

MEDICALIZATION AND REPRESENTATIONS OF SMOKING
IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE AND IMAGES

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*A dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the London School of Economics and Political Science*

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MEDICALIZATION AND REPRESENTATIONS OF SMOKING IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE AND IMAGES.

Gemma Louise Penn

Abstract

An approach to smoking through an analysis of its representations, grounded in the medicalization literature, highlights the inadequacies of a narrow medical perspective and some of its negative implications. This does not require that we abandon the medical discourse, but stresses the importance of setting it in a wider representational context. Drawing on the work of Saussure, Barthes, Eco and Foucault, the author constructs a theory of interaction amongst representations suited to both discourse and images. To investigate the medicalization of smoking, four empirical studies are reported which include quantitative and qualitative approaches to press reporting at both macro- and micro-levels, cigarette advertising and packaging. There have been medical representations of smoking since the introduction of tobacco into Britain. However, a thematic analysis of tobacco-related reporting in the *Times* newspaper (1946-1995) found that these representations have expanded and diversified, becoming increasingly linked to other representations (e.g. financial) and generating new themes (e.g. discrimination, litigation). Medical representations, however, are contested and subject to subversion by alternative representations, including libertarian and alternative medical constructions of smoking. These processes are investigated in a detailed structural and rhetorical analysis of a contemporary newspaper article, together with related correspondence and cartoons. Quantitative and qualitative analyses of 754 UK cigarette advertisements from four national newspapers (1946-1995) identified an increase in medical and packaging-related representations of smoking and a decrease in financial representations, representations of the act of smoking and of cigarettes as social currency. The final, questionnaire, study (with 60 participants) found, among other things, a clear and consensually-held system of health-related signification in contemporary UK cigarette packaging in ratings of packets. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the implications of medicalization for smoking-related policy and for the smoker, and of smoking for the medicalization literature.

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PREFACE

In his course, "Drafting and writing a PhD Thesis", Professor Dunleavey advocated framing one's research question in the form of a paradox, as a rhetorical device for involving one's reader and laying claim to originality. One may construct a persuasive argument and demonstrate a novel contribution by describing and then answering the paradox. At first sight smoking appears to provide considerable scope for paradoxes. Here are just two: the first serious, the second frivolous.

Paradox One Since the 1950s, a substantial body of medical and scientific evidence has accrued that smoking causes ill health and premature death, yet in the 1990s health campaigners are still battling to find ways of persuading people not to buy this form of death.

Paradox Two "If you resolve to give up smoking, drinking and loving, you don't actually live longer; it just seems longer." (attributed to Clement Freud¹)

In Foucauldian style, I would like to introduce the chapters that follow by first explaining what they are not intended to accomplish. This thesis does not attempt to explain why people smoke, nor why some people find it difficult to give up smoking. It does not attempt to chart public attitudes to smoking, nor to propose any programme for changing public behaviour. Instead of constructing and then exploding, or exposing, any specific paradox of smoking, this thesis might be characterised more accurately as being about paradox itself.

I will explain what I mean by using the two paradoxes cited above. Both are premised on a public knowledge that smoking has a range of associated negative health consequences. The first paradox states this explicitly. The second paradox relies on it for its wit as an inversion of 'common knowledge'. But Clement Freud's observation is amusing for other reasons. First, it provides a means of laughing at the medical authorities whose words it

¹quoted in *The Observer*, London 27th December 1964.

parodies. Second, it provides a means of 'sublimating' the painful frustration of the smoker who is attempting to give up; and, third, as the apparent testimony of the successful ex-smoker, it subverts the 'common knowledge' that ex-smokers are the most zealous critics of the behaviour. To the smoker who is tired of being lectured by the apostate, this last reason provides a Freudian-style reconstruction of the ex-smoker: he or she is 'in denial'.

The story that I intend to tell is this: Smoking has been the site of one of this century's most spectacular medical triumphs. I do not intend by this that medicine has 'cured' smoking. Rather, medicine has colonised our words and images of smoking so successfully that a 'cure' for smoking does not strike us as an especially odd or novel metaphor; indeed, it may not sound like a metaphor at all. This is because smoking itself, and not just the illnesses it causes, has been medicalized, or constructed as an 'illness'. 'Smoking' and 'lung cancer' achieved 'critical flicker-fusion frequency' some time ago. This association has been naturalised through the medical annexation of 'risk', and the medical discourse has developed its own account of the smoker's apparent recalcitrance in the form of the attribution of addiction.

However, while addiction seems to account for the health campaigners' predicament in the first paradox, it is unclear that the medical discourse can adequately address the second paradox. This paradox hints at a subversion which the medical account is obliged to deny. The subversion is not simply an inversion of medical knowledge. It is a more radical proposal that the medical discourse on smoking has ignored a fundamental issue: pleasure. That is, the paradox proposes new terms for the discussion of smoking.

This thesis explores the medicalization of smoking through studies of the representations of smoking in public discourse and images. The first chapter introduces the substantive literature which broadly contextualises the studies which follow: the Medicalization Thesis. This literature is broadly critical of the redefinition of social issues and life events as medical problems, although the grounds on which criticism is made vary substantially, as does the extent of the perceived problem. Two distinct approaches to medicalization are considered in relation to smoking. The political economy approach is critical of successive governments' dependence on tobacco taxation revenues and their perceived reluctance to adopt strong anti-smoking measures. Those measures which have been adopted, such as tax increases, have also been criticised for disproportionately hurting the underprivileged, and for diverting responsibility away from structural and political factors.

In addition, whilst tax increases are often justified, in part, on the grounds that the extra revenue will pay for the medical treatment and care of people with smoking-related illnesses, smokers are occasionally denied access to these resources. The second, social constructionist, approach is less well-developed in relation to smoking. The literature review focuses on the role of social psychology in buttressing a primarily individualistic and medical view of smoking. It is argued that the process of medicalization has delegitimised alternative representations of smoking and that the social sciences have contributed to discourses which construct the smoker negatively, as irrational and morally undisciplined, or weak-willed, in their failure to control their addiction.

Curiously, the medicalization thesis generates several paradoxes of its own in relation to smoking. Whilst writers on other controversial health-related topics conservatively limit themselves to calls for changes in legislation regulating public representations, such as calls for censorship, as substantial shifts in public views are considered 'pie in the sky', smoking seems to furnish a clear example of just such a broad sea-change. It strikes me that this might, in part, account for the relative emphasis in the medicalization literature on political economy-style criticisms compared with social constructionist-style criticisms. That is, to put it crudely, smoking has become too politically incorrect to either champion or excuse. Indeed, the more usually cited 'victim' of the problem is the non-smoker, or the passive smoker. For example, following Crawford (1994), it might be suggested that the non-smoker is allowed to become unjustifiably smug at his or her 'low risk' status, and thus feel indignant when he or she succumbs to the illness in question. This may lead to an over-zealous hunt for somebody to blame: the smoker. In this way, the medicalization thesis highlights the implications of medicalization for non-smokers as well as smokers.

This thesis, then, is situated at the unfashionable end of the critical spectrum. Put simply, it attempts to extend the arguments of the social constructionist approach to a topic which, for some, may appear 'beyond the pale'. In doing this, however, the antipathy towards medicalization implicit (and occasionally explicit) in the critical literature is questioned. Not only does the medicalization thesis have implications for smoking, smoking also has implications for the medicalization thesis. The literature highlights inadequacies in the medical construction of smoking, but smoking highlights inadequacies in the medicalization thesis' construction of medicalization itself.

This thesis is also contextualised by a theoretical literature, which is discussed in chapter

two. This literature theorises the nature of representational space. Drawing on the work of Saussure, Barthes and Eco, discourse and images are conceptualised as competing paths through representational space. This 'space' is not structured in a pre-given way, but rather consists of an infinite labyrinth of potential relationships. Each discourse realises a fragment of this potential labyrinth by asserting certain connections (e.g. 'smoking causes lung cancer'), and at the same time, denying other connections (e.g. 'smoking does not cause lung cancer'). The theoretical framework also employs Foucault's concepts of globalising discourses and subjugated knowledges. A globalising discourse, in terms of the labyrinth, is the dominant path through the labyrinth. Subjugated knowledges are alternative paths which conflict with, and are suppressed by, the globalising discourse. The relationship between discourses, or more generally, representations, however, is more complicated than this. One representation may simply ignore another representation. It may seek to deny it or to undermine its authority or coherence. Or, it may attempt to subvert it, or in Barthes' terms, to recuperate it. These three forms of interaction are both objects of study in the subsequent empirical chapters and analytic tools.

The research methods used in the empirical studies are, perhaps, atypical in the context of much contemporary social constructionist work, as they attempt to synthesise both quantitative and qualitative techniques. This synthesis is reviewed in chapter three, which discusses a series of related oppositions and tensions between broadly quantitative and broadly qualitative approaches.

The fourth chapter is historical. The first part provides a brief survey of the history of smoking, and especially of medical discourses on smoking. The section concludes with a more detailed review of one key turning point in the history of medicalization: the degeneration theory of the end of the nineteenth century. The second part of this historical chapter is an empirical study of the complete abstract of tobacco-related reporting in one UK national newspaper. The study charts the evolution of tobacco-related themes over a 50 year period, from 1946 to 1995. This period witnessed a substantial increase in medical and related themes, together with a realignment of other themes, such as the financial, to the medical.

The fifth chapter reports a detailed structural and discursive analysis of a single contemporary newspaper article: "Smokeless Zones" by Richard Klein, together with its related correspondence and cartoons. The analysis identifies several different

constructions, or representations of smoking, and examines their rhetorical relationships. The article itself is broadly critical of a narrow medical representation, and proposes several alternative representations, including a subverted, or alternative medical representation, and a libertarian discourse. The letters, in turn, criticise these alternative representations from a range of perspectives, including the medical.

Chapter six reports a study of UK press cigarette advertising over the same 50 year period as chapter four. The analyses focus on four types of representation. Medical representations, which include attempts to subvert the medical discourse by opening up a representational space of relative risk, or safety (e.g. filtered and low tar cigarettes), have increased over the period. Financial representations, for example, claims of value, together with representations of the act of smoking, and of the 'sociable cigarette' have declined over the period. Representations of packaging, and especially visual and playful representations of pack livery, have increased over the period, with advertisements increasingly advertising boxes rather than their contents.

While packaging has been the focus of increasing attention in advertising, it has seldom received much attention in academe. For this reason, and because the proposed advertising ban will leave it as one of the few means of promoting cigarettes, the final empirical chapter focuses on cigarette packaging. This study analyses a near-complete synchronic set of contemporary (1995) UK cigarette packets. The set is approached as a sign-system. The first part of the study explores aspects of packet livery which signify tar level, menthol and price. The second part of the study analyses quantitative and qualitative responses from 60 questionnaires to a sample of 40 packets, in relation to five dimensions of signification. This part of the study largely confirms that the sign-system is consensual, although respondents had some difficulty in describing in words exactly what it was about certain packets that made them appear 'economical', 'expensive', etc.

In different ways, and with different materials, the empirical chapters identify a number of representations of smoking. Each chapter looks at both medical and alternative representations. Medical representations of smoking have attained dominance in contemporary public discourse and images. Even types of publicity which are antithetical to the medical account communicate within a medical framework, often attempting to recuperate the medical. This, in itself, is evidence for the strength of the medical. To return to the second paradox: would it still be amusing if the 'common knowledge' it

contested was not so widely held?

The critical approaches studied in the interaction of different representations are themselves critical tools. Their identification and illustration in this thesis provides the critic with a means of conceptualising the complex interplay of discourse and images in relation to one particular issue, but they may be applied elsewhere. In some respects, such tools provide a more practical contribution to social debate and analysis than is furnished by any specific analysis in itself. However, some more practical conclusions may also be drawn from the present research.

Curiously, while the medical discourse on smoking exhorts a straightforward moral imperative: not to smoke, it may also frustrate the accomplishment of this imperative. Alternative, non-medical representations are delegitimised, but may attempt to subvert the medical. Health campaigners would do well to address these alternative representations. The medical discourse may also delegitimise alternative representations which would serve to dissuade people from smoking. A representational approach to smoking, and especially one grounded in the medicalization literature thus highlights both the inadequacies of a narrow medical perspective and some of its negative implications. These negative implications and inadequacies do not require that we abandon the medical discourse on smoking, but they do suggest the importance of seeing the medical discourse in its wider representational context.

CHAPTER ONE

MEDICALIZATION AND SMOKING

This thesis explores representations of smoking from the perspective of the medicalization thesis. This chapter begins with a review of the range of critical positions adopted in relation to the process of medicalization. The place of smoking within these critical perspectives is then discussed, with particular emphasis on the recent historic role of social psychology in the process of medicalization.

1.1 MEDICALIZATION AND ITS CRITICS

Conrad (1992 p.210) notes that the term 'medicalization' colonised the social science literature during the 1970s, although much of the work built upon earlier critiques of medicine and psychiatric medicine (e.g. Parsons, 1951; Szasz, 1961). Whilst the literal meaning of the term is non-evaluative, the literature usually adopts a critical position. I shall refer broadly to the 'medicalization thesis', but it should be noted that this encompasses a range of different, and sometimes contradictory, constructions and critiques of medicalization, united only in their identification of medicalization as a process and in their broadly critical position with respect to medicine.

