customers have become increasingly sophisticated in recent years. Advertising has been superseded by a complex of integrated marketing communications, and these developments have been backed by important theoretical advances. It is clear that, as attempts to control tobacco marketing gather pace, the industry will continue to innovate and intensify its activities. It is equally clear that the tobacco control movement must monitor and keep pace with these developments.

To do this it is necessary to replace existing paradigms, which focus on advertising and assume a linear-sequential effect, with broader and more complex models. This paper has presented one such model. It is currently being used to monitor the impact of tobacco marketing on UK adolescents.

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APPENDIX 9

MacFadyen L, Hastings GB, MacKintosh AM and Lowry RJ (1998). Tobacco marketing and children's smoking: Moving the debate beyond advertising and sponsorship. *Paper presented at the 27th EMAC Conference, Stockholm, Sweden, 20-23 May 1998. In Andersson P (ed) (1998), Track 3 'Marketing Strategy and Organization': Proceedings, 27th EMAC Conference - Marketing Research and Practice. Stockholm: European Marketing Academy, 431-456.*

TOBACCO MARKETING AND CHILDREN'S SMOKING: MOVING THE DEBATE BEYOND ADVERTISING AND SPONSORSHIP

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Abstract

There has been a great deal of research into the effects of advertising and sponsorship on young people's smoking, and most commentators accept that this intuitively appealing link has now been established. However, tobacco promotion, like that of other fmcg's, incorporates a much broader communications mix than this debate either acknowledges or addresses.

This paper discusses what is currently known about this broader mix and introduces a major new study, being funded by the Cancer Research Campaign, into its extent and influence, if any, on young people's smoking. Its findings will have important implications for public policy.

Introduction

Marketing is not perfect. Its purpose is to serve customer needs, wants and demands in a way that delivers commercial success and profitability to the organisation's shareholders (Kotler *et al*, 1996). Often the best means of achieving corporate commercial goals will have unintended or undesirable consequences for the consumer, society or the environment. Marketers are criticised for creating false wants, unnecessary materialism, of having too much political power (Kotler *et al*, 1996), of marketing dangerous and unreliable products and of using dishonest practices to do so (Hermann, 1982). Furthermore, marketing has a profound social, political and environmental influence, promoting and reinforcing social stereotypes. In this way, marketing programs influence not only our shopping behaviour, but also the broader context of our social roles, language and culture (Pollay, 1986). Well designed and strategic research is therefore, needed to inform efforts to control some aspects of marketing. However, this has not always been forthcoming, particularly when efforts to control marketing come from outwith the marketing community.

The tobacco industry offers probably the most dramatic example of the need to control marketing. Cigarettes cause unparalleled harm even when used as intended; the latest research from Richard Doll's team, who have been studying the epidemiology of smoking since the 1950's, shows that one in two smokers die of their habit (Doll *et al*, 1994). Globally, tobacco kills around three million people each year and is the leading cause of death and disease in the developed world, accounting for around 20% of all fatalities (Royal College of Physicians, 1992).

Marketing is implicated in this carnage, with tobacco promotion in the form of advertising and sponsorship, coming under particular scrutiny. Although this has resulted in a lively and sometimes angry debate, the research evidence that cigarette advertising eases the transition into regular smoking and helps to create a culture supportive of cigarette smoking (While *et al*, 1996; Barnard and Forsyth, 1996), has been broadly accepted. It is particularly effective with young people, who make up the vast majority of new recruits to smoking. In the UK for example, 89% of smokers start before they are 18 (Diamond and Goddard, 1995).

As a result, we have seen the introduction of an unprecedented range of legislative controls and voluntary agreements on advertising content and channels of communication, as well as on sponsorship, by the tobacco industry.

However, this debate has assumed a very narrow definition of tobacco promotion, ignoring other elements of the industry's consumer communications such as couponing, sampling, promotional items, brand stretching, packaging, point-of-sale and Internet advertising. All of these are managed to enhance and control branding. This paper argues that efforts must be made to systematically examine and monitor these other elements of the industry's marketing communications strategy.

Much previous research designed to inform tobacco control has made naive assumptions of marketing and advertising effects. Advertising is assumed to have an all-powerful influence on a passive audience. The work reported here takes a more pragmatic approach, examining how young people use these other forms of marketing communications in their lives.

It will fulfil four objectives. First, it will summarise the evidence that tobacco advertising and sponsorship do encourage young people's smoking. Second, it will discuss the importance of a broadened communications mix for the tobacco industry. Third, it will review what is currently known about the communications mix being used by the UK tobacco industry. Finally, it will introduce a major new study, being funded by the Cancer Research Campaign, into the nature and extent of this communications strategy, and its influence, if any, on young people's smoking.

Tobacco Advertising Does Influence Young Smokers

A situational analysis of the cigarette market suggests that there are two main customer segments: young, starter smokers and older, established smokers (Hastings *et al*, 1996). This analysis also suggests that the adolescent starter market is strategically the more important, most smokers beginning before the age of 18 (Diamond and Goddard, 1995). Furthermore, this market segment is growing. While overall smoking prevalence is in decline, smoking prevalence among children is on the increase. The proportion of school pupils (aged 11 to 15 years) who were regular smokers has increased from 10% in 1990 to 13% in 1996 in England. The figures for Scotland over the same time period were 12% and 14% respectively (Goddard, 1997). Therefore, adolescents represent the largest, growing market for the cigarette industry.

Industry documents released as a result of US litigation reveals the importance of young, starter smokers to the cigarette market. For example, the 1971 Marlboro marketing plan stated that: “*young smokers represent the major opportunity group for the cigarette industry*”. Similarly, 1988 Imperial Tobacco noted that, “*if the last 10 years have taught us anything it is that the industry is dominated by the those who respond most effectively to the needs of younger smokers.*” (Pollay, 1995).

However, the tobacco industry denies that their advertising influences young people’s smoking. They deploy three main arguments to defend this position: i) cigarette advertising does not influence the total demand for cigarettes, but only redistributes market share among competing brands (McDonald, 1995); ii) current controls on media channels and thematic appeals prevents motivating messages from reaching non-smokers and/or underage smokers; and iii) critics are alarmists who misunderstand the purpose and function of advertising (Moschis, 1989). The public are not passive dupes, but sophisticated consumers of advertising who can choose not to become involved or erect psychological barriers.

