WHO FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON TOBACCO CONTROL
Pre-hearing Submission
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I am pleased to participate in this public hearing that precedes negotiations on the FCTC. The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, the largest health philanthropy in the U.S., has sponsored tobacco policy research and demonstration programs over the last decade. Experiences with the tobacco epidemic in the U.S. foreshadow the global pandemic, and the FCTC will affect tobacco policy and interventions in the U.S. In particular, I would like to comment on two areas in which we have substantial expertise—the marketing (advertising and promotion) of tobacco products to women and girls and the effect of taxation on tobacco consumption.

Marketing Tobacco to Women

Selling tobacco products to women is the largest product marketing opportunity in the world. Countries like Vietnam, where 74% of men smoke and only 4% of women do, mirror the situation in the U.S. in the early 1900s, when few women smoked. While marketing tobacco to women in the developing world is a relatively recent phenomenon, the industry benefits from 80 years experience marketing tobacco to women in developed nations.

Tobacco marketing uses five major themes to target women: independence, slimness, “healthier” or “light” cigarettes, fashion/glamour, and stress relief. These themes appear in marketing components that strive to attach symbolic meaning to specific tobacco brands. These marketing components include: brand name, packaging, advertising, promotions, sponsorships, and placement in popular culture (e.g. movies and television).

So, what do we know about the impact of marketing on behavior?

A review of tobacco use among women and girls in the U.S. shows clearly that as targeted advertising towards women increased, initiation rates among females also rose. This study, by John Pierce and colleagues (1994), demonstrated that after introduction and targeted marketing of “women’s brands” in 1967, within six years the rates of smoking initiation among girls 13 to 17 years-old had more than doubled. During the same time period, smoking rates among adolescent males remained stable.

Another study by Pierce and colleagues (1995) looked at prevalence data from 1890-1977. The study found two historic periods of increases in smoking uptake among young women and not young men, one from 1926-1939 and the other from 1968-1977. The first coincided with the early Chesterfield and Lucky Strike campaigns aimed at women, and the second followed the appearance of Virginia Slims and the proliferation of women’s brands that began in 1967.
A study of junior high school students that examined their exposure to tobacco advertising in magazines found that adolescents with high exposure were more likely to be smokers than students with low exposures to advertising (Botvin et al. 1993). A study that reviewed 20 years of cigarette advertising found that whenever the advertising of a brand increased, teen smoking of that brand was 3 times more likely than adult smoking to increase (Pollay et al. 1996).

A longitudinal study of adolescents in California, who had never smoked at the outset of the study, provides evidence that advertising and promotional activities can influence them to start (Pierce et al. 1998). Although having a favorite ad predicted progression, willingness to use a promotional item more effectively predicted progression to use. The authors attributed 34 percent of smoking initiation to advertising and promotion. Another longitudinal analysis of California adolescent never-smokers determined that tobacco marketing was a stronger influence in encouraging adolescents to smoke than exposure to peer or family smokers or demographic variables (Evans et al. 1995).

Other research has also shown a link between familiarity with advertising and brand preferences to smoking among adolescents in the U.S. (Volk et al., 1996; Schooler et al., 1996; Klitzner et al., 1991; Pierce et al., 1991). Owning promotional items or willingness to possess a promotional item has been strongly associated with smoking experimentation (Pierce et al., 1998; Schooler et al., 1996; Sargent et al., 1997). And, two national studies found that the three most heavily advertised brands—Marlboro, Camel, and Newport—have substantially higher market penetration among adolescents than adults (Cummings et al., 1997; Barker et al., 1994). These 3 brands have 80% of the teen cigarette market but only 35% of overall sales.

Studies in Japan and China identify some of the effects of cigarette advertising in Asia. One study of 198 nursing students in Japan, provided information on young women’s contact with cigarette advertising and smoking behavior, with 95 percent of respondents reporting exposure to advertising (Sone, 1997). Over 50 percent of the students who had past/current smoking histories reported being “frequently” exposed to cigarette advertising via TV and billboards, while 50 percent of never-smokers reported only “occasional” exposure.

A study of college students from 12 universities in three cities in China looked at brand familiarity, recall of advertising, attitudes toward advertising and cigarette use (Zhu et al., 1998). Eight brands were most familiar—four foreign and four domestic. The leading brand was Marlboro. Chinese students were more likely to have seen advertising for foreign brands than domestic. Current smokers who reported having seen a Marlboro ad in the previous month were significantly more likely to prefer Marlboros.
Among adolescents (13-15 years old) in Hong Kong, perceiving advertisements for cigarettes as attractive was more strongly associated with smoking than 13 other factors (adjusted OR=2.68; 2.62 in boys and 2.71 in girls) (Lam et al., 1998). Participation in a cigarette promotional activity was also positively related to use (adjusted OR=1.24).