Conrad characterises medicalization as a sociocultural process of "defining a problem in medical terms, using medical language to describe a problem, adopting a medical framework to understand a problem, or using a medical intervention to "treat" it" (Conrad, 1992 p.211). He argues that the process may also be reversed (demedicalization), as seems to have been the case with homosexuality¹ and that medicalization is most usefully conceptualised as a matter of degree. Conrad (1992 p.220) lists several factors which may influence the degree of medicalization: "the support of the medical profession, availability of interventions or treatments, existence of competing definitions, coverage by medical insurance, and the presence of groups challenging the medical definition".

¹Although the advent of HIV/AIDS has served to 'remedicalize' homosexuality in a different way.

One field in which the medicalization thesis is especially well-established is that of mental health. One of the earlier arguments against the concept of 'mental' illness was that the analogy with physical illness breaks down under scrutiny. Szasz, for example, rejected the analogy on the grounds that the diagnosis of mental illness lies on a continuum, compared with the discrete criteria for diagnosis of physical illness. Whilst this distinction is erroneous (physical illnesses are also diagnosed using continuous criteria, such as blood pressure), a different distinction has also been proposed: mental and physical illness diagnoses carry different political and legal implications. The 'sectioned' mental patient forfeits the right to vote and to control his or her personal finances, and so on. The physically ill person does not. In addition, whilst physically ill patients are usually self-presenting, diagnosis of some psychotic disorders requires a lack of awareness on the part of the 'patient' of his or her 'condition' (Gorenstein, 1984). Psychiatric medicine was criticised for hiding behind the mantle of medicine in order to enforce an essentially moral and social agenda. In his article, *The psychiatrist as double agent*, Szasz criticises the structural position of the US college psychiatrist and his inevitable duplicity: To the student:

"He is a compassionate counsellor and therapist who promises to be a faithful conspirator with the student in his struggle for liberation from parent and educational authorities. Towards the institution and the outside world, he ... is a wise physician who will select and control students and inform about them as the needs of the school and the community require" (Szasz, 1967 p.160).

Since these early criticisms a 'necker-cube' flip has taken place. Whereas the medical model of mental illness was criticised on account of the inappropriateness of the analogy with physical illness, more recently, physical illness has been accused of precisely the same faults as were formerly considered the preserve of psychiatric medicine: The power-relations between doctor and patient; claims of territorial expansionism and professional aggrandisement, or closed-shop practices; of resource gate-keeping and social control through surveillance, have all been debated in the context of physical medicine.

Lupton (1994 p.6-13) provides a useful three-way classification of different approaches to medicalization: the functionalist approach, the political economy approach and the social constructionist approach. The functionalist approach associated with the work of Talcott Parsons and was popular during the 1950s and 1960s. For this approach, illness is a

state of potential social deviance in which the person is unable to fulfil social expectations of independence and the ability to work. Parsons (1951 p.46-7) identified the 'sick role' as a means by which such incipient deviance was socially controlled by doctors. The sick role has four related aspects: exemption from normal social obligations, exemption from blame for the condition and exemption from guilt in not fulfilling social obligations. Finally, however, the sick person is obliged to want and to try to get well and must submit to medical authority. Whilst the construction of the patient-doctor relationship recognises a power-imbalance (for example, the doctor has the power to withhold the sick-role and construct the patient as a malingerer), it is glossed as consensual: doctor and patient work together in the best interests of the patient. The approach has been criticised for ignoring the range of differing interests brought to the medical encounter by both patients and doctors which militate against consensual harmony.

The political economy perspective also emphasises the role of medicine as a means of social and moral control. However, this role is explicitly politicised. In one form, drawing on Marxist theory, access to medical resources is seen as determined by one's economic value as a worker and a consumer. This perspective criticises medicine's reinforcement of existing social and economic inequalities. One focus has been the reinforcement of class distinctions, with medicine seen as imposing specifically middle class values: "Those who understand, follow, respond to and are grateful for treatment are good patients; and that describes the middle class" (Strauss, 1970 p.15). A similar, feminist, argument proposes that medicine is necessarily patriarchal and reinforces societal patriarchy. For example, researchers such as Riessman (1983) point to the greater medicalization of women's natural life events, especially in relation to reproduction, in comparison with men's (see also Williams and Calnan, 1996 p.1610 and references therein).

A number of specific and related criticisms of medicalization are associated with this perspective. The narrow, disease model of illness, in conjunction with an emphasis on the treatment of acute illnesses and what Kennedy (1981 p.143) calls the 'technological imperative', lead to neglect of wider social and economic causes of illness: doctors treat diseases, not politically and socially-situated people. In contrast with the model of the sick-role as exempting those who are ill from blame, this approach argues that the individualising approach focuses the responsibility for sickness firmly on the individual:

"The last resort of those faced with the carnage of lung cancer is to say,

"We have done our best. We have shown the link between smoking and cancer of the lung. It is just that people will not stop smoking." People are castigated as feckless or irresponsible ... This may appear to let medicine off the hook, but what is lost, or ignored, is the fact that the victim, the one whose life patterns are responsible for his illness, is a product of his environment and often can do little to shape or control it." (Kennedy, 1981 p.52-3)

Far from removing any moral stigma attached to illness, this variant of the medicalization thesis proposes that medicine both constructs and enforces a moral code of increasingly wide application, encompassing a range of life events from birth to death.

Critics such as Kennedy (1981 p.76-98) argue that medics are overzealous in their claim to unique expertise on general moral issues, such as decisions about to whom abortion and fertility treatment should be made available and access to medical information (e.g. whether a cancer patient should be told that he or she is dying), as well as their general antipathy towards forms of lay participation in ethical committees. Allegations of medical negligence seldom result in prosecution or professional sanctions, as "it is currently an offence for a doctor to disparage the services of a fellow practitioner ... if Dr A reports Dr B for incompetence, Dr A is more likely to face disciplinary action" (Thompson and Taylor, 1997 p.10) Critics have also argued that narrow medical training, professional territoriality and expansionism, and the symbiosis between the medical establishment and the pharmaceutical industry, or more generally, capitalism, lead to a neglect of community health work, preventative medicine and political approaches to health promotion, such as prohibitions on the promotion of 'unhealthy' products.

More radical critiques question the jurisdiction of the medical establishment over increasingly wide areas of everyday life. McKeown (1979) argues that one of medicine's 'star witnesses', or warrants - the disappearance of many infectious diseases in the West: TB, diphtheria, cholera, typhoid, etc - was not the result of medical advances, but rather of more mundane environmental improvements in housing, sanitation, nutrition and methods of birth control such that demands on food and other physical resources were reduced. In addition, many of today's illnesses appear to be relatively unaffected by medical attention. Illich (1976) argues, further, that much of modern medicine itself is

positively harmful - a concept for which he coined the term 'iatrogenesis'². For example, antibiotics have provided the appropriate selection pressures for the evolution of resistant strains, or what the media have styled 'superbugs'. Illich also criticises medicine for generating dependence on doctors and eroding the role of self-care.

The political economy approach has been criticised for unbalanced negativity in its appraisal of medicine and for constructing the patient as the passive object of medicine. In focusing on the wider, structural problems of medicine, the political economy approach has tended to ignore smaller-scale aspects of the medical encounter, and the negotiation of power-relations between doctors and patients.

The third general approach to medicalization is social constructionism. Lupton (1994) identifies three major influences on the growth of this perspective: 'poststructuralism', 'second wave feminism' and Foucauldian scholarship. Social constructionism is an interdisciplinary enterprise. Its application to medicalization has drawn contributions from, amongst others, philosophers of knowledge, anthropologists, historians and sociologists. A key concern of social constructionism is the relationship between discourses, or what Foucault terms 'knowledges', and power-relations. A range of positions has been adopted with regard to the truth claims of discourses. Radical analysts hold all knowledge to be relative, and argue that there is no such thing as 'truth': that all 'truths' are politically-motivated, and that, for example, scientific claims are no more or less 'true' than, say, 'folk wisdom', astrology, or so-called 'primitive' belief systems. This approach has been dubbed "new creationism" in relation to its (mis)representation of biological accounts of human behaviour (Ehrenreich and McIntosh, 1997 p.12). The extreme relativist position has been criticised as radically destabilising. While this is sometimes its intention, there is a tendency to become enmeshed in the profound negativity of the critical process itself, without looking for alternative solutions to problems.

Less radical authors tend, instead, to bracket issues of truth-claims, and to focus on the discursive construction and consequences of specific knowledges: "Medicalization researchers are much more interested in the etiology of definitions than the etiology of the behaviour or condition" (Conrad, 1992 p.212). Whilst the reality of bodily conditions and experiences is not questioned, the approach stresses the importance of social and cultural

²"disabling impact of professional control over medicine" (Illich, 1976 p.11)

factors in their interpretation.

One important critical tool employed by medicalization researchers in the social constructionist tradition is that of history. This approach highlights the socially-contingent nature of concepts and thus undermines the naturalisation of current knowledges and assumptions of linear progress. The historical approach works not simply by describing past systems of belief, but also in showing how these beliefs related to and reproduced the power-relations of the time. That is, it undermines the pretensions of past (and, by implication, present) scientific theories to objectivity and political neutrality.

It should be emphasised that the political economy and social constructionist approaches are not incompatible: they often intersect in their concerns. However, the social constructionist conception of power is more subtle. In Foucauldian terms, whereas the political economy approach characterises medical power as a straightforward, coercive relationship of oppression and obedience ("sovereign power"), social constructionists prefer to conceptualise medical power as "disciplinary" power, operating through processes of surveillance and normalising discourses (Foucault, 1980 p.106-7). This approach implicates the 'human sciences' as the site of the production of normalising discourses.

In counterpoint to the political economy criticism that medical approaches are too narrow, much of the social constructionist literature argues, instead, that the medical discourse is continually expanding to encompass ever-widening areas of everyday life. While this is partly a function of the application of traditional medical representations to new 'problems', the nature of the medical discourse itself has expanded. A key concept in this expansion is 'risk'. Medicine has included within its jurisdiction not just the sick, but the potentially sick. Medical risk-management is cast as a moral exercise, including surveillance and the prescription of 'healthy' and the proscription of 'unhealthy' behaviours and lifestyles.

This surveillance takes a variety of forms, including the statistical analysis of the correlates of 'risk behaviours'. That is, medicine and the human sciences both define and naturalise biological and social 'norms'. These norms are not value-free statistics, but medico-moral prescriptions. People are encouraged to take responsibility for their health, that is, to internalise the process of surveillance. Medically identified risks carry moral implications for those who are perceived to flout them. These implications include the legitimising of discrimination against the non-conformist.

1.2 MEDICALIZATION AND SMOKING

Before looking at the literature on smoking in more detail, it can be asked: Is there evidence that smoking has been medicalized? While this is one of the central questions addressed in this thesis, a few observations are in order here. The historical literature review in chapter four argues that smoking has had an associated medical discourse since the introduction of tobacco into Europe. However, it also argues that this discourse has changed substantially over time, and that over the past few decades especially, the medical discourse has attained pre-eminence.

Certainly, there is substantial medical interest in smoking. Goodman (1993 p.242) cites the US Surgeon General as stating in 1990 that "smoking represents the most extensively documented cause of disease ever investigated in the history of biomedical research." More than this, smoking itself, and not simply its health consequences, has been defined in medical terms. Doll, one of the authors of the original 1950s research on smoking and lung cancer, is quoted as saying more recently, "Now that we have the maturity of the smoking epidemic, we can see what the really long-term effects are" (in Brown, 1994). Smoking is commonly constructed using the medical discourse of addiction, and the smoker has been brought under medical jurisdiction as the 'potentially sick'. Medical 'treatments' for smoking are available, including clinics (see Appendix 4.1 section 12) and products marketed as giving up aids, such as nicotine gum and patches. The patches, which resemble plasters, are often marketed with scientific discourses and imagery.

The various approaches to medicalization outlined above have received differential emphasis in the literature on smoking. Broadly speaking, the political economy perspective is far better represented than the social constructionist approach. The term 'medicalization' itself, however, is rarely used in conjunction with smoking. Database searches of *sociofile* and *psychlit* yielded substantial numbers of references to both 'medicalization'³ and 'smoking' separately, but found only two references in which both terms occurred. The following sections on the medicalization of smoking will review both approaches, and will focus in particular on the contribution of social psychologists to both the medical discourse and to alternative perspectives on smoking.

³Incidentally, this abortive literature search persuaded me to use the American 'z' instead of the British 's' in the spelling of medicalization, as this was, overwhelmingly, the majority usage.

1.3 The Political Economy of Smoking

Researchers within the political economy perspective have criticised governments for failing to act promptly on the emerging medical knowledges of a range of health-consequences attached to smoking. The narrow focus of medicalization is criticised for neglecting other social and cultural aspects of smoking and smoking-related illness. Kennedy, for example, argues that: "Despite the hundreds of millions of pounds spent here and elsewhere on the pursuit of treatment and cure for lung cancer, in the true traditions of modern scientific medicine, and with little or no success, relatively little work has been carried out by medical researchers (as opposed to advertisers) to discover why people smoke, and how they can be helped to stop" (Kennedy, 1981 p.63). The first government-sponsored research was proposed in 1980. Kennedy comments, "Why, it could be asked, has it taken so long to commission such research?"

It has been argued by a number of authors in the political economy tradition, including Taylor (1984) and Hewat (1991), that the strength of the tobacco lobby, together with dependence on tax revenue from tobacco has been a major disincentive to governments to adopt anti-smoking measures. This has prompted one author to ask, "Just who is addicted to what?" (Barwick, 1994). The following quote from Kennedy is illustrative:

"In 1975 the *New Scientist* reported that a "grisly analysis" had been carried out by the Health Department, showing that: "a reduction in smoking would eventually cost the country more than was gained; not only would there be loss of revenue from taxation but also the additional 'burden' of having to pay out pensions to the people who had given up smoking before it had killed them." And of course there are about 30 000 jobs in the tobacco industry to consider, not to mention the £11½ million that newspapers derive from advertisements and the livelihood of corner shopkeepers" (Kennedy, 1981 p.64).