These propositions will be discussed in turn:

- *Redistributing brand share.* The market for cigarettes is argued to be mature and static. Therefore, marketers can only encourage or maintain brand loyalty (Broadbent, 1997). However, this makes some naive assumptions about the product life-cycle concept (Hastings and Aitken, 1995; Pollay *et al*, 1996). There is no single market for tobacco or cigarettes. Rather, there are several markets, some of which may be mature, others which are in growth or decline. For example, there is the market for low tar cigarettes, for economy priced cigarettes, or menthol cigarettes. Furthermore, the marketing literature acknowledges the limitations of the product life-cycle concept as a planning tool. The technique can only tell you about the relative performance of a particular product or market at one point in time. Products or markets may move through the life-cycle in both directions, eg. they may move from growth to maturity as well as maturity to growth (Aaker, 1995). Since adolescent starting rates are on the increase, the market for starter smokers seems to be rejuvenated and experiencing a new period of growth.

- *Current controls stop advertising reaching an underage or non-smoking audience.* The industry proposes that current controls on cigarette advertising are rigorous and effective, preventing any overspill from adult to adolescent markets. However, research demonstrates that children and young adolescents are very much aware of cigarettes advertising and can recall and recognise cigarette advertisements and identify specific brands. One study, examining children's knowledge of, and preference for, cigarette advertising found that many children as young as 9 years old were aware of cigarette advertising and could name a favourite advertisement. Half the 9 to 10 year olds in the study and three-quarters of the 12 to 13 year olds could name at least two cigarette brands (Charlton, 1986).

There is also considerable evidence that the values offered by cigarette advertising reinforce the decision to start smoking. One of the primary functions of advertising is to reward and reinforce purchase decisions to reduce post-purchase dissonance. If cigarette advertising had this effect, adolescent smokers would have a greater awareness and appreciation of cigarette advertising than non-smokers (Hastings and Aitken, 1995). The research evidence supports this: children who smoke pay more attention to cigarette advertising (Aitken *et al*, 1988; Charlton and Blair, 1989; Charlton *et al*, 1994; Covell *et al*, 1994; Klizner *et al*, 1991). Children who smoke are also more appreciative of advertising than non-smokers and can identify more readily with its message (Aitken and Eadie, 1990; Aitken *et al*, 1987; Charlton *et al*, 1986; O'Connell *et al*, 1989). For example, Potts *et al* (1986) found that 15 and 16 year olds smokers are more likely to find cigarette advertisements emotionally appealing than non-smokers, rating them as exciting, interesting and eye-catching. This suggests that cigarette advertising may reinforce an image of the self that is successful, attractive or glamorous in young smokers.

This large body of data has been criticised on the grounds that children who smoke, or are interested in smoking, will naturally pay more attention to tobacco advertising, just as they would with toy or confectionery advertising if they were buying or thinking of buying these products. Longitudinal studies of advertising effect and changes in smoking behaviour are the best research approach to test if there is a causal relationship between appreciation of advertising and smoking initiation.

These studies provide evidence that cigarette advertising can help ease the transition from non-smoker to smoker by demonstrating that children who are most aware and appreciative of cigarette advertising are also those most likely to become smokers in the future. For example, Alexander *et al* (1983) found that children aged 10 to 12 years, who approved of cigarette advertising were twice as likely to have started smoking the following year than those who disapproved. Similarly, Aitken *et al* (1991) concluded that children who were more appreciative of cigarette advertising tended to be those whose intentions to smoke became stronger over the following year, when other factors known to influence smoking were controlled.

Critics may argue that those who attend more to cigarette advertising have already consciously or unconsciously made the decision to take up smoking and look to advertising for support. This may be the case, but what is important is the role advertising has in reinforcing and supporting the decision to take up smoking.

- *Misunderstandings about advertising.* Health advocates are criticised for making simplistic, stimulus-response assumptions of advertising effects (McDonald, 1995). The stimulus-response models of advertising are based on the view that the mere communication of something undesirable by the media will facilitate an increase in that undesirable behaviour. Since this assumes that people's social behaviour is solely determined by external forces, rather than personal choice, it is fraught with difficulties (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955; Gitlin, 1978). Models of advertising based on the idea that attention will lead to interest, will lead to desire, will lead to action, assume that involvement with advertising is like a big stick - hit them with it enough times and the message will sink in.

In some ways the critics are correct. After all, advertising cannot force an unwilling audience to act against their wishes or create a product need from nothing. Typically, tobacco advertising research betrays a sophisticated understanding of advertising effect, assuming the media to be very powerful. Theories of media effects and marketing communications have become more complex and sophisticated since the early days of the stimulus response models (see Strong, 1923; Lavidge and Steiner, 1961; Colley, 1961;

McGuire, 1969). Alternative approaches (see Figure 1) such as the two-step flow (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955) and the uses and gratifications (McQuail, Blumer and Brown, 1972) place the power to respond to the media firmly in the hands of audience. The communicator is relatively powerless in his ability to control the effects of his efforts over a discerning and indifferent audience.

More recent approaches see both parties having an important role to play in the effects of advertising and communications. For example, cultural effects theorists sees the media's effects on cultural attitudes and beliefs as long term and incremental (Tudor, 1979). The information processing model, borrowed from consumer behaviour and advocated by Crosier (1983) argues that the consumer consciously or unconsciously chooses to become involved in communications outputs to solve consumption related problems. In this case, the consumer has the upper hand over the marketer erecting psychological barriers to information which contradicts current belief systems.

