

PLAIN PACKAGING OF TOBACCO PRODUCTS



Tobacco packs are designed by tobacco manufacturers to promote tobacco products and undermine the effectiveness of tobacco packaging laws, including laws mandating the display of health warnings and bans on misleading or deceptive information.

Tobacco packs are not simply containers for tobacco products. They should be regulated as the major promotional devices that they are. Tobacco products should be required to be sold in 'plain packaging'.

Plain packaging means the standardization of packaging, with the removal of all colours, brand imagery, logos and trademarks, with only brand name, product name, manufacturer's name and contact details, quantity of product and government-mandated information or markings (such as health warnings and tax markings) allowed, in prescribed font and size, on or inside packaging, and packaging of prescribed shape, size and materials.

Plain packaging would curb the use of the pack as a promotional vehicle, increase the effectiveness of health warnings and reduce the tobacco industry's ability to create misleading and deceptive packaging.

TOBACCO PACKAGING AS PROMOTION

Product packaging is an essential element of product marketing. Packaging allows brands 'to develop [their] message to the consumer and to act as a valuable form of promotion of the brand name and values'.¹ Packaging is also the marketing tool with the most direct links to the consumer.² Its power is enhanced for tobacco products, which are commonly recognized as 'badge products', inviting their users to identify with the personality and character of the product and its brand image.³ Tobacco packs 'remain with the user once opened and are repeatedly displayed in social situations, thereby serving as a direct form of mobile advertising for the brand'.⁴ The tobacco industry is well aware of the pack's promotional value. For example, in 1995 a Brown and Williamson employee stated:

... if you smoke, a cigarette pack is one of the few things you use regularly that makes a statement about you. A cigarette pack is the only thing you take out of your pocket 20 times a day and lay out for everyone to see. That's a lot different than buying your soap powder in generic packaging".⁵

As other forms of tobacco advertising and promotion are banned, the tobacco pack assumes even greater importance as a promotional vehicle, particularly among adolescents.⁶ Indeed, British American Tobacco and Philip Morris have predicted that pack design alone will drive brand imagery.⁷ Tobacco packaging has been used for many years to generate evocative images such as luxury, freedom, glamour, status, and masculinity or femininity.⁸ Tobacco packaging conveys brand identity through brand logos, colours, fonts, pictures, packaging materials and pack shapes. Advances in printing technology have enabled printing of on-pack imagery on the inner frame card, outer film and tear tape, and the incorporation of holograms, collectable art, metallic finishes, multi-fold stickers photographs and images in pack design.⁹ Bereft of brand image, tobacco products would lose much of their appeal.¹⁰

There are numerous international examples of pack innovations involving changing the size and shape of the pack,¹¹ limited edition designs,¹² and images appealing to target groups such as women and young people.¹³ Internal tobacco industry documents demonstrate how carefully pack design is developed to appeal to certain market segments.¹⁴

Studies demonstrate the power of tobacco packaging to evoke positive images. Scheffels has demonstrated how 'cigarette brands and cigarette package designs are given meaning in relation to personal characteristics, to social identity and to positions in hierarchies of status...'.¹⁵ Roper and Shah have shown the symbolic importance of the brand among pre-adolescents, allowing them to feel part of their reference group, and, in the case of less well off children, helping them disguise their disadvantage.¹⁶ Rootman and Flay have shown how young people use branded cigarettes to appear fashionable, popular and smart.¹⁷

Studies have also shown that plainer tobacco packaging can make a product appear "dull and boring" and reduce the perceived stylishness and attractiveness of its perceived user.¹⁹ A recent study by Wakefield et al showed that cigarette packs that display progressively fewer branding elements, and are presented in a generic brown colour, 'are perceived increasingly unfavourably by smokers'.²⁰ The 'removal of additional design elements produced measurable decrements in smokers' appraisals of the packs, the smokers who might smoke such packs, and the inferred experience of smoking a cigarette from these packs'.²¹

"Some women admit that they buy Virginia Slims, Benson and Hedges etc when they go out at night to complement a desire to look more feminine and stylish. ...more fashionable feminine packaging can enhance the relevance of some of our brands" (Philip Morris 1992).¹⁸



DESIGNING THE TOBACCO PACK TO UNDERMINE PACKAGING REGULATION

In addition to its promotional effects, packaging is manipulated by the tobacco industry to undermine health warnings and encourage the false belief that some brands are less hazardous than others.