(see also Hewat, 1991 p.3, for a similar argument attributed to a parliamentary source.) While Kennedy goes on to champion health values instead of economic ones, the medicalization of smoking may be seen not as a counter-argument to economic priorities, but, rather, as their symbiotic partner. It justifies increased taxation as a disincentive to smokers without weaning governments from their dependence on taxation revenue. Tax

increases are also justified medically by the proposal that they should be used to fund smoking-related medical training, 'treatment' and research. That is, government smoking-related policy underwrites the capitalist maintenance of two industries: tobacco and medicine. Critics have also argued that tax increases have hit the already underprivileged hardest, with no effect on their consumption of cigarettes (see sections 1.6 and 5.10).

More subtly, some writers have argued that government health promotional activities are hypocritical: "As well as performing the role of publicizing the dynamic and philanthropic nature of state-sponsored health promotional activities, the discursive strategies of mass media health campaigns routinely serve the political purpose of obscuring the relationship between the state and vested interests by focusing on individual behaviour" (Lupton, 1995 p.127). In addition, critics have argued that stressing the role of smoking in the aetiology of cancer has allowed successive governments to neglect other sources of carcinogens, such as industrial waste, pesticides and car emissions (Epstein, 1990).

The dual role of medicine as moral authority and as medical resource gatekeeper has led some medics to propose that smokers who cannot or will not give up should be denied medical treatment (see Appendix 4.1 section 15, and Lupton, 1995 p.73). In addition, political economy writers have been interested in the on-going attempts by smokers and their relatives, and more recently, passive smokers, to claim compensation from tobacco companies for smoking-related illnesses (e.g. Hewat, 1991 p.135-9).

One point at which the political economy and social constructionist perspectives on smoking intersect is in relation to media and finance. Many of the arguments here will be reviewed in section 1.7 below. These arguments focus on the role of the 'tobacco advertising dollar' in shaping media representations of smoking. Finally, political economy authors have studied the activities of tobacco companies on a global level, and have argued that western restrictions on smoking and its propaganda have led to the exploitation of the underprivileged within western societies and of developing countries, in some cases with the connivance of western governments (e.g. Hewat, 1991 ch.5).

1.4 Dissonant Smokers

One common motif of discourses on smoking is the opposition: free will versus addiction. This offers the smoker a Cartesian schizoid identity ("The spirit is willing but the flesh is

weak"). Proponents of each 'side' are represented in the social psychological literature. The 'free will' approach will be discussed in relation to the work of researchers in the cognitive dissonance tradition, and the 'addiction' approach in relation to the work of Schachter and his colleagues. Both the 'free will' and 'addiction' approaches have implications for the smoker: They furnish ready-made languages for thinking and talking about smoking. These implications will also be discussed.

Leon Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance is among the best known social psychological theories concerned with (psychological) consistency. Festinger (1957 p.153-6) uses the issue of smoking and its health risks to illustrate how people deal with dissonant information. He reasoned that smokers would be more likely than non-smokers to dismiss the then-new reports of an association between smoking and lung cancer, on the grounds that they conflicted with the prior cognition, "I smoke". He reports the results of a 1954 poll conducted in Minnesota, in which respondents were asked, "There have been some recent reports of scientific studies to learn whether or not cigarette smoking may be a cause of lung cancer. Do you think the relationship between cigarette smoking and lung cancer is proven or not proven?" He concluded that, "the more people smoked, the more they refused to accept information which would have been dissonant with smoking and the greater the tendency to have a definite opinion on the matter." (Festinger, 1957 p.155)⁴. Further evidence was provided by Brock and Balloun (1967) who found that smokers were more likely than non-smokers to press a button to remove static from a message disputing the link between smoking and cancer.

Festinger's theory is biologically grounded. Inconsistency, or dissonance, gives rise to an unpleasant sensation which goads the person to seek consistency, or dissonance reduction. Festinger equated this motivation to other 'primitive' drives, such as hunger (Festinger, 1957 p.4), although he fought shy of detailing this aspect of the theory, e.g. how dissonance relates to and interacts with other biological motivations (Festinger, 1957 p.276). The evidence for an uncomfortable motivational state is inferred indirectly from observations of apparent attempts at dissonance reduction.

⁴Recent replications carried out by myself and several groups of A-level students in 1992-1994, and reported in my MSc thesis (1994: *Readings of Three Cigarette Advertisements*) have found substantially higher reported awareness of several health risks among both smokers and non-smokers, compared with Festinger's original data, together with significant associations between smoking status and responses to questions concerning lung cancer and both smoking and passive smoking, but not for questions concerning heart disease and asthma.

Bem (1967) criticises the assumption of a motivational state contingent upon psychological inconsistency, substituting instead, a perceptual interpretation of dissonance phenomena. Arguing from the position of a 'radical behaviourist', he accuses dissonance theorists of disingenuity in their denial of the role of knowledge of a person's prior reinforcement history. The typical undergraduate experimental subject is likely to place a fair degree of importance on presenting him or herself consistently, as consistency is a key evaluative criterion in academe (Bem, 1967 p.197). According to Bem, dissonance theory's woolliness in its fundamental proposition concerning the nature of the state of dissonance is brushed under the carpet by the choice of 'obvious' concrete scenarios where the shared cultural experiences and assumptions of the experimenter, subject (and presumably readership) render the definition unproblematic. This is in contrast to Festinger's initial humility about predicting the occasion of dissonance in advance. This results from the somewhat inexact definition of dissonance itself as existing when the obverse of one cognition leads to the other on grounds of logic, mores or experience (Festinger, 1957 p.13-5).

Bem's account is certainly more parsimonious. It also addresses the rhetorical nature of consistency. Concern with the socially constructed imperative to appear consistent also forms an integral part of Zimbardo's (1969) approach to cognitive dissonance:

"The dynamic or motivating force of the theory can be ascribed to the (apparently) culturally learned need for internal consistency among behaviour, attitudes, values and beliefs, as well as to perceived pressures toward uniformity of these cognitions with social reality ... Both of these processes, however, characterise this approach as a "face-saving theory", in which the individual is motivated to modify and distort both internal and external reality in order to make them appear consistent with having made the "correct" decision" (Zimbardo, 1969 p.15).

Billig (1996 p.190-205) also provides a rhetorical reading of the theory. He cites a rhetorical as opposed to a biological motivation to consistency. Essentially, inconsistency provides an obvious line of attack for critics, who "need only draw attention to our own words, for we have done the bulk of their work for them: we have refuted and discredited our own case." (Billig, 1996 p.191)

The generation, or invention, of arguments and counter-arguments is not addressed directly in the work of Festinger, Zimbardo or Bern. Rather, arguments are weighted as simply favourable or unfavourable, strong or weak, and in many of the reported studies, subjects are merely required to read or listen to arguments, and not to create them themselves. Festinger's (1957) neglect of the generation of arguments is unfortunate, as the theory suggests a range of what might be recast as rhetorical devices for presenting oneself persuasively, at least as far as consistency is concerned. Festinger's original statement of the three possible kinds of relationship between individual 'cognitions' (whatever they may be) as either: consonant, dissonant or irrelevant, is somewhat simplistic. Although it may be noted that Festinger (1957 p.12) did point out the difficulty of deciding *a priori* how two cognitions stood in relation to each other. The following chapter describes a more complex and subtle approach to semantic relations, or representational space based in Eco's (1984) model of semantic space as labyrinthine. This approach emphasises the role of context in the social construction of meaning. The relationship between two elements in the labyrinth (or, in Festinger's case, two 'cognitions') depends upon the semantic context in which they are constructed. Any element of the labyrinth is potentially connected to any other, and the way in which one element is construed depends on the perspective from which it is viewed, i.e. its context. That is, to collapse two cognitions into a single bipolar dimension is to do substantial violence to the structure of the labyrinth. This type of reduction to a linear scale, or measurement, is a favourite point of criticism for advocates of qualitative research, - a point which I shall discuss more fully in chapter three on methodology.

Additionally, Billig points out that it is not especially obvious that people do try to avoid dissonance. At the very least, this assertion should be qualified. There is plenty of evidence that people are not particularly consistent, e.g. Converse (1964) on political belief systems and Zaller and Feldman (1992) on survey response. Paradoxes are perennially fascinating, from nursery rhymes to Epimenides. Lack of clarity over one's position on an issue can also be a positive factor. For example, Granberg and Brent (1974 p.694) observe that US political candidates presented communications on the Vietnam issue which were sufficiently ambiguous to invite diverse interpretations and, hence, support from a maximum number of the electorate. Green (1987) offers a further response to the observation of inconsistency in relation to smoking: we make a virtue out of our vice and construct ourselves as 'paradoxical' and hence, we don't need to resolve a paradox because we are happy being one, - we have resolved its problematical features at a meta-

level. Alternatively, again, the smoker may confront his or her habit with a sense of irony, or 'devil-may-care', and smoke *Death* brand cigarettes.⁵

Aronson (1980 p.10) observes that cognitive dissonance theory itself presented an interesting paradox when it first appeared. At that time, the received wisdom of persuasive communication was reinforcement theory: the larger the reward, the greater the attitude change. Festinger and Carlsmith's (1959) \$1 / \$20 study presented the reverse result. However, it may also be pointed out that social psychology has often concerned itself with paradoxes. Much attitude research has had as its quest the attainment of consistency between attitudes and behaviours (e.g. Loken, 1982, on smoking); and dreaming up explanations of LaPiere's (1934) findings has become a minor hobby among social psychology students.

Besides providing evidence for cognitive dissonance effects on subjective and behavioural variables, the research reported in Zimbardo's (1969) volume also found several effects on physiology. This is in contrast to alternative models of behaviour, such as addiction, which stress the effects of physiology on psychology. Interestingly, underlying Festinger's choice of smoking to illustrate his theory is an assumption that smoking is difficult to give up: a proportion of smokers will have given up upon hearing the bad news about lung cancer, but a much larger proportion will not have given up, despite some of them trying (Festinger, 1957 p.154-5). The addiction model of smoking has also been the focus of social psychological research.

1.5 Addictive Attributions

A group of researchers led by Stanley Schachter investigated the role of physiology, and especially urinary pH, in smoking, in a series of studies reported in the 1970s.⁶ They pitted this biological model against a psychological model of anxiety reduction. Schachter (1980 p.153) concluded that, "smoking under stress has little to do with psychological, sensory, or manipulative needs that are presumably activated by the state of stress, but

⁵ Curiously, the low-tar of variant was listed by the Tobacco Marketing Board as 'slow death'.

⁶ e.g. Nesbitt (1973); Herman (1974); Schachter, Silverstein, Kozlowski, Perlick, Herman, & Liebling (1977 & 1977a); Schachter (1977); Schachter, Kozlowski & Silverstein (1977); Silverstein, Kozlowski & Schachter (1977); Schachter, Silverstein & Perlick (1977). These, and other related studies are summarised in Schachter (1980).

is explained by the effects of stress on the rate of excretion of nicotine. The smoker under stress smokes to replenish nicotine supply, not to relieve anxiety." Indeed, while smokers rationalise their perceptions of higher consumption in terms of psychological factors, such as stress and anxiety, Schachter's research led to the paradoxical (in terms of the previously discussed theories) conclusion that physiology 'caused' cognition.

Schachter suggests one paradoxical implication of this research. The medical advice given to smokers to switch to lower tar and nicotine cigarettes if they are unable to quit entirely, is misguided. The smoker will merely compensate by smoking more cigarettes and, in the process, will inhale more of the other toxins present in cigarette smoke (Schachter, 1980 p.155). From the smoker's point of view, this compensation would also be more expensive financially, and, from the manufacturers' point of view, more lucrative. In addition, while Schachter's model is narrowly physiological, his findings also have implications for behavioural theories which propose that part of the smoker's motivation is 'social habit' - i.e. the routine of smoking at certain times or in certain situations, together with the often-rehearsed argument that smoking gives the smoker 'something to do with their hands'. Increased cigarette consumption would 'reinforce' this behaviour, and the attempt to give up would leave an even larger 'behavioural vacuum'.

Social psychologists have also formally investigated the explanations smokers and non-smokers give for smoking. This attributional research was inspired by Jones and Nisbett's (1972) work on actor-observer differences in causal explanations. Actors tend to attribute behaviour to external, situational causes, and observers, to internal, dispositional causes. In relation to smoking, the hypothesis became: smokers (actors) are less likely than non-smokers (observers) to endorse an addiction model of smoking. This prediction was confirmed by Eiser et al (1977). Four-fifths of non-smokers and only one-half of smokers in their sample saw the average smoker as addicted. The attribution of addiction was associated with the belief that it is difficult to quit smoking. Non-smokers underestimated the smoker's pleasure in smoking, and thus rejected a 'reward' model. Whilst actors do not generally make internal, dispositional attributions, smokers who considered themselves to be addicted were less likely to report trying to quit, expected greater difficulty upon doing so, and tended to be heavier smokers. This suggests, perhaps, that these smokers felt their addicted bodies to be part of their 'environment'. In this study, the responses related to quitting without assistance. In the same year, Eiser and Sutton (1977) reported a study on smokers who would apply for free 'treatment' at a smoking clinic. They found

that heavier smokers and those with less confidence in their ability to quit independently, were more likely to apply.