Figure 1: Models of Media/Advertising Effects

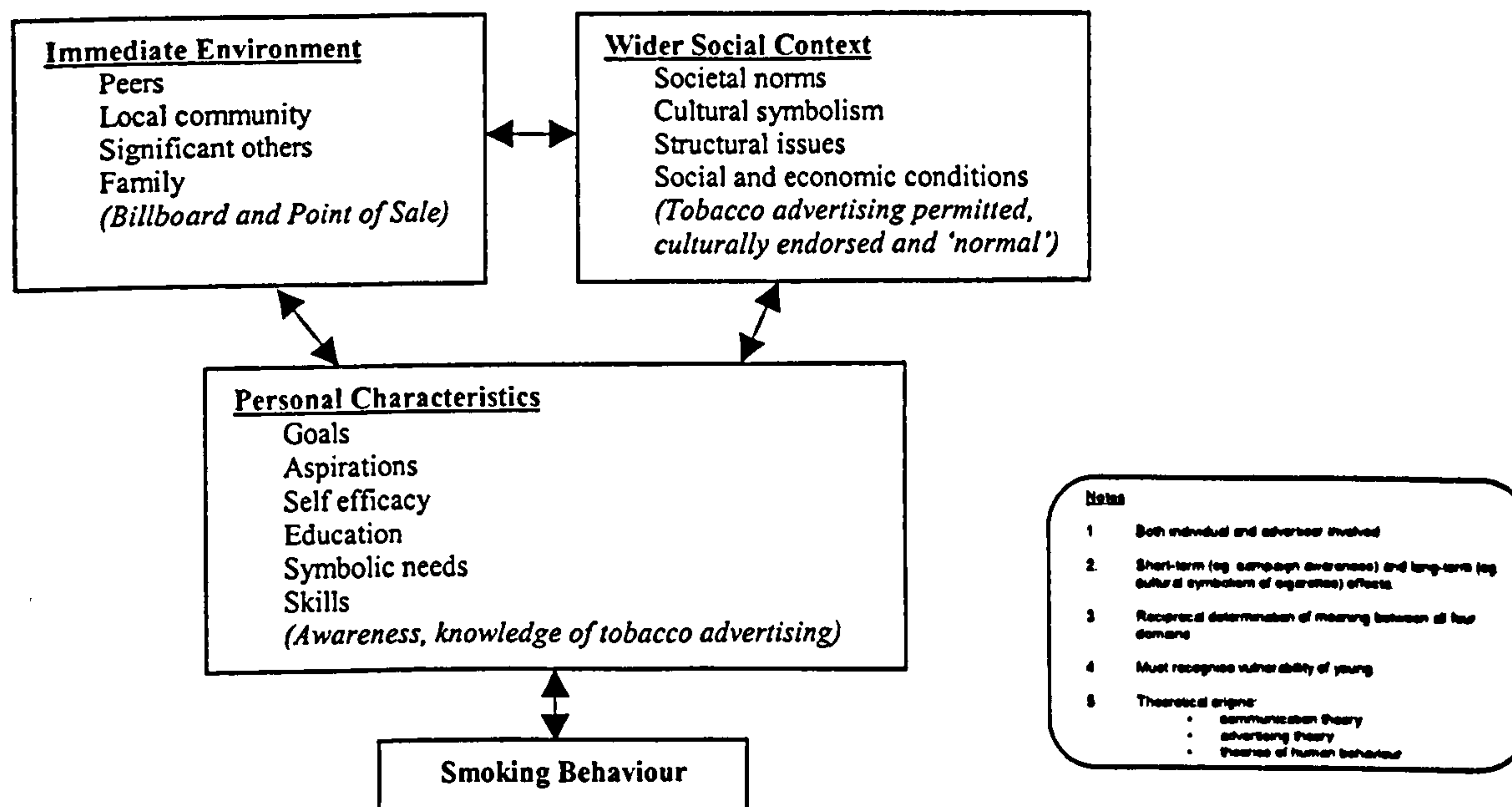
| Approach | Advocates | The Nature of Communication | Key Actors in the Communications Process |
|-------------------------|--|---|--|
| Stimulus - response | Strong (1923) Lavidge & Steiner (1961) Colley (1969) McGuire (1969) | Hierarchical and didactic knowing ↓ liking ↓ behaviour | The communicator (<i>audience passive</i>) |
| Two step-flow | Katz & Lazarsfeld (1955) | A social process media ↓ opinion leader ↓ others | Opinion leaders (<i>communicator passive</i>) |
| Uses and gratifications | McQuail, Blumer & Brown (1972) Rosengren & Windahl (1972) | To fulfil needs/drive | Consumer (<i>communicator passive</i>) |
| Cultural effects | Tudor (1979) | Long-term cultural shift | Communication and audience active |
| Information processing | Crosier (1983) | To solve consumer problems and fulfil organisational objectives | Communicator and audience are active (but audience holds more power) |
| Social Cognitive Theory | Bandura (1986) | As a result of modifying personal and environmental influences | Audience, communicator and key environmental supports |
| Symbolic consumption | Muniz (1997) Solomon (1983) Belk <i>et al</i> (1982) | To add meaning to brands and consumption and in interaction with individual influences | Individual in groups and marketer |

Social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986), borrowed from theories of health communication, does not see behavioural change as a direct result of exposure to communications. Rather, behaviour change can be influenced by modifying individual factors such as knowledge, skills, self-efficacy, expectations and personal goals and by improving environmental factors, eg. social support, to assist the behaviour change. This framework for health communications campaigns emphasises that behaviour change is not inevitable, but can be optimised by focusing on key micro and macro objectives.

Advertising effects theory becomes yet more fragmented and complex in the consumer behaviour literature. This continues to undermine the traditional tobacco control view of advertising effects as inevitable and uniform. More recent research in psychology has identified individual differences in the level of intensity with which individuals experience emotional responses to advertising and overt behaviour (Morris and Moore, 1990). Advertising effectiveness has been said to depend on an individual's experience and knowledge, on the advertisements' timing, atmosphere and creativity and on simple luck (Poiesz and Robben, 1994). Other research examines groups of individual's interaction with brands and marketing communications (Muniz, 1997). This finds that marketing communications adds meaning to brands, but only in interaction with idiosyncratic personal influences. Examining brand choice from a symbolic interactionism perspective, marketing communications interact with personal and cultural influences to add meaning to consumption (Solomon, 1983; Belk *et al*, 1982).

Therefore, advertising's effect on young people's smoking is a complex exchange between personal characteristics, their immediate environment and the wider social context. Figure 2 shows how advertising may influence young peoples' smoking behaviour. This is based on media communications theory, advertising theory, human behaviour and consumer behaviour.