Branding imagery and colour are used by the industry to distract attention from health warnings. Some brands incorporate the colours of health warnings into the design of the pack, causing the warnings to blend in to the overall pack design and become less salient.²² Studies have demonstrated that removing colour and brand imagery from packs can increase the credibility and recall of health warnings, as well as overall perceptions of risk from tobacco use.²³

Plain packaging reduces the false belief that some brands are less hazardous than others. Consumers routinely use colours and elements of brand design to make judgments about whether some brands are less harmful than others. For example, Hammond et al have shown that almost half of adult smokers in a recent UK survey reported that cigarettes in a light grey package would deliver less tar and lower health risk compared to cigarettes in an otherwise identical red pack.²⁴ Smokers were significantly less likely to report differences in tar delivery, health risk, and ease of quitting when shown versions of the same brands in plain packaging, without colours and

brand imagery. These findings are consistent with tobacco industry research on consumer perceptions of colours²⁵, as well as a recent study by Hammond, which found that more than three-quarters of adults rated packages with lighter colours as of lower risk to health.²⁶

Without brand imagery, packs would become nothing more than "functional containers for cigarettes", rather than a medium for advertising.²⁷



The colour of the health warning blends into the colour of the pack (Dunhill brand from Australia)



The use of colour to suggest relative harmfulness (Player's brand from Canada)