Eiser et al (1977 p.335) conclude their study with two implications for health education policy: that health educators should take more account of the pleasure smokers derive from smoking, and that stressing the addiction model of smoking may deter smokers from trying to quit, as they will perceive quitting as very difficult. Similarly, Loken (1982 p.621) has argued that health education's traditional emphasis on the health risks of smoking is inadequate: many other factors impact on a smoker's decision to quit or continue smoking. In addition, while addiction may be a valid explanation of why people continue to smoke, it cannot, logically, account for why people start smoking in the first place.

In a subsequent study, Eiser et al (1978a) found that non-smokers attributed more influence to actors and tobacco advertisements than did smokers, and tended to underestimate the fear of health dangers experienced by smokers. They interpret these results in line with attribution theory. Although the effects of media would appear to be external, the assumption is made that non-smokers believe smokers to be more susceptible to persuasion, as well as more ignorant of the health risks. This presents an interesting paradox as the smoker is represented as selectively gullible and dismissive.

Eiser et al (1978b) cast smoking attributions in the frame of dissonance theory. Smokers who would quit if it was easy to do so were classed as 'dissonant'. They were more likely to attribute smoking, and failed attempts at quitting, to addiction. They were also more 'aware' of the health risks than 'consonant' smokers. Van der Pligt and Eiser (1983 p.95), however, report findings in accordance with a 'positivity bias'. Their subjects tended to attribute "positively valued behaviour to dispositional factors and negatively evaluated behaviour to situational factors, regardless of attribution role."

One effect of the medicalization of smoking as an 'addiction' is that, in positing a purely physiological explanation of smoking, the smoker is represented as the victim of his or her own treacherous physiology, operating at an unconscious level, beyond volitional control. This has several consequences. For the smoker, giving up becomes harder: the rhetoric of addiction and withdrawal makes the attempt an unpleasant prospect, and provides a ready justification for failure. The smoker who has successfully given up does not become a 'non-smoker', but rather, an 'ex-smoker' - still at risk from the health-consequences of

their former habit, and always in danger of a 'relapse', like Rosenhan's (1973) pseudo-psychiatric patients released with diagnoses of "schizophrenia in remission". Alternatively, following Zimbardo, 'addictive' attributions may serve to deny moral responsibility:

"It is only when the individual sees no exit, perceives that his freedom to choose is minimal, conceives of himself as helpless, victimized, and passive, that he can be free in the negative sense of not being responsible. However, in this process of choosing not to choose, man relinquishes a major part of his human integrity." (Zimbardo, 1969 p.13)

Zimbardo's thesis of cognitive control of motivation is echoed in Krogh's final comments:

"Looked at one way, drug abuse has come about because, as a species, we humans have been half-clever ... Clever enough to calm ourselves with nicotine; not clever enough to realise that the relaxation came at a price... Now, however, we have a chance to be fully clever. We have a chance to ensure that all the things we regard as most human - free will, individuality, morality - are not smothered by the incoherent impulses seated deep in our crania." (Krogh, 1991 p.141)

A second consequence of attributing smoking to addiction is that a passive and dependent market for giving up products, or 'treatments', is created: a narrow medical solution for a narrowly-conceived medical problem. The publicity surrounding such products becomes an interesting object for research. A casual glance at some sales promotion literature suggests that the smoker is medicalized as a "patient" and that the products are presented in an analogous fashion to medically-prescribed treatments. (See also Lupton, 1995 p.117-9, for a discussion of publicity material from several Australian campaigns on quitting and for products to assist one in giving up.)

In addition, there is a problem concerning the nature of the representation of addiction itself. Krogh describes two distinct lay models of addiction. The first, 'alcoholism disease' model says that all but a small minority of drinkers can easily control their alcohol consumption. This minority, however, is predisposed to alcoholism, and once they start to drink, they can't stop. The second, 'heroin contact' model says that anyone using heroin often enough will become addicted, and moreover, will always be susceptible to relapse.

(Krogh, 1991 p.124-5) It is unclear to which model the representation of the addicted smoker is supposed to adhere.

Some researchers have gone as far as to deny the role of addiction. Theorists such as Peele (1985) and Fingarette (1988) have argued that some people 'relate to their world through dependencies': "That addiction takes place with a range of objects, including quite common activities, drives home that no involvement or object is inherently addictive. Rather, people become addicted to a given involvement due to a combination of social and cultural, situational, personality, and developmental factors." (Peele, 1985 p.103). This perspective is useful in pointing out that smoking, along with other 'dependencies' has important social and psychological components, and should be viewed within its cultural context. However, it singularly fails to explain the uniform enthusiasm with which tobacco has been adopted by every culture it has encountered.

Medicalization constructs 'addiction' negatively. An alternative criticism, from the social constructionist perspective, argues that the term has been recuperated in everyday parlance. Krogh bemoans this reconstruction: "Unfortunately, in our society [US], confessions to still lesser "addictions" - to chocolate or opera - usually are announced with as much pride as embarrassment, with a sense that to be driven to do something is only human. Thus do we get the cachet of addiction in modern America, which lends a patina of attraction to real addiction..." (Krogh, 1991 p.140) This potential subversion of the medical discourse is discussed below in section 5.9.

1.6 Identifying the Smoker: Statistics, Personality and Surveillance

As mentioned in section 1.1, the social constructionist approach, and especially the work of Foucault, draws attention to the concept of surveillance. This section reviews some of the ways in which smoking and the smoker become the object of medical surveillance.

Smoking as a medical or social 'condition' is readily perceived: the sight of a cigarette or the whiff of its smoke: in the air or on the smoker's clothes. The smoker defines him or herself the moment he or she takes out a packet of cigarettes and lights up. Self-identification is also increasingly verbal: "Do you mind if I smoke?"; and smokers are routinely asked to declare themselves in response to enquiries from restaurant and airline staff ("Smoking or non-smoking?"). Smokers are continually reminded of their identity by

"no smoking" signs and Tannoy announcements in public places. The spatial (and, in offices with nine-to-five smoking bans, temporal) separation of smokers and non-smokers generates a further signal of identity. Klein (1995, see section 5.10), notes the increased visibility of smokers standing outside office doorways.

In addition to these means of distinction, smoking 'status' has become a routine variable on many questionnaires and application forms: a variable which affects insurance premiums, eligibility to adopt a child, or to have custody of one's own, and employment selection and dismissal, as well as access to medical treatment (Lupton, 1995 p.73 & 119 and Appendix 4.1 section 15).

Smoking has also become a variable to be tabulated against a veritable legion of physiological, psychological and socio-economic variables. Medical research continues to identify an ever-expanding list of associated illnesses. For example, as well as lung cancer, bronchitis, emphysema and heart disease, the Royal College of Physicians' 1971 report, *Smoking and Health Now* identified a range of other medical conditions statistically associated with smoking, including: pregnancy complications, cancers of the mouth, larynx, oesophagus, bladder and pancreas, delayed healing of gastric and duodenal ulcers, some rare forms of blindness, tuberculosis of the lungs, gum and tooth disease and generally impaired athletic fitness (RCP, 1971 p.95-107). Research since 1971 has added myeloid leukaemia, rectal cancer and increased mortality from asthma, heart disease and stroke to the list (Brown 1994). More recently, similar health risks associated with 'passive smoking' have been identified.

Whilst smoking is probably the most intensively studied health-related behaviour, the actual health risks are but poorly understood. Viscusi (1992) reports that non-smokers overestimate the most widely publicised health risks of smoking, compared to smokers, whose estimates are more accurate (according to contemporary medical statistics). While the risks are often stressed, their relative probability is less frequently communicated (Viscusi, 1992 p.7).

Socio-demographic statistics of smoking continue to play an important role in medical surveillance of smoking. As Krebel (1961) notes, "It is now proved beyond doubt that smoking is one of the leading causes of statistics" (quoted in Goodman, 1993 p.1). There are whole books devoted to smoking statistics (e.g. Wald et al, 1988), and many authors

open their books and articles with rehearsals of some of the more dramatic of these statistics. The most obvious image of the vulnerable smoker is that of the already disenfranchised: the child, or adolescent. The Times Index study, reported in chapter four, documents increasing concern with the issue of children smoking. Among the adult smoking population, the concern has increasingly come to focus upon the proportion of (young) women smoking, although they are still in a minority, and also on the prevalence of smoking among the working class (Marsh and McKay, 1994). Whilst casting smoking as a problem of 'the other', the emphasis on statistics has also fed back into critiques of tobacco advertising targeting the 'vulnerable', e.g. Ernster (1986) on women, Aitken et al (1987) on children, Hewat (1991) on the developing world and Davis (1987) on women, minorities and blue-collar workers.

Another statistical means of identifying the smoker (and those 'at risk' from smoking) is the psychological research on personality and smoking exemplified by the work of Eysenck (1965). Personality differences research is especially pernicious when personality variables such as the 'A-type personality' are simplistically represented as biologically pre-determined. Such research displays the discipline of psychology most clearly as a normalising discourse. Fortunately, the results are generally meagre, and the large fluctuations in smoking rates in any population over time undermine claims of a distinct 'smoking personality'. However, this problem has not prevented some researchers from delving into correlational research on the personality of 'the smoker'. This research has concluded that smokers tend to perform poorly on 'neuroticism' measures (Smith, 1970) and to be over-represented in studies of the chronically depressed (Anda et al, 1990). This is interesting in relation to the symbolic use of cigarettes (e.g. in films) to signify anxiety. The smoker, unwittingly, provides 'evidence' of anxiety every time he or she lights up. Smokers are also reported to score less well on 'experienced control' (Coan, 1973), which is not surprising, in the light of the addiction model.

This association of smoking with poor mental health complements dissonance theory's depiction of the irrational smoker. The discursive operation of this association is worth considering in more detail. The smoker is placed at the negatively evaluated poles of both cognition and affect. The observation that non-smokers underestimate the pleasure smokers obtain from smoking is testament to the silencing of the 'hedonic' discourse of smoking. Further support for this observation comes from the furore generated in the press around the publication of Klein's (1993 and 1995) pleas on behalf of this discourse.

The Guardian supplied the following headings to its letters page, "There is no smoke without ire" (31 May 1995 p.12) and "Smoking out the hypocrite" (1 June 1995 p.14) (see Chapter five). Similarly, the accusation of cognitive inconsistency silences the alternative, literary, representation of the smoker as contemplative thinker, or detective. (Kiernan (1991 p.180), however, provides an alternative account of this representation: mental activity is a difficult and unnatural enterprise, and the clouds of swirling blue smoke present a tangible externalisation of its process.)

More seriously, the discourse of irrationality serves to silence medically-documented evidence of smoking's positive effects: "After smoking cigarettes or receiving nicotine, smokers perform better on some cognitive tasks - including sustained attention and selective attention - than they do when deprived of cigarettes or nicotine." (US Surgeon General, quoted in Hewat, 1991 p.3-4). The meagre publicity given to such findings serves to reinforce the inexplicability and irrationality of the habit for non-smokers.

Krogh concludes his review of personality research by observing that many of the common stereotypes of smokers have been reproduced in the personality literature; but also that, regardless of the move to debunk stereotypes, academics are in competition with the tobacco industry's efforts to generate (positive) stereotypes of the smoker (Krogh, 1991 p.112-4). The next section of this chapter relates to these and other media representations of smoking, and in particular, to the battle over access to discursive space.

In this section I have discussed several of the methods by which surveillance is achieved. Most of these techniques entail surveillance of smokers by medical and social bodies. Medicalization writers have also focused on the way in which surveillance may be internalised: smokers reflect on their own behaviour, often with dissatisfaction, or guilt.

Some authors argue further that non-smokers are equally involved in the process. Non-smokers 'need' smokers in order to be able to define themselves as 'healthy' in opposition to 'unhealthy' smokers (the 'other'). "Stigmatising images of the other are founded in a social self which needs this other" (Crawford, 1994 p.1348). Crawford's (1994) arguments principally concern HIV / AIDS, but are readily extended to smoking. He argues that contemporary health discourse constructs "the healthy self as a composite of risks" (Crawford, 1994 p.1357). In contrast to earlier political economy claims that medicine neglected preventive approaches to illness (e.g. Kennedy, 1981), medicine has expanded

the definition of illness to encompass not only the clinical manifestation of disease, but also potential disease. That is, smoking not only causes medical problems, but is itself a medical problem. The statistical approaches discussed above, no doubt, make a substantial contribution to this expanded jurisdiction.

The result, according to Crawford, is that "The 'at-risk' self is vulnerable; and responsibility is currently said to consist of a willingness to monitor, confront and do something about that vulnerability" (Crawford, 1994 p.1357). Not smoking is part of this risk-management process. The role of responsibility marks another point at which medicalization is clearly a moral enterprise. Crawford reports that a major theme to emerge from his US interview research was that, "health can be understood as a metaphor for self-control, self-discipline, self-denial and will power" (Crawford, 1994 p.1353). He grounds this observation, historically, in the Protestant work ethic beliefs of the middle classes, and the Social Darwinism of the late nineteenth century (see section 4.3).