Figure 2: How Advertising May Influence Young People's Smoking Behaviour



Research has shown that a number of personal characteristics are predictive of adolescents' smoking behaviour. Young people's smoking behaviour is causally related to their goals and aspirations in life (Bandura, 1986), the amount of control or the "self-efficacy" beliefs they hold over their own health behaviour (Prochaska and DiClemente, 1983), education levels (Chassin *et al*, 1996), gender (Valkonen and Poppel, 1997), their needs to fulfil some idealistic self-identity through consumption (Bewley and Bland, 1978), or their personal and social skills (Bandura, 1986).

Smoking behaviour has also shown to be associated with adolescents' immediate environment, in particular the role of peers, siblings and parents (Chassin *et al*, 1996; Amos *et al*, 1997), the availability and perceived prevalence of smoking in their local community and local controls on smoking are important (Arday *et al*, 1997).

The wider social context has an indirect, but important influence on adolescents' smoking behaviour. Adolescents smokers vastly overestimate the prevalence of smoking (Pollay *et al*, 1996). This in turn is influenced by societal norms and the media's portrayal of smokers in TV, film and magazines (Amos, 1993; Stockwell and Glantz, 1997). Structural and socio-economic factors are also strongly predictive of smoking behaviour, with smoking prevalence rates higher in lower socio-economic communities (Glendinning *et al*, 1994).

These three broad sources of influence on young people's smoking behaviour are in turn influenced by tobacco advertising. Marketing can stimulate conscious or unconscious consumption needs and provide us with the motivational drive and education to do so (Crosier, 1983). Tobacco advertising clearly provides a attractive, reassuring and symbolic product which eases the difficult task of adolescence (Pollay *et al*, 1996). Advertising via brand image, billboards and point-of-sale interact with the peer-driven process of smoking initiation (Davis, 1987). Finally, advertising also acts on the wider environment making smoking more culturally acceptable and normal (Amos, 1993).

Thus a move to more sophisticated models of advertising effect does not undermine the evidence that tobacco advertising encourages young people to smoke. It is explains *how* it does so.

The remainder of this paper examines the role of other forms of tobacco marketing communications in this complex exchange. While, tobacco marketers are increasingly using these new forms of communication, little research has been conducted either in the marketing or tobacco control arenas.

From Advertising to Marketing Communications

There is evidence that many marketers are investing more resources in other forms of marketing communications than advertising. The effectiveness of advertising has been diluted in recent years by the combination of factors such as advertising clutter, the fragmentation of markets (Shrimp, 1989) and consumer avoidance strategies, eg. the use of remote controls for TV advertising (Sellers, 1993). As a consequence, many companies are spending increasing amounts of their marketing budgets on more direct or innovative forms of communications (Marks and Komins, 1988; Boddewyn and Leardi, 1989; Massey, 1992).

For the tobacco industry the need to find other forms of marketing communications is all the more urgent. As well as these pressures, the threat of a total advertising ban has loomed for many years and is in force in some countries already, eg. Canada, New Zealand and Norway. In recent years there has been a marked change in the way the tobacco marketers spend their promotional budget. Cigarette advertising in

the UK now accounts for approximately 20% of companies total spending, this compares to approximately 50% in the early 1990s.

This change in the mix of promotional spending is mirrored in other countries. For example, in the US, expenditures on non-media advertising and promotion has risen from 21% of companies total promotional budget in 1975 to 78% in 1991. In Canada, where cigarette advertising is heavily controlled, the industry has been forced to find other forms of marketing communications. In 1987, cigarette advertising accounted for \$28m, while advertising of tobacco sponsored events accounted for \$1.7m. By 1994, there was virtually no advertising in Canada, but some \$105m was being spent to advertise tobacco sponsored events (Nielson Government Services, 1995). It seems likely that as a cigarette advertising ban becomes a greater threat, the industry will redistribute its promotional budget to other forms of marketing communications. This may include sales promotions and couponing, direct marketing, point-of-sale, packaging, brand stretching, Internet advertising and public relations (Lavack, 1997).

It is very apparent, therefore, that concerns about tobacco advertising and sponsorship should be matched by concerns about other elements of the tobacco industry's communications strategy. This is supported by a 1979 British and American Tobacco internal memo which emphasises the importance of developing other marketing communications in the event of an advertising ban:

“Opportunities should be explored by all companies so as to find non-tobacco products and other services which can be used to communicate the brand name, together with their essential visual identifiers. This is likely to be a long term and costly operation, but the principle is nevertheless to ensure that cigarette lines can be effectively publicised when all the direct forms of communication are denied...”

(Taylor, 1984)

We need to determine the nature of these and the influence, if any, they have on young people. The following section will discuss what is currently known about this aspect of tobacco marketing.

The Marketing Communications Efforts of the Tobacco Industry

(1) Sponsorship

There is some evidence to suggest that cigarette company sponsorship of sporting events can achieve some of the same effects as tobacco advertising on cigarette brand awareness, attitudes and smoking behaviour (Cornwell, 1997).

Ledwith (1984) studied the effects of sports sponsorship (snooker) on children's recall and brand knowledge. It demonstrated increased brand awareness of the sponsoring cigarette companies by those children who had viewed the snooker tournament. Other research has replicated this study. For example, Piepe (1986) found there were strong associations between exposure to sponsored sport and recall of branded cigarettes. Furthermore, positive associations were found between the recall of branded cigarettes and smoking frequency among children. This association was consistently maintained when other factors known to influence smoking behaviour were controlled. Aitken *et al* (1986) examined children's awareness and perceptions of sports sponsorship. The study concluded that sports sponsorship placed cigarette brand names and associated sports imagery into children's memories. For example, 47% of children in the survey described brands sponsoring racing cars as being liked by someone "who likes excitement and fast racing cars". These associations were often held unconsciously by the children. A study conducted in New Zealand of 203 young males aged 12 to 18 years, found that a single exposure to a Rothman's cricket sponsorship advertisement could achieve the following effects: reinforce existing smoking behaviour, create more favourable attitudes towards smoking among non-smokers, increase awareness of cigarette brands among non-smokers and influence liking of brands by non-smokers (Huek *et al*, 1993). Finally, a longitudinal study of boys' smoking and cigarette brand sponsored motor racing in the UK finds that boys' liking and appreciation of motor racing was a significant independent variable in logistic regression for becoming a regular smoker (Charlton *et al*, 1997).