References: **1** Roper S and Parker C. How (and where) the mighty have fallen: branded litter. *Journal of Marketing Management* 2006; 22; 473-487. p. 474. **2** Hammond D. Tobacco labelling & packaging toolkit: a guide to FCTC Article 11. Retrieved August 24, 2008, from http://www.igloo.org/tobacco_labelling. **3** Freeman B, Chapman S and Rimmer M. The case for the plain packaging of tobacco products. *Addiction* 2008;103; 580-590; Wakefield M, Germain D and Durkin S. How does increasingly plainer cigarette packaging influence adult smokers' perceptions around brand image? An experimental study. *Tobacco Control* published on-line 30 September 2008 doi:10.1136/tc.2008.026732. **4** Wakefield M, Germain D and Durkin S. How does increasingly plainer cigarette packaging influence adult smokers' perceptions around brand image? An experimental study. *Ibid.* **5** Corporate Untitled (Speech notes of a Brown and Williamson employee.). No Date 1985. Brown and Williamson. Retrieved 12 October 2008 from <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/knn70f00>. **6** Wakefield M, Morley C, Horan JK and Cummings KM. The cigarette pack as image: new evidence from tobacco industry documents. *Tobacco Control* 2002;11(Suppl 1):i73-80; Eindhoven G. Elegant packs promote image, defend property rights. *WorldTobacco* 1999 (170):16-8; Grant I, Hassan L, Hastings G, MacKintosh and Eadie D. The influence of branding on adolescent smoking behaviour: exploring the mediating role of image and attitudes. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* 2007;13:275-285. **7** Cummings K, Morley C, Horan J, Steger C and Leavell N. Marketing to America's youth: evidence from corporate documents. *Tobacco Control* 2002;11:i5-17, cited in Freeman B, Chapman S and Rimmer M. The case for the plain packaging of tobacco products. *Addiction* 2008;103; 580-590. **8** Scheffels J. A difference that makes a difference: young adult smokers' accounts of cigarette brands and package design. *Tobacco Control* 2008;17:118-22; Cunningham R. and Kyle K. The case for plain packaging. *Tobacco Control* 1995; 4: 80-86. **9** Freeman B, Chapman S and Rimmer M. The case for the plain packaging of tobacco products. *Addiction* 2008;103; 580-590. **10** Cunningham R and Kyle K. The case for plain packaging. *Tobacco Control* 1995;4:80-86; Freeman B, Chapman S and Rimmer M. The case for the plain packaging of tobacco products. *Addiction* 2008;103; 580-590. **11** Chapman S. Australia: British American Tobacco "addresses" youth smoking. *Tobacco Control* 2006;16:1:2-3; Hammond D. Canada: A new angle on packs. *Tobacco Control* 2006;15:3:150. **12** Freeman B, Chapman S & Rimmer M. The case for the plain packaging of tobacco products. *Addiction* 2008;103; 580-590. **13** Beirne M. RJR gets over the 'hump' with camel, 9 for women. *Brandweek* 2007;48:6, cited in Freeman B, Chapman S and Rimmer M. The case for the plain packaging of tobacco products. *Addiction* 2008;103; 580-590; Freeman B. USA: not so pretty in pink. *Tobacco Control* 2007;16(2):75-6. **14** Pollay RW. Targeting youth and concerned smokers: evidence from Canadian tobacco industry documents. *Tobacco Control* 2000;9:136-37; Wakefield M, Morley C, Horan J and Cummings KM. The cigarette pack as image: new evidence from tobacco industry documents. *Tobacco Control* 2002; 11;Suppl 1; i73-i80. **15** Scheffels J. A difference that makes a difference: young adult smokers' accounts of cigarette brands and package design. *Tobacco Control* 2008;17:118-22. p.121. **16** Roper S and Shah B. Vulnerable consumers: the social impact of branding on children. *Equal Opportunities International* 2007;26:7: 712-728, cited in Hastings G and Rey J. The case for plain packaging of tobacco products. *Tobacco Control* 2008 (in-press). **17** Rootman I and Flay B. A study on youth smoking: plain packaging, health warnings, event marketing and price reductions. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto, University of Illinois at Canada, York University, Ontario Tobacco Research Unit, Addiction Research Foundation, cited in Hastings G and Rey J. The case for plain packaging of tobacco products. *Tobacco Control* 2008 (in-press). **18** Philip Morris. Untitled report of marketing perceptions. 1992. Bates no 2060037883-7936. **19** Wakefield M, Germain D and Durkin S. How does increasingly plainer cigarette packaging influence adult smokers' perceptions around brand image? An experimental study. *Tobacco Control* published on-line 30 September 2008 doi:10.1136/tc.2008.026732; Goldberg ME, et al. When packages can't speak: Possible impacts of plain and generic packaging of tobacco products. March 1995. RJ Reynolds. Retrieved 6 October 2008 from <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/rce50d00>; Beede P and Lawson R. The effect of plain packages on the perception of cigarette health warnings. *Public Health* 1992;106(4):315-22. **20** Wakefield M, Germain D and Durkin S. How does increasingly plainer cigarette packaging influence adult smokers' perceptions around brand image? An experimental study. *Tobacco Control* published on-line 30 September 2008 doi:10.1136/tc.2008.026732 p.9. **21** Ibid. **22** Lindorff 2008, cited in Wakefield M, Germain D and Durkin S, ibid, p.3 **23** Goldberg ME, Pa St U, Kindra G, Univ Of O, Lefebvre J, Tribu L, et al. When Packages Can't Speak: Possible Impacts of Plain and Generic Packaging of Tobacco Products. March 1995. Expert Panel Report prepared at the request Bates No. 521716345/6771. Retrieved 12 October 2008 from <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/rce50d00>; Northrup D and Pollard J. (1995). Plain Packaging of Cigarettes, Event Marketing to Advertise Smoking and other Tobacco Issues: A Survey of Grade Seven and Grade Nine Ontario Students. Toronto, Ontario: York University; Beede P and Lawson R. The effect of plain packages on the perception of cigarette health warnings. *Public Health* 1992;106(4):315-22; Goldberg ME, Liefeld J, Madill J and Vredenburg H. The effect of plain packaging on response to health warnings. *American Journal of Public Health* 1999; 89: 1434-5; Environics Research Group. Consumer Research on the Size of Health Warning Messages – Quantitative Study of Canadian Youth. Final Report. Prepared for Health Canada. June 2008.; Les Études De Marche Createc. Effects of Modified Packaging through increasing the size of warnings on cigarette packages. Prepared for Health Canada, April 2008. **24** Hammond D, Dockrell M, Arnott D, Lee A, Anderson S and McNeill A. Cigarette pack design and perceptions of risk among UK adult and youth: evidence in support of plain packaging. NCRI Conference, 2008 October 5; Birmingham, UK. **25** Wakefield, M., Morley C, Horan JK and Cummings KM. The cigarette pack as image: new evidence from tobacco industry documents. *Tobacco Control* 2002;11(Suppl 1): i73-i80. **26** Hammond D. The Case for Plain Packaging: Labelling practices for tobacco smoke emissions. National Conference on Tobacco or Health; 1 October 2007: Edmonton, AB. **27** Wakefield M, Morley C, Horan J and Cummings MK. The cigarette pack as image: new evidence from tobacco industry documents. *Tobacco Control* 2002;11 Suppl 1; i73-i80.