In a study of smoking in Vietnam, the country with the highest prevalence in the world (74% of males smoke), and where print, electronic, and outdoor advertising are banned, 38 percent recall tobacco advertising (Jenkins et al., 1997). Of these, 71 percent recalled a non-Vietnamese brand as the brand advertised. Only 16 percent smoke non-Vietnamese cigarettes, although 38 percent would like to if they could afford it.

Following the 1995 India-New Zealand cricket series, a survey was conducted among youth in Goa to determine the effect of sports sponsorship on tobacco experimentation. Findings reveal that despite a high level of knowledge about the adverse effects of tobacco, cricket sponsorship by tobacco companies increased the likelihood of experimentation among both boys and girls (Vaidya, 1996). A majority of those surveyed believed that cricket players smoked, and some expressed the opinion that smoking improved athletic performance, including batting and fielding.

Certainly the developing world, with its much lower rates of smoking among women, is prime territory for targeted marketing that uses gender differences to create appeal. In addition to affecting individual behavior, cigarette marketing affects organizational behavior that influences women's preferences.

Behavior of Women's Magazines

Cigarette advertising appears to affect the coverage of the risks of smoking in magazines, especially women's magazines. A study of magazines from 1959-1969 and 1973-1986 looked at the probability that magazines carrying cigarette advertisements would cover the risks of smoking (Warner et al., 1992). The probability of a magazine including an article addressing health risks of smoking was 11.9% if they didn't carry cigarette advertising and 8.3% if they did. For women's magazines, the probabilities were 11.7% and 5%, respectively. An increase of 1 percent in the share of advertising revenue derived from cigarette ads decreased the probability of women's magazines covering the risks of smoking three times as much as in other magazines.

A more recent study of 13 popular women's magazines from 1997 and 1998, noted that the ratio of cigarette advertisements to anti-smoking messages increased from 6:1 in 1997 to 11:1 in 1998 (Luckachko et al., 1999). There was a 54 percent decline in anti-smoking messages and a 13 percent decline in cigarette advertisements from 1997 to 1998. Articles about smoking made up 1 percent or less of all health-related articles. Where tobacco was mentioned it was...
often relegated to a mere reference. For example, a *Redbook* article on the top nine ways to prevent cancer, mentioned quitting smoking in the introduction but didn’t list it as one of the “Top 9”.

Marketing, then, affects both individual and organizational behavior. Individual women, novice and experienced tobacco users, receive and act on marketing messages transmitted through brand name, packaging, advertising, and promotion strategies. Direct advertising revenues affect the coverage of health concerns about smoking in media, such as women’s magazines. Sponsorships and the placement of tobacco within popular culture send additional signals that make tobacco use appear normative and reinforce the marketing messages of more direct forms of advertising and promotion. In some cases, such as sponsorship signage at televised motorsport racing events, these sponsorships provide advertising exposure that circumvents advertising bans. Sponsorship of organizations with which women and their families interact (e.g. the arts, museums, community fairs) associate tobacco with everyday life and the social fabric or infrastructure in which women live. Tobacco support for advocacy organizations and political leadership groups limits the involvement of these organizations in protecting the health of women.

FCTC

Thus, the FCTC must contain strong restrictions on tobacco marketing practices. Without such restrictions, rates of smoking among women and girls in the developing world will continue to rise, affecting the health and welfare of women and their children. Likewise, rates of smoking among women and girls in the developed world will continue to be unacceptably high.

Taxes

Numerous studies on the effect of raising the retail price of tobacco products have been conducted in the U.S. Evidence by Chaloupka *et al* suggests that increasing the retail price of tobacco products, especially through taxation, reduces demand for tobacco products. Youth and those with less disposable income are more likely to reduce their use of tobacco. In the U.S. these studies document that for a 10% increase in price, demand declines approximately 4% in adults and 8% in youth. In states where dedicated dollars have been devoted to tobacco control programs (e.g. Florida, California, Massachusetts), consumption of tobacco products among adults and youth has declined.

General Principles
The FCTC should not prohibit countries from going further than the provisions of the FCTC, and should not pre-empt countries or sub-country government entities from taking actions that protect their populations from tobacco.

Tobacco is now a global product, sold and marketed throughout the world. It can no longer be contained or controlled by any single nation. Protecting the public’s health requires a global approach to a global epidemic.