Lupton also notes that the essentially middle class value of self-discipline is used to justify medical surveillance of working class individuals: "working class individuals are typically portrayed as those who frequently fail to take up the exhortations of health promoters, who deliberately expose themselves to health risks rather than rationally avoid them, and therefore require greater surveillance and regulation" (Lupton, 1995 p.75-6) In relation to smoking, Marsh and McKay (1994) report that, while smoking prevalence has declined among higher income groups over the last twenty years, there has been no decline among the poorest families. They discuss the consequences of the medically-sponsored health policy of increasing tobacco taxation from the perspective of the very poor:

"Unlike most people, the lowest income families really do have other strong reasons for wanting to smoke. They alone in our society are under the greatest pressure, experience the greatest inequality of choice and opportunity in their lives. Some of them, especially the lone parents, feel they exist solely to service their children's daily needs ... To repeat Hilary Graham's telling phrase culled from many encounters with women in these circumstances: smoking is their only luxury. They defend it, aggressively sometimes. In a world of many luxuries for others, one luxury for oneself becomes a necessity" (Marsh and McKay, 1994 p.81-2).

The medical discourse is, here, revealed at its most relative. Whilst the poor are chastised for their intransigence, from the comfortable position of those who can afford to choose between multiple pleasures, smoking is simply not a major 'problem' for the most underprivileged. Indeed, the most serious problem associated with smoking from this perspective is the financial cost:

"Britain's lowest income parents are not people with great cause for optimism, or for self-esteem. Coping with their children on benefit incomes raises so many short term difficulties they obscure any long term considerations like the longer healthier life non-smoking might offer" (Marsh & McKay, 1994 p.83).

1.7 Denial of Access to Discursive Space

A central concern to the critical perspective described in the next chapter is that of access to a discursive platform (e.g. van Dijk, 1993). Admission to the arena of public discourse - the media, is a necessary prerequisite for any discourse (although absence itself, when noticed, 'speaks' - see chapter 5.9). Delegitimation through censorship (total or partial, voluntary or enforced) represents the extreme edge of the political war of words. Is there any evidence that such tactics are deployed in the smoking arena?

This section of the review will focus on two broadly anti- and pro-tobacco discourses: the medical discourse and the tobacco advertising discourse. Each has its strongholds and methods of self-legitimation and delegitimation of the other. The pro-tobacco discourse is keen to situate itself within a tobacco-friendly environment, and moreover, in an environment where the dominant modes of representation may serve to enhance its own interests, by association (the 'halo' effect). This environment is not an unchangeable 'given', but, on the contrary, may be manipulated to the advantage of pro-tobacco representations. On the other hand, the medical discourse is keen to curtail media promotion of cigarettes. An early piece of censorship was the banning of tobacco advertising by the British Journal of Medicine in 1962 (*The Times*).

One of the most fiercely contested issues in the tobacco world is that of advertising and sponsorship: to ban or not to ban? This debate has been reviewed extensively elsewhere (e.g. Chapman, 1986; Jowett and O'Donnell, 1992; Hewat, 1991; and Taylor, 1984) and is,

at present, the topic of much media interest, following the government's plans for a total ban. As with print advertising, the move to indirect advertising via sponsorship was prompted by broadcast bans, and particularly in the case of sports sponsorship, can be construed as a means of circumventing those bans (e.g. there are anecdotal reports of cameramen being paid to focus on advertising hoardings). There has been concern over the placement of tobacco advertising and cigarettes in films (Magnum, 1985; Colford, 1989; Lallande, 1989; Staiger, 1990). Other promotional means have also been the site of censorship measures, including the recent voluntary agreement⁷ to ban UK shop-front advertising of tobacco products which came into effect from 1 January 1997.

Much of the literature concerns the alleged censorship effects of tobacco advertising on the print media. It should be noted that many of the sources focus on the US, although there is some evidence from the UK (e.g. Amos, 1985). An interesting argument is raised in relation to the 'effects' of cigarette advertising debate. Namely, that publications such as magazines and, to a lesser extent newspapers, are reluctant to publish material containing strong anti-smoking health messages because of the perceived threat of the withdrawal of the 'tobacco advertising dollar'. That is, the tobacco companies use their financial weight to ensure a 'tobacco-friendly' environment for their advertisements.

Much of the literature focuses on the suppression of anti-smoking sentiments as a part of editorial policy. Of particular concern is the expurgation or parenthesising of the health risks (see Weis and Burke, 1986 p.61-2; Warner, 1986 p.79-81 and Minkler et al, 1987 p.174). There are two distinct effects in operation here. First, the under-representation of the health risks in terms of space devoted to the issue, which strongly suggests to the reader that smoking is of relatively small importance in the overall health-maintenance picture (Warner et al, 1992 p.308) And, second, the health risks, when they are mentioned, are circumscribed or distorted (e.g., it's okay to smoke, as long as you don't do it in bed and you don't inhale).

As well as discouraging the reporting of health-related issues, the tobacco industry is also reputed to have considerable influence over the publication of advertising for tobacco substitutes (Whelan 1984 p.93) and for charities which are seen as promoting an anti-

⁷ *Voluntary agreement on tobacco products' advertising and promotion* (21st December 1994, p.3) Signed by The Tobacco Manufacturers Association, the Imported Tobacco Products Advisory Council and the Secretaries of State for Health, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

smoking message (Weis and Burke 1986 p.63). The concern is intensified by the diversification of tobacco companies into other product fields (Warner, 1986 p.51; Warner et al, 1992 p.308). Weis and Burke (1986 p.63) argue that the effects may even impact on media such as television, where tobacco advertising is no longer permitted, as tobacco parent companies advertise a variety of non-tobacco products. For example, Dougherty (1988) reports the cancellation of an \$80 million food advertising contract by RJR/Nabisco with Saatchi and Saatchi, in retaliation for the agency's work promoting the no-smoking policy of another client.

There are obvious problems in substantiating such a conspiratorial thesis and much of the evidence is anecdotal. However, several systematic comparative analyses of media health reporting have been reported (Smith, 1978; Amos, 1985; Minkler et al, 1987; Warner and Goldenhar, 1989 p.33 and Warner et al, 1992). These studies conclude that magazines which accept cigarette advertising tend to be reluctant to engage with the health issues in their articles and editorials, compared with magazines which refuse cigarette advertising. Further, since the broadcast ban in the US, those magazines accepting cigarette advertising have increased their revenue from and dependence on this source.

One problem with the empirical research is the correlational nature of the evidence. Warner et al (1992 p.308) counter this charge by considering one alternative hypothesis. Editors who attach little importance to the health risks might be expected both to downplay anti-smoking reporting and to accept cigarette advertising. As a defence, lack of awareness of the health issues becomes less plausible in the light of anecdotal evidence of the specific censorship of these issues and in view of Warner et al's control for coverage of other health issues. The assumption that ignorance or disinterest in smoking-related health issues is associated with general ignorance or disinterest in health issues, however, is far from water-tight.

Weis and Burke (1986 p.64-5) refute another common defence: that the health effects of smoking are not 'newsworthy', by pointing to recent US survey findings of considerable ignorance and underestimation of the health risks attached to smoking, and especially to 'passive smoking'. However, Viscusi (1992), mentioned in section 1.6 above, found that this was only true for the less well-publicised risks, and that non-smokers tended to overestimate the most familiar health risks. Weis and Burke (1986) also argue that the observed drop in consumption figures immediately following publication of the US Surgeon

General's 1964 report and during the Fairness Doctrine era reinforce the effectiveness of health publicity in supporting those trying to quit.

Warner (1986 p.84) concludes his tour of the tobacco advertising dollar's impact on media health reporting with the following comment: "It can only be left to conjecture as to ... how many would be alive today, if the media had simply done their job." But what exactly is the media's job? For Warner, it would appear to be to "accord tobacco and health the coverage that is warranted by the inherent interest and importance of the subject", with the expectation that readers would be persuaded by the evidence to quit smoking, and that the prevailing representations of smoking would be those of the medical discourse. However, the definition of the media's role is problematised by the existence of alternative perspectives. Warner's conceptualization becomes a prescription and grounds itself in the 'morality' of the public interest. An editor's or publisher's interest is only partly inscribed by this representation of the 'public interest' (see, for example, Schudson's (1991) article on constraints on news construction.) Viscusi (1992 p.144) argues that smoking information policies should aim to provide adequate information so that people can make informed decisions, and notes that consumers may dismiss government information if they believe it is designed to deter activities rather than inform decisions (Viscusi, 1992 p.146).

The medically-grounded critical discourse seeks legitimation on moral/social grounds and on this terrain, is in direct competition with other discourses. There may be no debate in the medical literature concerning the health effects of smoking (as Warner, 1986 p.18, claims), but there certainly is a debate in the wider realm of tobacco: its site is in part the media, and its viciousness is all too evident in the battle for access to a discursive platform. Ironically, the broadcast ban resulted in financial savings for the tobacco companies and the battle simply shifted to other grounds, such as the print media, reviewed above, and sponsorship.

The health discourse has been reasonably successful in colonising the tobacco promotion discourse. All cigarette advertisements and packets now carry a government health warning, the wording of which is progressively strengthened. The size of the warning is also increasing (1994 voluntary agreement) and there is concern to ensure its visibility, following claims that manufacturers designed them to be invisible in certain lights (Erllichman, 1994) (see section 7.3 below). However, Taylor (1984 p.53-64) describes the protracted battle to screen the anti-smoking film *Death in the West*, which took as its

theme the smoking-induced suffering of the real-life American Cowboy, in a direct response to the advertisements for *Marlboro* brand cigarettes.

The reverse side of denial of access to discursive space is the withholding of potentially damaging information. There are reports of medical authorities holding token tobacco shares in order to have access to documents and AGMs etc, and vice versa; and industry representatives have been banned from the World Conference on Smoking and Health. In addition, it has been alleged that governments and tobacco companies have suppressed research findings on the health dangers of smoking (see Appendix 4.1 section 16). There is much anecdotal evidence of researchers being denied interviews with tobacco manufacturers and advertisers, or having to seek anonymous 'insider sources' (e.g. Chapman, 1986 p.7-8)⁸. I personally had some difficulty eliciting even product listings for the analysis of packaging design reported below, and Whelan (1986 p.74) reports a certain reluctance among some editors and publishers about discussing the tobacco dollar censorship issue 'on the record'.

1.8 CONCLUSIONS AND THE LIMITS OF MEDICALIZATION

A general thesis can now be stated: that smoking has been 'medicalized'. Smoking is increasingly described in medical language, conceptualised within a medical framework and 'treated' using medical interventions. The discursive representations of smoking are individualised in the addicted smoker with a substantially inflated risk of various unpleasant health consequences.

During the 1950s, medical research on the association between smoking and lung cancer achieved massive publicity, and sparked a vast proliferation of medical and psychological research into smoking. During this period, the social psychological discourses have both endorsed and questioned the addiction model of smoking, and have added to this the representation of the 'dissonant smoker'. Psychology has also contributed to the discourse on the 'personality' of the smoker, reinforcing a representation of irrationality and persuasibility. However, the social psychological literature has also questioned the narrow

⁸ Although Chapman's outspoken criticism is unlikely to have endeared him to the tobacco industry.

focus of medicalization and anti-smoking propaganda on the health consequences of smoking, countering with a focus on other social and psychological factors. This may be constructed as territorial expansion on the part of the discipline of psychology: these criticisms serve to open up an alternative discourse on smoking. However, it can also be argued that this alternative discourse has been appropriated, or recuperated, through the expansion of the medical domain via new medical concepts such as risk-status and preventive medicine. From the social constructionist perspective, social psychology has also contributed substantially to the identification and statistical surveillance of the smoker. The medical model of smoking presents a paradoxical view of responsibility. On the one hand, the smoker is not in control of his or her appetites, but rather, is ruled by a treacherous physiology (according to Schachter, 1980 p.151, "the smoker's mind is in the bladder."). In addition, on 'recovery' from the habit, the 'patient' becomes, not a non-smoker, but an ex-smoker: always in danger of remission, and constantly "in denial", according to the popular representation of the 'reformed' smoker as the fiercest critic of their erstwhile habit. Thus, the 'irrational, neurotic smoker' finds him- or herself in a double-bind, reminiscent of Rosenhan's (1973) pseudo-schizophrenic patients.

On the other hand, a recurring theme of the medicalization literature is that of victim-blaming. The smoker is increasingly constructed as the 'unhealthy other'. The annexing of the concept of risk by the medical discourse has facilitated moral judgments of smokers as irresponsible. The political economy perspective has also argued that the individualisation of moral responsibility invites us, collectively, to collude with governments' neglect of wider, more expensive and less tractable structural and political issues.

Critics working within the social constructionist approach have preferred to address the implications of medical constructions of illness. For example, Sontag (1991) argues that the rhetoric (metaphors) surrounding cancer have created an aura of fear, pessimism and secretiveness which is profoundly unhelpful to both cancer patients and their relatives. One indication of the pervasiveness of this effect is her argument that cancer (unlike tuberculosis, or even 'death') cannot be romanticised or glamourised (Sontag, 1991 p.36). That is, it cannot be recuperated, or subverted by alternative discourses.

More recently, the medical discourse has generated a new group of victims: passive smokers. Whereas a range of 'guilty' parties are available for 'blame' in the case of smokers, including slothful governments, tobacco companies, advertisers and peers, as

well as smokers themselves, the passive smoker - especially in the role of attribution theory's 'observer' (Jones and Nisbett, 1972) - is invited to blame the smoker. Although, alternative attributions of blame are recognised in calls for smoking bans in public places.

The consequences of medicalization have begun to filter through into discourses of litigation and discrimination. The Times Index study, reported in chapter four, includes reports of UK surgeons refusing heart surgery to smokers who refuse to quit. The growing debate concerning passive smoking has also resulted in discrimination against smokers in relation to adoption, employment and insurance. Rowland (1992 p.128) reports on the possibility that pregnant women who smoke may be sued for 'chemical assault' upon the unborn foetus, and may have their child taken into care. This victim-blaming stance rarely considers the social psychological factors which shape the smoker's relationship with tobacco. For the most underprivileged especially, the day-to-day stresses of poverty, unemployment, poor housing and child-raising deemphasise any long-term benefits from relinquishing what may provide the only affordable means of relaxation and pleasure. The medical discourse refuses to acknowledge this alternative construction of smoking.