Commercial sponsorship of sport has become increasingly popular since the 1980s (Abratt and Grobler, 1989). Walker (1994) estimates that sports sponsorship worldwide is growing at a rate of 10% per year. Formula One motor racing is one of the major events supported by the tobacco industry. It contributes some £100 million a year to Formula One racing, one-third of the money used to run the sport. For

example, Benson and Hedges contributes £10million to the Jordan team, while Marlboro sponsor the Ferrari team some £30million (Harding and Buckingham, 1997).

The sponsorship of televised sporting events allows tobacco companies to circumvent broadcast advertising bans and reach mass audiences without the need to include health messages and warnings. It also allows access to media channels not typically associated with marketing communications, eg. the BBC. A Philip Morris representative says of sports sponsorship, *“our point of view is that we are involved in sponsorship for the same reason that any other company is: to get visibility and hopefully encourage a more positive image for our product (Froese et al, 1996).*

In summary, although the evidence is sparser and weaker, sponsorship, like advertising, does seem to influence smoking behaviour. Policy makers are now accepting this and taking systematic action against it.

(2) Couponing

While brand switching is remarkably low in the tobacco industry, couponing schemes have been an integral part of marketing communications initiatives for many years. Cigarette trading cards inserted into packets have been around for 50 years (Blum, 1995). With the gradual decline in the attractiveness of mass media advertising, cigarette couponing schemes have become increasingly popular (Altman *et al*, 1996). For example, in the US, industry spending on sales promotions (including cents off coupons, multiple price breaks, offers of speciality items through coupon redemption/point-of-sale) has increased from 20% of total marketing spending in 1984 to 42% of spending in 1993 (FTC, 1995).

Typical schemes involve the collection of coupons inserted in cigarette packets which can be redeemed for a number of household products and gifts selected from a branded catalogue. Participation allows companies to build up a database of current customers and their characteristics. This can then be used for direct marketing initiatives, such as brand magazines, special offers, newsletters and for gathering consumer research.

Coupons initiatives have obvious strengths. First, these schemes offer added value to consumers and help to counter some of the effects of taxation and escalating prices. When used as part of a long-term customer programme, they can assist the development of consumer databases and the development of direct marketing initiatives. To date, little consumer research has been conducted in the health domain to examine the influence of couponing and consumer loyalty schemes on smoking attitudes, brand knowledge and smoking behaviour. Initial exploratory research conducted in Glasgow found significant differences in participation of couponing schemes between smokers in deprived and non-deprived areas (CSM, 1995). This suggests that couponing initiatives may be successfully used to offset price increases, but clearly more research must be conducted.

(3) Sampling

Another major sales promotion initiative conducted by the tobacco marketers is the distribution of free product samples. Sampling teams offer consumers free sample packs of cigarettes or offer to swap a smoker's current brand with those on offer. Sampling teams often tap into youth culture and target bars, clubs, music concerts and festivals or sponsor their own events.

For example, in the summer of 1996, Gallaher's Silk Cut brand ran its "*Silk Cut Renaissance Tour*". This was a custom made social experience for young clubbers. The club night sponsored and advertised by the brand and featured popular DJs, free music CDs and cigarettes (Grant, 1997). UK regulation stipulates that free samples can only be given to smokers over the age of 18. But, this type of initiative is harder to police (Anon, 1992) and likely to be a very effective means by which to target teenagers and young adults. As Silk Cut's advertising agency says, "*the general style and decor [of the Renaissance tour] was amazing, just what we wanted. We were looking for a vehicle into youth culture and sponsoring the tour gave us the perfect opportunity to gain that exposure*". Similarly, the brand manager of Dunhill cigarettes says of sampling, "*sampling in this way is one of the few ways of reaching our target audience. It's very effective*" (Grant, 1997).

There is very little research conducted on the influence of cigarette sampling schemes on purchase behaviour. Academic and commercial marketing research acknowledges the important role of sales promotions in stimulating consumer trial of a product

category and brand. Most marketers would agree that sampling accomplishes this objective more effectively than other advertising or sales promotions initiatives (Rossiter and Percy, 1987). But, even within commercial marketing research, little research has addressed the question of the role of sampling on purchase behaviour (McGuinness *et al*, 1995).

(4) Promotional Items and Brand Stretching

Using a cigarette brand name on other promotional items or to sell other non-tobacco products is also used by the industry to create brand awareness and build brand imagery. Promotional items such as branded lighters, T-shirts, base-ball caps, badges, are distributed at the point of sale, special events, competitions etc.

There is some tentative evidence from the states that promotional items can be used to target adolescents. One study (Coeytaux *et al*, 1995) examined adolescents and young adults participation in coupon redemption schemes and ownership of promotional items in the US. It concluded that many minors were in receipt of promotion items despite regulations surrounding their distribution. Furthermore, Altman (1996) found that experience with tobacco promotions and susceptibility to tobacco use were positively and significantly related. In addition, analysis of Californian population surveys indicated that young adults (18-24 years) were most likely possess promotional items in 1994. However, 18% of 15 to 17 year olds and 7% of 12 to 14 year olds reported owning them. Two significant findings were drawn from this study. Firstly, while those aged 18 to 24 were most likely to own a promotional item, the willingness to use such an item was highest among the 15 to 17 year olds (35%). Secondly, ownership of promotional items had a reinforcing effect on smoking behaviour. Ownership was significantly higher among smokers than non-smokers (Gilpin *et al*, 1997).

A variation on this strategy is the endorsement of other non-tobacco products for commercial sale by cigarette brands. For example, cigarette companies have put their name to footwear, shirts, jackets, and holidays. Companies can then advertise these products through mass media channels, using attractive imagery without the use of health warnings. Aitken *et al* (1985) examined children's perceptions and understanding of an advertisement for John Player Special Grand Prix Holidays in Scotland. The researchers found that this advertisement used particularly strong and

vivid imagery that children found appealing and that conveyed images of excitement, sports and holidays. Furthermore, the children perceived the campaign to be a cigarette advertisement. To date, very little research has been conducted examining the role of branded merchandise on smoking attitudes and behaviour.

(5) Packaging

Product packaging has an obvious functional role, but it can also serve an important communications purpose. Specifically it can reinforce a brand's identity. Attractive packaging is likely to be relevant, particularly for the adolescent smoker. Cigarettes are badge products used by adolescents to improve their image of themselves and their peers. Attractive and appropriate packaging would help convey that image (Beede and Lawson, 1992). Furthermore, attractive packaging may dilute the influence of health warnings made on cigarette packs. A packaging trade journal says of cigarette packaging:

"Its significance as a promotional instrument has increased considerably around the world, wherever legislation bans advertising or restricts it to the point of sale."