In relation to the theoretical framework to be developed in the following chapter, it can be argued that the medical discourse is expanding at the expense of other discourses, both pro- and anti-tobacco. That is, the medical discourse has become a 'filter' through which all other discourses are judged, and often delegitimised.

A number of critiques of the medicalization thesis have been voiced in the form of 'limitations' to the medicalization process. Conrad (1992 p.220) proposes the following limiting factors. First, the availability of medical interventions or treatments. While there are a number of available 'medical' treatments, coupled with a perception that smoking is addictive and thus difficult to give up, two constraints are in operation. First, many non-medical 'treatments' are also available, including hypnotherapy, herbal cigarettes and even knitting (presumably to occupy one's hands), and, second, even the medically promoted 'treatments' tend to advocate 'will-power'. This, of course, provides a ready excuse for manufacturers of such products should they fail: it is the smoker's fault for not trying hard enough, and this itself is a medically-grounded moral critique of the undisciplined smoker.

A second, although much disputed, limitation is the involvement and support of medical professionals. Interestingly, the medical 'treatments' represent one possible site of

demedicalization, as some such 'treatments' which were formerly available only on prescription (and hence available only through a doctor, and for the 'sick') are now available over the counter.

A third limitation proposed by Conrad is coverage by medical insurance. Whilst this is more directly relevant in the US, the Times Index analysed in chapter four included articles on smokers paying higher general insurance premiums. At a national level in the UK, it has been proposed that tobacco taxation and specific levies on the tobacco industry should be used to pay for the medical treatment of smoking-related illnesses. The refusal of some doctors to treat ill smokers, however, suggests that this cosy nationalised insurance is not universally accepted.

A fourth proposed limitation is the existence of competing definitions and of groups challenging the medical definition. The major UK challenger of smoking is the organisation FOREST⁹, an acronym which includes two distinct alternative representations: smoking as a 'right' or 'freedom' to be protected, and smoking as something to be enjoyed. A number of alternative representations of smoking found in the press, cigarette advertising and packaging, and how they relate to medical representations, will be a key focus of this thesis. Many such alternative representations have been identified in historical and cultural studies of tobacco, e.g. Goodman (1993), Corti (1931). Klein (1993) and Kiernan (1991), who have both replaced the act of smoking with writing about the symbolic nature of tobacco, provide a substantial array of such alternative representations. In the preface to *Cigarettes are Sublime*, Klein says:

"The question, then, as cigarettes, the most combustible sort of smokes, may be on the point of disappearing, is this: Will anything have been lost? Is there any reason at all to mourn the passing of the culture of cigarettes?"
(Klein, 1993 p.xii)

Kiernan ends his book:

"Tobacco faces banishment, but this ought not to mean oblivion. It has meant very much to legions of human beings, brought untold comfort to

⁹Freedom Organisation for the Right to Enjoy Smoking Tobacco.

sufferers, performed innumerable small acts of kindness. It has allayed fears, consoled misfortune, lulled anger, called spirits from the vasty deep ... It is time for us to take leave of tobacco, but it should not be an ungrateful farewell" (Kiernan, 1991 p.233).

These arguments do not question the medical definition in itself, but they do question its claim to absolute authority, or 'globalising pretensions'.

Conrad's (1992) final proposed 'limitation', is inadequately formulated. It appears to imply a simplistic weighting of one representation against another, together with a conception of the lay populace as passive and uncritical - a familiar criticism of medicalization writers. However, the idea of critical audience reception has gained ascendancy in media studies. Liebes and Katz (1993 p.114-5) argue that "The status of the viewer has been upgraded regularly during the course of communications research" ... he or she ... "has been granted critical ability". For Liebes and Katz, 'critical' does not denote 'negative', but rather, an awareness of the construction of a text, genre conventions and so forth, and the perception of underlying themes. It is also used to denote an awareness of one's own role in the decoding process.

Liebes and Katz' research is part of a tradition which has increasingly extended the practice of criticism to include the lay person. Lay readings of smoking-related public (discourse and) images will only form a minor focus of the present research (see chapter seven). However, the critical process itself, regardless of *who* the critic happens to be, will be a recurring theme of this thesis, beginning in the following chapter which reviews the role of the critic in the context of the theoretical framework to be adopted.

CHAPTER TWO

A THEORY OF REPRESENTATIONS: POWER AND RESISTANCE IN THE LABYRINTH

2.1 Overview: Signposts to the Labyrinth

The review begins with the 'structuralist' platform provided by Saussure (1915), including the prioritisation of synchronic analysis, and then traces a path through the semiotic theory of Barthes (1957, 1964a, 1964b), focusing especially on the second-order sign system of myth and the problem of recuperation. A labyrinthine model of semantic space is developed from the idea of connotative associative sets and with reference to Eco (1984), from the problem of representing semantic space through the hierarchically structured Porphyrian tree. This model is then related to discursive practice through the idea of discursive space. In this model, discourse becomes but one potential trajectory through semantic space.

The review then turns to the related issues of power, legitimation and access, with reference especially to Foucault (1980a, 1982) and van Dijk (1993). Foucault's 'globalising discourse' becomes the prioritised trajectory through semantic space. However, in spelling itself out, any discourse implicates at least one means to resistance: inversion. Thus, the review focuses next on the role of the critic in relation to resistance through maintaining discursive space, and other practices such as ascribing discourse to located sources and the resurrection of 'subjugated knowledges'. McGuire's (1964) inoculation theory is reviewed as an illustration of the practice of resistance, together with the taxonomy of oppositional readings described by Liebes and Katz (1989, 1993). A number of parallels are drawn throughout the chapter with Billig's (1996) resurrection of a rhetorical approach to social psychology. The concluding section pulls together the threads of the theoretical framework, or my adopted reading of the literature, and addresses the question of the interaction among representations in the context of the process of criticism. This perspective reinstates the importance of diachronic analysis in the study of representations.

2.2 A Structuralist Platform

My theoretical exposition begins with the work of the linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913). Pre-Saussurian linguistics focused on the evolution of language, constructing 'phylogenetic trees' of languages. Saussure proposed a new perspective. Instead of looking at changing lineages of terms over time (the diachronic), one might focus on the system of a particular language at any moment in time (the synchronic) to discover 'how meaning works'. This assumes that a language is 'complete' at any moment in time and that one may discover "all the rules that hold it together" (Hawkes, 1977 p.19). In prioritising the synchronic, Saussure argues that historical change (diachronic facts) originates outside the linguistic system (*la langue*) in linguistic performance (*parole*). "A diachronic fact is an independent event; the particular synchronic consequences that may stem from it are wholly unrelated to it" (Saussure¹, 1915 p.84).

Saussure's key insight was the relativity of meaning. This, he elegantly expressed in his model of the linguistic sign as the arbitrary conjunction of a signifier (sound-image) and a signified (concept or idea). These two parts can be analysed as *if* they were separate entities, but they exist only as components of the sign, that is, by virtue of their relation to each other. Saussure begins his account of the nature of the sign by asserting that language is not nomenclature (Saussure, 1915 p.66). The signified does not exist prior to and independently of language - it is not simply a matter of attaching a label to it.

Further, the relationship between the two elements is arbitrary or non-motivated. There is no natural or inevitable link between the two. My furry, be-whiskered pet, my "cat", might just as happily be a "frizz" *if* it was accepted as such by members of my speech community. Language is thus conventional, a social institution which the individual speaker is relatively powerless to change. Similarly, although more controversially, the concept referred to by a particular signifier may change. For example, the signifier "attitude" once had as its signified fitness (to engage in performance of some task), which can be seen in the medical and artistic usage: physical posture. Ethology extended the signified to cover the idea of intended action, so that a crouching animal may be described as being in an "attack attitude". Social psychology further extended the signified, by

¹*Course in General Linguistics*: Saussure's theory is preserved in this posthumous reconstruction of three series of his lectures, compiled by his students.

analogy, giving it an explanatory role and internalising the concept as an intention or predisposition to behave in a certain way. The prefix "mental" was subsequently dropped as the new signified gained currency (Reber 1985 p.65).

One can thus conceive of two separate planes, one of the signifier and the other of the signified: "Not only does each language produce a different set of signifiers, articulating and dividing the continuum of sound in a distinctive way; each language produces a different set of signifieds; it has a distinctive and thus arbitrary way of organising the world into concepts or categories" (Culler 1986 p.23). This arbitrariness can be seen in the business of translating from one language into a second. For example, the river / stream distinction in English is made according to size, whereas in French, the fleuve / rivière distinction is made according to whether or not it flows into the sea. That English and French operate perfectly well with different conceptual articulations indicates that these divisions are neither natural nor inevitable. Saussure summarises the argument as follows:

"Instead of pre-existing ideas then, we find in all the foregoing examples *values* emanating from the system. When they are said to correspond to concepts, it is understood that the concepts are purely differential and defined not by their positive content but negatively by their relations with the other terms of the system. Their most precise character is in being what the others are not" (Saussure, 1915 p.117).

Thus, a language comprising a single term is not possible, it would encompass everything and exclude nothing; that is, it would not differentiate anything from anything else. This is illustrated by a simple thought experiment, again from Culler (1986, p.24-5): Imagine teaching a slow learner from a non-European culture about colours, one at a time, starting with brown. Regardless of the number of instances of brown we were to use, the student would not 'grasp' the meaning of the term until he or she had also been taught to distinguish brown from other colour terms, like red and tan. "Brown is not an independent concept defined by some essential properties, but one term in a system of colour terms, defined by its relation with the other terms which delimit it" (Culler, 1986 p.24-5).

Saussure distinguishes two types of relationship within the linguistic system. The value of a term within a text depends on the contrasts with alternative terms which have not been chosen (paradigmatic or associative relations) and on the relations with the other

terms which precede and follow it (syntagmatic relations). "The syntagmatic relation is *in praesentia*. It is based on two or more terms that occur in an effective series. Against this, the associative relation unites terms *in absentia* in a potential mnemonic series." (Saussure, 1915 p.123) The position is neatly illustrated by Culler:

"We identify phonological distinctive features as the relational features which differentiate phonemes: /b/ is to /p/ and /d/ is to /t/ as voiced is to voiceless; thus voiced versus voiceless is a minimal distinctive feature. These phonemes in turn are identifiable because the contrasts between them have the capacity to differentiate morphemes: we know that /b/ and /p/ must be linguistic units because they contrast to distinguish *bet* from *pet*. And we must treat *bet* and *pet* as morphological units because the contrast between them is what differentiates, for example, *betting* from *petting*, *bets* from *pets*. Finally, these items which we can informally call words, are defined by the fact that they play different roles in the higher-level units of phrases and sentences" (Culler, 1986 p.50).

2.3 Sign Systems

Saussure proposed that the study of the linguistic sign system would be one part of a wider discipline, which he designated semiology: "a science that studies the life of signs within society" (Saussure, 1915 p.16). Semiology, in turn, would be a part of social psychology. The proposal has been taken up in a variety of disciplines, including anthropology (Claude Lévi-Strauss), psychodynamic theory (Jacques Lacan) and literary criticism (Roland Barthes). Barthes, to my mind, provides the clearest and most useful exposition of this new discipline.

Whereas Saussure posited a special place for linguistics within semiology, Barthes begins his *Elements of Semiology* by inverting the relationship. Semiology is more usefully considered a part of linguistics, "that part covering the *great signifying unities* of discourse" (Barthes, 1964a p.11). He arrives at this conclusion from a number of considerations. Whilst images, objects and behaviours can and do signify, they never do so autonomously, "every semiological system has its linguistic admixture". For example, the meaning of a visual image is anchored by accompanying text, and the status of objects, such as food

or clothing, as sign systems requires "the relay of language, which extracts their signifiers (in the form of nomenclature) and names their signifieds (in the form of usages or reasons)." More generally, Barthes questions the possibility of the existence of signifieds independently of language: "there is no meaning which is not designated, and the world of signifieds is none other than that of language" (Barthes, 1964a p.10).

This addresses one of the thorniest problems in psychology (and beyond): the relationship between thought and language. It is relatively straightforward to demonstrate that thought can proceed independently of language. Pinker (1994 p.67-82) gives a number of illustrations. Here is a further one which has puzzled me: the schoolroom requirement to provide a verbal description of a graph, even when this does not actually add anything to the information contained in the graph. Displaying information graphically is a more concise and easily 'graspable' means of representation which does not require verbal duplication. This is not to say that all commentary is redundant. It may provide extra information or highlight specific points which the writer feels require emphasis for theoretical reasons. But this is not the same as simply translating the graph into words. Another illustration of the independence of thought from language is found in William James' (1902 p.380-1) description of the mystical state. He describes 'ineffability' together with a 'noetic quality' as two defining marks of the mystical state. He draws a parallel with feelings and 'being in love' and observes that those who try to communicate the state to others (such as Saint Teresa of Avila and Saint John of the Cross) resort to analogy and metaphor (see, for example, Happold, 1963). All this amounts to saying that language is not the only form of thought. More prosaic evidence comes from the work of Shepard and Cooper (1982) on mental rotation.