(Froese *et al*, 1996)

Again, only a small number of researchers have investigated the influence of packaging on smoking attitudes and behaviour. Those who have, call for plain, generic packaging to be introduced to tackle brand image and increase the effects of on pack health messages. Beede and Lawson (1992) have investigated the possible effects of generic packaging upon perceptions of health warnings among 568 adolescents. A measure of unaided recall was used to assess attention to various cues presented on cigarette packs. The research concluded that when less brand image cues were presented on the packaging, respondents were able to recall with greater accuracy non-image, health information. Researchers at Health Canada conducted a series of experiments and surveys to assess the possible impact of plain, generic packaging on smoking behaviour. Four out of the five studies conducted suggested that plain generic packaging would have a significant influence on smoking behaviour, limiting the ease with which consumers could associate particular images with cigarette brands.

(6) Point of Sale

Marketers develop point of sale promotional material to stimulate impulse sales of a product or to communicate special sales promotions. Virtually no research has been conducted on the role and function of point of sale material for cigarette brands. There is some suggestive evidence from the states to suggest that there are greater levels of point of purchase advertising in areas where there is likely to be a high prevalence of smoking, eg. deprived or ethnic minority areas (Woodruff *et al*, 1995). There is a real need for research which examines attitudes and perceptions of point of sale material and any relationship between smoking behaviour and intentions.

(7) Product Placement

An innovative and controversial marketing communications tactic is the paid for placement of cigarette products in film and TV broadcasts. This is another means by which companies can achieve broadcast coverage of their brands and therefore circumvent regulations regarding TV advertising (Stockwell and Glantz, 1997). ASH in the UK says of product placement, "*...there's a feeling that there's an unholy alliance between tobacco and some aspects of the film industry. Its common to pay half a million dollars to place a particular brand in a shot*" (Grant, 1997). Other writers have noted that in the states, a number of product placement firms have been set up to act as talent agents for products and identifying appropriate broadcasts for brand exposure (Hart, 1996).

Product placement can offer the marketer an inexpensive means of obtaining brand awareness on broadcast media. Its potential reach is high, films shown originally at the cinema are typically then offered for both video and TV release. Attractive characters can be used to endorse product and consumers do not generally object to product placement in films (Sharkey, 1988).

(8) Internet Advertising

The authors' own search of the Internet has found it to be used in a number of different ways by the tobacco industry. Tobacco companies have set up their own

home pages which communicate background information about their company and performance, new products etc. More interestingly, some companies or brands have sponsored other unrelated Web sites, eg. Brown and Williamson sponsor an on-line magazine called "Circuit breaker" which covers music, cinema, food and fashion and is targeted at a youth audience. Similarly, Camel have their own "Camel Party Line" which discusses similar topics. Other tobacco related Web sites support other marketing communications initiatives, such as sports sponsorship: for example, Rothman's "Autoweb", a Formula One racing site. Finally, there are other sites which are supportive of cigarette smoking, but are not directly sponsored by the industry. For example, the "Smoking Causes" Web sites or the "Save Joe Camel" Web site. These sites often have links to other industry sponsored sites and home pages.

To date, we have found no research examining the use of the Internet by the tobacco companies or research which addresses if models of marketing communication developed for traditional media advertising are appropriate for new electronic media.

Do These Other Marketing Communications Influence Smoking Behaviour?

It is apparent that the tobacco industry, like other fmcg marketers is using a full range of marketing communication options. However, there is little concrete evidence as to whether this activity has an influence on smoking behaviour, especially that of children. For this reason, the Cancer Research Campaign has recently funded the Centre for Social Marketing to conduct a major study to assess the impact of tobacco related marketing communications on young people.

This study has four main objectives: 1) to identify what marketing communications strategies are currently being used by the tobacco industry; 2) to evaluate the awareness, familiarity and appreciation of these sorts of communications among young people and adults; 3) to investigate how, if at all, these measures relate to current smoking and/or intention to smoke; and 4) how these measures relate to perceptions of leading cigarette brands. Objectives 2, 3 and 4 will be met by a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches. As much of the industry's activities are unresearched and covert, the first objective will be met by a combination of observation and in-depth interviews with experts. The marketing

communications will be systematically gathered and analysed to determine their compliance with current regulations.

Acknowledging more sophisticated models of marketing communications has implications for research approach. Rejecting the notion of the all powerful communicator necessitates an approach which examines not what marketing communications does to young people, but what young people do with marketing communications. A multi-methods research approach is used here. The initial qualitative phase of the research is deductive, using a combination of focus groups with adolescents and in-depth interviews to examine adolescents' awareness, familiarity and appreciation of marketing communications. This first phase is currently in progress.

Initial focus group research with adolescent suggests that tobacco marketing communications are important to young smokers, particularly in the role they play in creating cigarette brand personality. Adolescents are incredibly conservative in their choice of cigarette brands. We have found that young smokers will remain loyal to one brand of two possible brands (Kensitas Club and Embassy Regal), other brands are perceived as unattractive and inappropriate. While, marketers' have an important role to play in the creation of brand images, consumers themselves have a role to play in attaching meaning to a product. So while, marketers use a variety of techniques to communicate brand personality, consumers' own social experiences, self-concept and sub-culture mediate this process. It would seem then, that the role of tobacco marketing communications is complex and dynamic.

Conclusions

We now know that advertising has an important influence on brand awareness, social attitudes towards smoking and brand image. In addition, it is widely accepted, through a combination of cross-sectional and longitudinal studies, that tobacco advertising does reinforce current smoking and recruit new smokers. Research also shows that advertising has its biggest effects on adolescent, starter smokers.

For most fmcg companies, the attraction of traditional above-the-line advertising has diminished. A number of pressures, including the sheer volume of traditional advertising has stimulated the development of broader marketing communications

mixes. In the case of the tobacco industry, the pressure for broader communications is increased by the restrictions being placed on advertising and sponsorship.