Curiously, Barthes seems to propose an independent role for images in the generation of meaning with his term 'relay' (Barthes, 1964b p.41), where both image and text contribute to the overall message. This relationship is found most obviously in cartoons. The cartoon, in the form of political satire or caricature has also exploited the apparent polysemie of the image in order to evade censorship. Although this has not always proved successful: two of the most famous political cartoonists, Daumier and Philipon, both spent time in gaol. Eco (1985) considers a further example in his article, *Strategies of lying*. Whilst Nixon's speech, as a piece of text, was perfectly constructed, "his face betrayed embarrassment, fear, tension" (Eco, 1985 p.11).

However, Barthes' point is still valid on a pragmatic level. Whatever the medium of study, the analysis will usually require language for precise expression, even if this is only a function of the 'output mode'. For example, the stages in the progression of modern art can be seen as an evolving commentary, purely visual, on the nature and function of art and on its predecessors. The 'thought equals language' position would say that meaning only enters the system when it is articulated verbally, through interpretation or criticism. The pragmatic position would not deny the signifying potential of the visual medium, but would argue that it is only anchored or clarified in the linguistic medium. Another way of looking at this is through the signifier / signified distinction. The signifier, in whatever medium, points to a signified. But the signifieds of different media are of the same nature, clearly not reducible to their media of expression. This argument becomes clearer in relation to the processes of higher-order signification.

In his outline of semiology (1964a) and mythologies (1957), Barthes describes what he calls "second order semiological systems". These build on Saussure's structural analysis of the sign as the association of signifier and signified. The sign of this first order system becomes the signifier of the second. In the first system, for example, the sign "fox" comprises the association of a certain sound-image and a certain concept (reddish-coloured canine with a bushy tail etc). In the second order, this association becomes the signifier to the signified: sly or cunning. The first order sign need not be linguistic. For example, a photograph or cartoon of a fox would serve equally well. Barthes illustrates the relationship between the two systems using a spatial metaphor (see Figure 2.1):

Figure 2.1

SECOND-ORDER SYSTEM	2. SIGNIFICATION		
	1. Sign	2. FORM	2. CONCEPT
	1. Signifier	1. Signified	

Spatial metaphor of the relationship between first and second order sign systems.

(Adapted from Barthes, 1957 p.124)

For clarity, he introduces new terminology to denote the elements in the second order. The signifier (first order sign) he calls 'form', for the signified, he retains the term 'concept'

(although in "The Rhetoric of the Image" (Barthes, 1964b), he uses the term 'seme' to designate the signified of connotation), and for the associative total (second order sign) he uses the term 'signification'.

Whilst the sign of the first order is 'full', when it takes part in the second order system it is empty, a vehicle for signification. It expresses a further concept, not derived from the sign itself, but from conventional, cultural knowledge. This is the point at which the psychological user of the system makes his or her entry. In *The Rhetoric of the Image* (1964b), Barthes distinguishes the types of knowledge required to 'grasp' the signification at each level. At the first level, which he refers to as 'denotation', the reader requires only linguistic and anthropological knowledges. In his illustration of an advertisement for a pasta sauce, the reader is required to understand the French language and to know 'what a tomato is'. At the second level, which he calls 'connotation', the reader requires further cultural knowledges. Barthes calls these knowledges, or referent systems, 'lexicons'. He defines a lexicon as a "portion of the symbolic plane (of language) which corresponds to a body of practices and techniques" (Barthes, 1964b p.46). It may be practical, national, cultural, aesthetic, and can be classified. The reader's interpretational freedom is circumscribed by his or her 'idiolect', or the number and identity of their lexicons. In relation to the linguistic code in his illustration, the reader is required to 'know' that the product-name, 'Panzani' signifies 'Italianicity' by virtue of its assonance (at least to French and English ears). In relation to the visual image in his illustration, the reader may or may not have a lexicon relating to 'still life' (as a genre of painting) with which to 'understand' the advertisement.

Camargo (1987) reports an empirical study on the representation of *Marlboro* brand cigarettes in five different countries (US, Japan, Norway, Brazil and Thailand). He found a number of differences in the word-themes his participants generated in response to the stimulus, "Smoking a Marlboro brand cigarette", but also some commonalities. US participants stressed the themes of 'cowboy' and 'advertising', whereas Brazilian participants stressed 'pollution' and 'annoying', and Thai participants, 'relaxing'. From these illustrations, it becomes clear that the act of reading a piece of text or an image is a constructive process. Meaning is generated in the interaction of the reader with the material. The reader's meaning will vary with the knowledges available to him or her through experience and contextual salience. Some readings may be pretty much universal within a culture, others will be more idiosyncratic.

2.4 Myth and Recuperation

One form of second order signification to which Barthes devoted much attention was that of myth. For Barthes, myth represents an unpardonable confusion of history and nature. Myth is the means by which a culture naturalises, or renders invisible, its own norms and ideology. In relation to the advertising image discussed in "the Rhetoric of the Image", the denoted or literal message serves to naturalise the connoted message. That is, the work of interpretation, of grasping with the aid of cultural lexicons, the connotation of the image, is underlain and held together by the brute fact of the syntagm of denotation: the conjunction of the objects in the scene is natural or given, because it requires no translation, no decoding (Barthes, 1964a p.51).

Barthes championed demystification as a means to political action, sarcasm and irony being the principal tools. However, myth-makers, such as advertisers, always have a ready-made alibi: the simple denial of second-order meaning, or its intention. More interestingly, criticism entails a contribution to myth, a certain complicity with the object of attack. "Demystification does not eliminate myth but, paradoxically, gives it greater freedom" (Culler, 1983 p.39). In critiquing, say, the Marlboro Man, the 'mythologist' merely adds another twist to his fame and endurance. He becomes an academic icon. As Davidson (1992 p.153) observes of one such text, it "makes you understand why no adman has ever lost a wink of sleep worrying about academic censure." More often than not, criticism is recuperated by the myth itself and made to work for the myth.

This recuperative ability derives from the often-noted 'Protean' quality of myths (e.g. Culler, 1983 p.40). This quality is the result of the draining of the content and history of the first-order sign so that it becomes an empty vehicle for second-order signification. In this way, anything may be used as a signifier of myth, and the myth is able to assimilate or deflect criticism. A recent example of recuperation of criticism in the tobacco world relates to a 1993 series of poster advertisements for the cigarette brand *Embassy Regal*. The campaign was initially cleared by the Advertising Standards Authority, but was later withdrawn following complaints that 'Reg', the character used in the posters, had become a 'cult' figure among children. Recuperation was achieved in a final 'passing shot' advertisement which used the same format and style but featured only Reg's suitcase (thereby circumventing the 'ban'), with a label with the following 'address' (Thorpe, 1994):

"DUNADVERTISIN'
BOGNOR REGIS
BYE 2U"

Incidentally, Reg has already achieved 'cult' status in at least one academic text (Myers, 1994 p.188-200). I am, of course, aware that the above discussion does nothing to counter this problem, and I shall say more about the role of the critic below.

2.5 Semantic 'Space'

Barthes says that the signifieds of connotation are organised paradigmatically, in associative fields (1964b p.48). This point is worth exploring further. Saussure (1915 p.126-7) provides an example of the possible associative field for the sign 'education'. This includes the following series: educate, educates, etc; internship, training, etc; vocation, devotion, etc; and lotion, fashion, etc. The set of most interest here is what can be called the 'semantic set'. Each member of the set is both similar and different. He comments that the number and order of possible terms is indefinite. "A particular word is like the centre of a constellation; it is the point of convergence of an indefinite number of co-ordinated terms." Languages are routinely proficient at providing subtle distinctions between words. Very few words can be used completely interchangeably. Most carry some subtle distinctions or shades of meaning. That is, they are differentiated according to certain 'semic axes' (Barthes, 1964b p.48, borrows the expression from Greimas), or oppositions. This is in accordance with Saussure's model of meaning as purely differential. Each term is located upon a series of different axes.

An illustration may be useful here. The proverbial chalk and cheese are differentiated by a large set of oppositions, including the following: cheese will 'go off' if kept for too long, chalk won't, and one writes on a blackboard with chalk, but not with cheese. The two terms, however, are also similar (occur on the same side of certain other oppositions). For example, both contain calcium and both are edible and neither can play tennis or be used to cut glass. The 'semantic relatedness' of two terms seems, therefore, to depend upon their relative position on relevant dimensions.

The choice of 'relevant' dimensions will affect their apparent similarity or difference. Billig

(1996 ch.6) considers an analogous situation in terms of the opposition between categorisation and particularisation. The two terms are mutually interdependent: each points to the other. Indeed, it is not possible to grasp one term fully without the other. Although he doesn't use the term, arguments about category membership and 'special cases' may be cast in terms of appeal to semic axes, or arguments about their relevance. This process is endlessly recursive: one may have arguments about arguments about arguments... Although human cognitive faculties may place an upper limit upon the process, possibly in terms of short-term memory capacity. Dennett (1983 p.345) makes this point in relation to Intentionality.² (Pinker 1994 p.207, makes a similar point in relation to sentence construction and comprehension.) Billig's point is rather that the possibilities of argumentation are infinite. From the framework developed so far, this conclusion can be seen as a direct result of the relational nature of meaning and the structural properties of 'semantic space'.

If one wanted to represent the semantic 'space' of a group of terms, one might begin by constructing a simple hierarchy, classifying each term according to one axis, or opposition. The representational problems begin with the addition of a second axis. Two terms separated by the first may not be distinguished according to the second. And so on. The structure which begins to emerge is not the traditional tree-like hierarchy, but a more complex tangle of interconnections. In other words, a labyrinth. The same labyrinthine structure emerges when one imagines more than one of Saussure's associative fields represented together.

The labyrinth is discussed by Eco (1984 p.80-4). The model arose in response to the ancient question of how one should construct an encyclopaedia, and the inadequacies of the hierarchically-structured Porphyrian tree³. The first conceptualisation envisaged an amended tree which allowed also for cross-connections between nodes. This representation, however, still retains an implicit hierarchical structure, with the cross-connections subordinated to the primary hierarchy or division. The representation is better

²He explains using the following illustration, "How high can we human beings go? 'In Principle,' forever, no doubt, but in fact I suspect that you wonder whether I realise how hard it is for you to be sure that you understand whether I mean to be saying that you can recognize that I can believe you to want me to explain that most of us can keep track of only about five or six orders, under the best of circumstances."

³The problems with hierarchical structure will be discussed in detail in chapter 3.3.

captured by a multidimensional model: as an infinite net - a set of nodes and their interconnections.

On this point a distinction needs to be made between the potential structure, where all nodes are linked with all other nodes, and the 'real-ised' structure of a particular instance where, in practise, not all codes will have been connected.

This idea of a structural network is similar to a recurring theme in educational handbooks. For example, Curzon (1990 p.187) quotes William James:

"The more other facts a fact is associated with in the mind the better possession of it our memory retains. Each of its associates becomes a hook to which it hangs, a means to fish it up when sunk beneath the surface."

The fad for 'cognitive maps' or 'spider diagrams' is a more recent manifestation. In relation to advertising, the product is inserted into an image (and text) which is constructed to afford accessible, positive connotations, in the hope that these connotations will 'rub off' on the product itself, or that the product will be incorporated into the 'appropriate' lexicon or portion of the semantic labyrinth. That is, the advertisement engineers the context for the product.

2.6 Discursive 'Space'

Discourse (speech or writing) proceeds in a linear fashion. This is partly a reflection of production constraints, but also a wider phenomenon. One strings together an argument or a narrative, building on what has gone before and usually with some particular goal in mind. Occasionally a non-linear structure is implied. One may indicate that one is 'returning' to a previous point, or that several points relate to the present one ("there are three consequences of this..." etc) But usually, discourse is realised in a linear form. In the more laborious process of writing, especially, one may become aware of pausing to 'weigh up' which word or idea to write next. At each pause, it may be argued that one is mentally running through a paradigmatic set of choices. This process will be constrained by what has been said or written before and by what one intends to say next. Discourse,

therefore, may be envisaged as a path through the (potential) labyrinth of meaning, or the generation of discursive space.

This path is the product of an individual or social organ (e.g. a newspaper) and therefore may always be located, or ascribed. This is what I intend by the term 'discourse'. 'Discursive space' consists of the structure within which a discourse is located. It includes not only what is said but also what is thereby denied. The two are inextricably related, but discourse represents a series of choices, or prioritisation and subjugation of options, whereas discursive space is simply the set of choices. Once discursive space is opened up by one discourse, other discourses may colonise it. These may follow the same path as the initial discourse, but are free to choose different and even contrary paths: to question, to subvert or to ignore the semic axes employed in the initial discourse, and to propose alternatives. Pick provides the following discussion of 'discourse':

"It has come to stress the idea of a movement to and fro of a given mode of language within historically specific boundaries. This is to emphasise the etymological root of the word, *discurrere*. Discourse here means more than the articulation of an argument, or the deployment of a set of rhetorical figures. It suggests rather the sense of a discursive space and thus of confines, horizons" (Pick, 1989 p.9).

Interestingly, Landow (1992 p.29) describes 'the end of linear writing' in the form of the technological advances which allow for non-linear presentation in computer retrieval systems. At this point it will be useful to formally introduce what has been called 'discourse analysis', or 'discursive psychology'.

2.7 A Discursive Approach

What is it? Discourse analysis builds on the structuralist platform, i.e. it assumes relativity in meaning, but it asks two additional questions: how did it come to be this way? (history) and what political relations and conflicts motivate and are enacted in discourse? And I would like to add: how do discourses interact? In asking how things came to be the way they are, discourse analysis provides an antidote to the reification of the system of meaning implicit in synchronic structuralism, and enables the psychological 'user' to re-

enter the system; it allows one to envisage movement and conflict over time, which is simply impossible in a system that is frozen at one moment in time.