There is ad hoc evidence that the diversification of tobacco marketing communications is well under way. However, no systematic study has been made of it in the UK, and little is known of its influence on smoking behaviour. Our research will fill this gap. We will report progress at the conference and ask delegates for help and advice, particularly in identifying tobacco marketing communication strategies.

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APPENDIX 10

Hastings G, MacFadyen L, MacKintosh A, Lowry R (1998). New debate: Assessing the impact of branding and tobacco marketing communications on young people in Britain. *Social Marketing Quarterly* (Summer): 54-60.

NEW DEBATE: ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF BRANDING AND TOBACCO MARKETING COMMUNICATIONS ON YOUNG PEOPLE IN BRITAIN

By Gerard Hastings, Lynn MacFadyen,
Anne-Marie MacKintosh and Ray Lowry

Introduction

After years of debate, we can finally confirm the intuitively appealing fact that cigarette advertising does influence adolescents' smoking behavior. A number of research studies have examined the complex relationship between adolescents' smoking habits, tobacco advertising and sponsorship and their brands preferences. This research has consistently shown that teenage smokers are more knowledgeable and appreciative of cigarette advertising or sponsorship and can identify more readily with its imagery than their non-smoking peers. Cigarette branding has been shown to be the central concept in understanding the interrelation between the image of smoking, adolescents' self image and tobacco advertising and sponsorship. Advertising has played an important role in communicating the social and cultural meaning of smoking, associating particular cigarette brands with particular aspirations.

The imminent ban on tobacco advertising and sponsorship in the UK raises the question of where the tobacco industry will reinvest its advertising budget to protect carefully cultivated brand images? There is evidence to suggest that it is increasing its investment in other means of marketing communications such as point of sale displays, couponing and direct mail, sampling initiatives, promotional items and brand stretching, product placement in films and use of the Internet (Lavack, 1997). This paper presents a piece of research currently in progress and funded by the Cancer Research Campaign which will assess the impact of some of these other forms of tobacco marketing communications on cigarette branding and young people.

Current Debate: Branding, Advertising and Sponsorship

Concern about the role of cigarette advertising and sponsorship on cigarette consumption has focused on adolescents as nearly 90 % of smokers start before the age of 18 (Diamond & Goddard, 1995). Furthermore, prevalence within this subgroup is increasing, while prevalence within the general population has seen a steady decline. In 1994, 12 % of 12- to 15-year-olds in Scotland were regular smokers (smoke at least one cigarette a week). By 1996, this figure had reached 14 % (Barton & Janis, 1997).

Tobacco advertising and sponsorship has been shown to influence the decision to take up smoking amongst adolescents. Research finds that adolescents are very much aware of tobacco advertising and can recall and recognize cigarette advertisements and identify specific brands (Charlton, 1986; Aitken et al., 1987; Chapman & Fitzgerald, 1982). For example, Chapman & Fitzgerald (1982) examined the relationship between smoking, brand preference and advertising recall amongst teenagers.

They found that smokers were more likely to be able to correctly identify edited tobacco advertisements. Children who smoke have been found to have a greater awareness and appreciation of cigarette advertising and can identify more readily with its imagery than those who do not, suggesting that cigarette advertising reinforces their behavior (Aitken et al., 1988; Charlton & Blair, 1989; Covell, 1994; Aitken & Eadie, 1990; Potts, 1986).

The decision to start smoking during adolescence is complex and associated with factors such as peer associations, the self (and ideal self) image, knowledge and beliefs about smoking (Amos et al., 1997; Goddard, 1990). For example, Barton et al. (1982) found that desirable social images of smoking were associated with intentions to smoke. The more positively teenagers rated the social image of smokers, the more likely they were to report intention to smoke in the future. Similarly, Chassin et al. (1985) found that those teenagers whose real and ideal self-concepts were nearer to that of a smoker (rather than a non-smoker) were more likely to state intentions to smoke in the future.

Tobacco branding is an important means by which marketers can tap into these cultural and psychosocial influences on smoking initiation. Branding integrates cultural, social and personality factors into a product adding meaning and value (Biel, 1997). It also simplifies our purchase behavior by creating an image of a particular product that fits with our own view of the world (Muniz, 1997). Branding is particularly important for smoking experimentation, helping to convey the right image of the smoker (Hastings et al., 1994).

In Scotland, we find that adolescents are highly sensitive to the advertising of cigarette brands, 76 % of whom smoke the most heavily advertised brand in the area, Kensitas Club (Aitken et al., 1988). Adolescents make clear distinctions between the appropriateness of different cigarette brands. Kensitas Club and Embassy Regal are the only acceptable brands for teenagers, others are rejected as being either too pretentious or too down market. The social costs of smoking the wrong brand are high. Teenagers are aware they would lose credibility with their peers if caught smoking the wrong brand (Hastings et al., 1994).

While more research effort has been spent on advertising than sponsorship, there is evidence to suggest that tobacco sponsorship can achieve some of the same effects on young people as tobacco advertising (Cornwell, 1997). Indeed, this is its aim, as one RJ Reynolds executive says, "We're not in the sports business. We use sports as an avenue for advertising our products." (Ash, 1996). Researchers find a relationship between exposure to tobacco-sponsored events and recall of branded cigarettes (Ledwith, 1984; Piepe, 1986; Aitken et al., 1986; Huek et al., 1993). Ledwith (1984) found that children exposed to a tobacco-sponsored snooker competition demonstrated increased brand awareness than those who had not been exposed. Piepe's (1986) study also found a strong association between exposure to sponsored sport, brand recall and smoking frequency among children. Similarly, a study of cricket sponsorship found that exposure to sponsorship among young males aged 12 to 18 reinforced existing smoking behavior, generated more favorable attitudes towards smoking among smokers, increased awareness of cigarette brands among non-smokers and influenced the liking of brands by non-smokers (Huek et al., 1993).

In addition, commentators on the role of sponsorship in the marketing communications mix suggest it is most effective in transferring imagery and building brands.

Figure 2: A Hypothetical SWOT for Tobacco
(Source: Hastings et al 1996.)

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|--|---|
| <p><u>Strengths</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The products are addictive and habit forming and are difficult for consumers to give up. • A hard-core of consumers will continue to smoke despite health warnings and price rises. • Nicotine dependence ensures relative price inelasticity. This means that the impact of tax rises on profits is minimised (Keynotes, 1996; Mintel, 1994). • The value of the market continues to grow, fuelled by price increases (Keynotes, 1996). • The majority of new smokers are young adolescents who can easily be reached by marketing strategies (Keynotes, 1996; Mintel, 1994; OPCS, 1992). • New smokers disregard the health risks of tobacco and are prepared to pay premium prices (Pollay, 1996). | <p><u>Weaknesses</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Smoking is increasingly seen as an anti-social activity and more locations are becoming no-smoking areas. • Fewer people are smoking, volume demand is falling around 3-4% per annum (Mintel, 1994). • The industry has lost the health argument and faces continuing pressure from those dying from smoking related illnesses. • Cigarettes are perceived as the main cause of lung cancer and smoking related illnesses, and are the main target for health campaigns. |
| <p><u>Opportunities</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As prices rise, there are greater opportunities for low-priced products (Keynotes, 1996). • Also, there may be opportunities for new pack sizes based on price points eg. 16's. • Further growth of the mild- or low tar- sector (Keynotes, 1996). • Development of the 'starter' market with special emphasis on new female smokers | <p><u>Threats</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The pressure from the anti-tobacco lobby, especially in US markets, ensures that all marketing efforts are diluted and that customers constantly receive conflicting messages about smoking. • In the long term tax rises promise to increase the quit rates and encourage people to consume fewer cigarettes overall (Mintel, 1994). • Even if a small proportion of those wanting to give up manage to, there will be an even greater decline in the volume market (Keynotes, 1996; Mintel, 1994). • Growth of no-smoking areas means there are fewer smoking opportunities. |

New Debate: Branding and Other Tobacco Marketing Communications

Tobacco advertising and sponsorship have played an important role in cultivating cigarette brand images, but a ban on tobacco advertising and sponsorship is imminent in the UK. Therefore, the tobacco industry can be expected to increase their efforts to exploit other forms of marketing communications to compensate.

The experience of other countries confirms this supposition. For example, in the US, where tobacco advertising has been heavily controlled, expenditure on non-media advertising and promotion has risen from 21 % in 1975 to 78 % in 1991 (Lavack, 1997). These other forms of marketing communications include: point of

sale displays, couponing and direct mail, sampling initiatives, promotional items and brand stretching, product placement in films and use of the Internet.

This broadening of the communications mix for tobacco reflects a more general move in this direction. The effectiveness of advertising has been diluted over the years by a combination of factors including advertising clutter, the fragmentation of markets (Shrimp, 1989) and consumer avoidance strategies, e.g., the use of remote controls for TV advertising (Sellers, 1993). As a consequence, many companies are spending increasing amounts of their marketing budgets on more direct or innovative forms of marketing communications such as database marketing and use of the Internet (Massey, 1992).

The mix of marketing communications used by the tobacco industry is likely to include the following:

Couponing: Couponing schemes involve the collection of coupons inserted into cigarette packets for a number of household products and gifts selected from a branded catalogue (Ward & Davis, 1978). This allows companies to counter some of the influence of taxation policies and guarantee brand loyalty. Furthermore, participation allows companies to build a customer database for future targeted direct marketing initiatives.

Sampling: Product sampling teams are becoming another popular means of ensuring brand familiarity and presence. Teams of product samplers attend music festivals, public events, clubs and pubs offering to swap smokers' own brand for the promoted brand (Grant, 1997). As with couponing, names and addresses are taken to build a customer database.

Brand stretching: Brand stretching involves putting the cigarette brand name to unrelated products. In the past, these have included clothing, footwear, holidays, music or promotional items distributed at the point of sale, at special events or as part of a competition. Brand stretching can be used to build brand awareness and imagery (Pierce et al., 1998).

Packaging: Product packaging is an important means of reinforcing the visual identifiers of the brand. Research also suggests that attractive brand imagery on packaging can dilute health messages (Health Canada, 1995).

Point of sale: The industry have given more attention to point of sale material, considering lighting, position of brands and brand imagery. There is some tentative evidence to suggest that brands promoted by point of sale material in a particular geographic area are carefully targeted to the brand preferences of people in that area.

Product placement: While a controversial subject, there has been the suggestion that tobacco companies establish strategic alliances with film and TV production companies to place cigarette brands in appropriate broadcasts. Attractive characters can be used to endorse particular brands and contribute towards a cultural acceptancy of cigarette smoking (Stockwell & Glantz, 1997).

Internet communications: Like most industries, the tobacco companies have made good use of the Internet. Internet communication is quite different from other forms of marketing communications, being a more interactive experience. Tobacco companies have a number of sites: home pages with business information, sites promoting their own sports sponsorship, on-line magazines covering music, film TV and fashion.

Conclusion: The Research

Our research will examine the potential influence of some of these other forms of tobacco marketing communications on adolescent smoking behavior, adopting some of the same logic and methodology as that applied to research on advertising and spon-

sorship. The study will investigate the impact of tobacco marketing communications on young people. Specifically, it will examine:

1. What marketing communications strategies are currently being used by the tobacco industry.
2. Awareness, familiarity and appreciation of these sorts of communications among young people and adults.
3. How, if at all, these measures relate to current smoking and/or intention to smoke in the future.
4. How, if at all, these measures relate to perceptions of leading tobacco brands.

These objectives will be met by four stages of research, conducted in Scotland. Initially, an audit will be conducted of current tobacco marketing communications, documenting and describing as many examples of communications as possible. Twenty in-depth interviews will be conducted with leading figures in tobacco control to identify key strategies and trends in cigarette marketing communications.

This will be followed by two stages of consumer research. First, a qualitative research approach will be adopted to explore the prevalence and impact on young people and adults, smokers and non-smokers of these other forms of tobacco marketing communications and their relationship with brand image. Stage four will take a positivist research approach, using a survey to measure the existence and strengths of relationships between awareness and appreciation of these other forms of tobacco marketing communications and brand knowledge, appreciation and smoking behavior.

The qualitative research phase is currently under way. To date, it reveals the use of cigarette marketing communications by novice consumers who are curious, inquisitive, yet at times, skeptical, of these forms of promotion. At this stage, it would appear that marketing communications have a role to play in the development of cigarette brand meaning, but that this influence is mediated by many socio-psychological and environmental (eg., the media) influences.

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