It should be pointed out, however, that the reintroduction of the diachronic does not contravene the terms of what Sturrock calls a "moderate structuralism". This position extends the assumption of relativity to the structuralist enterprise itself, which is "defined by the differences that exist between it and other interpretations" (Sturrock, 1979 p.12). The structuralist position may oppose other forms of criticism, but "it has never proposed to suppress" them.

A word or two about Saussure's position are in order here. First, Saussure's prioritisation of the synchronic needs to be seen within its contemporary context, as a move to counter the prevailing diachronic trend in linguistics and to reinstate synchronic analyses. Second, following the deconstructionist critique of Derrida, the synchronic is always informed by the diachronic. The imposed hierarchy may be critiqued, or 'deconstructed', in the following manner: the prioritisation of one term over the other is noted, then the given prioritisation is questioned, for example, an attempt is made to reverse the prioritisation, and the conclusion is drawn that the terms are interdependent: each recalls the other (Derrida, 1972). This argument is at the root of Derrida's campaign against the western privileging of speech over writing, which is maintained by the authenticating presence of the speaker and its absence in writing. Sturrock puts it thus:

"An author can have no special authority over what he has written and then published, because he has committed it both to strangers and to the future. The meanings it will henceforth yield need not coincide with those he believed he had invested in it: they will depend on who reads it and in what circumstances" (Sturrock, 1979 p.14).

For Derrida, then the context in which a text is read effectively constitutes another text. In terms of the labyrinthine⁴ formulation, meaning derives from the current state of the

⁴'labyrinthine' is intended here in the sense of pertaining to the labyrinth. However, it is interesting to note that the colloquial sense of confusing - a place to get lost, is also appropriate. Whilst text is usually linear, computer technology has advanced to the extent that one may generate and explore a labyrinth on-screen (and get lost in). It may also be noted that a footnote marks the beginning of an alternative path through the semantic labyrinth, but one which is suppressed in relation to the primary, linear, text.

labyrinth, which is always in flux. It may also be noted that Billig's proposed guideline for the psychologist reflects the deconstructionist method in its exhortation to question the implicit privileging of one term over its relational opposite: "If one psychological principle appears reasonable, then try reversing it, in order to see whether its contrary is just as reasonable" (Billig, 1996 p.41). The two also run in parallel in their conclusions that each member of an oppositional pair is implicated in the other and that hence, the possibility of argumentation is always infinite.

The model of the labyrinth admits the diachronic in explicitly recognising the located generation of discursive space. This process is spelled out in Potter and Wetherell's recourse to Austin's (1962) theory of speech acts as one of the 'theoretical pillars' of discourse analysis (Potter and Wetherell, 1987 e.g. p.14-8). That speech acts in certain circumstances is evident. "Don't tread on the Mome Raths" is an order, a behavioural prescription (or proscription). But the theory of speech acts extends this functional, directive property to all language use. It alerts us to the possibility that what portrays itself as 'mere' description is, in fact, prescription, laden with value-judgment. Research which has attempted to apply this notion to conversational analysis quickly concluded that there is no one-to-one mapping between grammatical construction and action e.g. Lalljee and Widdicombe (1989 p.79). Rather, analysis always requires contextualisation. This contextualisation essentially refers to the prior trajectory of the present discourse and of other discourses generated within the same discursive space. This is neatly expressed by Reicher, referring to the work of Bakhtin: "Language is not simply subject to our own intentions, it is also populated by the intentions of others" (Reicher, 1988 p.286). This points to a crucial set of terms missing from this review so far and which Reicher points out in his essay on Billig's book; simply, the notion of power-relations, or the political relativity of relativity.

2.8 Power, Legitimation and Access

The essential point is that discourse is relational and strategic. It operates to achieve certain effects. These effects may be behavioural, but are often cognitive, for example, concurrence with one's point of view. Power cannot be localised. It is not a commodity. As Foucault puts it, "Power must be analysed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain ... Power is employed and exercised

through a net-like organisation ... individuals are the vehicles of power, not its point of application" (Foucault, 1980a p.98).

Foucault (1980a) distinguishes two forms of power-relations which he calls respectively sovereign power and disciplinary power. The former is a simple, coercive relationship of oppression and obedience. The latter is characterised by relations of dominance and subjugation. Whereas sovereign power operates through law and obligation, such as periodic levies, disciplinary power operates continuously through surveillance and normalising discourses. The rule of disciplinary power "is not the judicial rule deriving from sovereignty, but a natural rule, a norm. The code they come to define is not that of law but that of normalisation" and "It is human sciences which constitute their domain, and clinical knowledge their jurisprudence." (Foucault, 1980a p.106-7) In this way, knowledge is brought into the equation of power. This equation is enacted through the operation of the rules of right, the mechanisms by which power defines true knowledge. This knowledge serves, in turn, to justify and legitimate power-relations.

The operation of disciplinary power in relation to medical and (social) psychological discourses on smoking has been discussed in chapter one. Before considering the notion of the discursive operation of power further, it is necessary to say a few things about the issue of terminology, and thereby address some of the subtleties differentiating the work of different authors in the field.

There is an unhelpful proliferation of terms which have been employed to denote the power-relations between discourses. Van Dijk (1993) seems to counterpose 'dominance' and 'challenge', while Foucault (1980a) discusses 'globalising discourses' and 'subjugated knowledges'. Billig (1996) favours 'logos' and 'antilogos', while Bakhtin (1981) refers to 'monologic', 'dialogic' and 'heteroglossic' discourses.

All explicitly favour a multiplicity of voices and offer active encouragement to that voice which opposes the hegemonic or globalising aspirations of the dominant interest or power-elite. Each set of terms has its advantages and disadvantages. Van Dijk's proposal (dominance / challenge) seems to be a less eloquent expression of Foucault's (globalising discourses / subjugated knowledges), although it has the advantage of implying active resistance, whereas Foucault's apparent inconsistency in the second term may be a problem and seems to contribute to the erroneous criticism that his analyses allow little

space for political resistance (see section 2.9). Billig's choice (logos / antilogos) has the advantage of recalling 'word', with its attendant resonance from the opening chapter of Saint John to the sermon of Obadiah Slope, and without causing confusion with the more prosaic sense of 'word'. This serves to situate the concepts within a wider tradition than some of the modern (or 'post-modern') enterprises, which sometimes display a childlike ignorance in their reinvention of the discursive wheel. It also has the advantage of asymmetrical symmetry, which implies both the head-on confrontation of discourses and the critical position of the second voice. He doesn't, however, retain the word 'discourse'. Bakhtin's (1981) terminology has the advantage of stressing the proliferation of voices and of connoting a fuzzy relay between internal and external voices (as does Billig's), but is somewhat inelegant. Although, it does retain the connotations attached to 'glossic'. In conclusion, I shall retain 'discourse' and prefix 'subjugated' and either 'globalising' or 'dominant', or, when I have labelled specific discourses, I shall use these labels.

An integral part of the operation of power is control over access to a discursive platform. Van Dijk (1993 p.256) identifies a relationship between social power and discourse access. The spatial analogy is useful here because it highlights not only the absolute issue of access but, more subtly, the positioning of that discursive freedom, both within and between different discursive platforms. The issue of censorship is one aspect of this control which is especially pertinent to the world of smoking at present. Van Dijk concludes that the "power and dominance of groups are measured by their control over (access to) discourse." Whilst this is important, it is reasonable to ask whether this is an adequate definition. He self-consciously focuses on the discursive strategies of power-elites and this does not allow sufficient space for a consideration of strategies of resistance. Foucault's analysis, considered below, is, to my mind, more useful, as resistance is considered to be an integral part of power-relations.

2.9 Resistance and the Role of the Critic

I hope that I may trust to the forbearance of the reader if I choose to introduce this section with an 'antiquarian' illustration, taken from Aristophanes' *Frogs*. The speech is ascribed to the Chorus as the rival disputants to the Poet's Chair in the Underworld (Aeschylus and Euripides) enter (405BC Trans. D.Barrett 1964 p.187):

"Ah, how impressive the rage that burns in the heart of the Thunderer!
Vainly the fangs of his rival are bared in a gesture of hate!
Note how superbly he raves, with what fine independence his eye-balls
 In divers directions gyrate!
Words are their weapons: watch out, as the armour-clad syllables hurtle,
Helmeted, crested, and plumed, from the lips of the Poet Most High!
Wait for the clash and the din as the metaphors mingle and jumble,
 The sparks as the particles fly!
See the great spread of his mane, as it bristles in leonine fury:
No one can doubt any more that those whiskers are truly his own!
Huge are the words that he hurls, great compounds with rivets and bolts in,
 And epithets hewn out of stone.
Now 'tis the challenger's turn to reply to this verbal bombardment:
Neatly each phrase he dissects, with intelligence crafty and keen;
Harmless around him the adjectives fall, as he ducks into cover
 And squeaks, 'It depends what you mean!'"

The quotation elegantly captures the art of the critical discourse analyst, in both structure and content. The critic is apportioned a marginal quantity of words. Those words, however, deconstruct and act to counter those of the dominant interest, but not without risk of danger to the critic: the threat of censorship. Aeschylus and Euripides can be seen as competing for a valuable resource (the Poet's Chair, and, more saliently, the chance to return to Athens, to 'save the City'). The Chorus captures the conflictual nature of discourse, and the power imbalance between Aeschylus, "the Thunderer" (an epithet of Zeus) and Euripides "the Challenger".

A more 'up-to-date' account of the critical discourse analyst is provided by van Dijk (1993). Before discussing what van Dijk intends by this 'critical' project, it is worth pointing out one problem which faces a discourse analytic approach, and which van Dijk addresses. Academic criticism of a text produces a second text. If such a text is 'free-floating', i.e. takes the view that there is nothing beyond the text, then it invites one to ask: what special claims can it possibly have on our attention? Why should it receive a privileged hearing? Simply because it is more reflexive? That's easy enough, surely? After all, it is always possible to add brackets or ascribe quotation marks (within the limits of practical metarepresentation set out by Dennett, 1983.) Technically, an "argument for argument's

sake" might represent such an approach. However, this is surely implausible as a general position. Although it shouldn't be entirely dismissed. Billig, for example, entertains the idea of a motive to 'have the last word' as a self-protection mechanism (Billig, 1996 p.138); but this boils down to an assertion that one is not persuaded by one's interlocutor. However, the very business of ascribing a specific, located voice to a statement certainly has its value. It demonstrates the political use of words. This is one of the classic defences of the relativist position: simply that it deconstructs that which previously was assumed. It shows, by proposing an alternative perspective, that things need not be the way they are, and, moreover, that the way they are is the product of socio-historically located practices i.e. it is motivated by political interests.

The critical discourse analyst cannot lay claim to any absolute truth, as its non-existence is axiomatic to its operation. The discourse analyst him/herself acknowledges this and instead proposes an explicitly political and situated critic. Which, paradoxically, appears to imply that the analyst lays claim to a prioritising of one political position over another. "*On what grounds?*" strikes me as a fair question. Thus, discourse analysis needs to be grounded in a reality of conflict of interests and of power-relations. The critical discourse analyst grounds his or her work in real socio-economic conditions and in the political quest to redress their imbalance. Van Dijk expresses the critic's role thus: "Their critical targets are the power elites that enact, sustain, legitimate, condone or ignore social inequality and injustice. That is, one of the criteria of their work is solidarity with those who need it most" (van Dijk, 1993 p.252), hence discourse analysis' focus on the trinity of power-differentials: race, gender and class. This is a logical consequence of an approach which characterises speech as action: the critical, academic discourse thus aims to act, to produce reactions in this material world.

The inclusion of "ignore" in van Dijk's list of abuses of power is important, because it implicates protestations of 'academic neutrality': all discourse is located in the matrix of power-relations, and, according to Foucault (1980a p.106-7), the discourse of the human sciences is especially implicated in the operation of disciplinary power.

Discursive power is necessarily open to potential resistance. This is simply the result of the fact that any conceivable assertion may be negated. So, what is the nature of resistance? As with power, it always operates within social relationships, that is, it is relational. As Foucault puts it, "Power is only exercised over free subjects, and only

insofar as they are free" (Foucault, 1982 p.221). One cannot be said to exercise power over something which cannot resist our intentions. This freedom consists in the possibility of several different courses of action, and resistance operates to maintain this diversity, or, in terms of discourse, to open up discursive space. Discursive resistance thus acts in opposition to the operation of globalising discourses, which seek to suppress resistance through, among other things, naturalisation, or what Barthes called myth. The essence of this process of naturalisation is the erasing of any indication of the constructed and contingent nature of the discourse. This is achieved primarily through the suppression of its own history and of its sociopolitical 'locatedness'.

This suggests the discursive strategies available to the critic: the recovery of this history and the ascription of its location. The former is illustrated in detail by the work of Pick (1989 - degeneration theory) and especially of Foucault (1973, madness; 1979, criminality; 1980b, sexuality). Foucault calls this recovery of the history of discursive struggles, the "insurrection of subjugated knowledges" (1980a p.81). These knowledges are of two kinds: "the buried knowledges of erudition and those disqualified from the hierarchy of knowledges and sciences" (Foucault, 1980a p.82). The methodology of this analysis he terms 'archaeology', and the tactics of reactivating subjugated knowledges he terms 'genealogy' (Foucault, 1980a p.85).

Foucault raises three possible responses on the part of the globalising discourse. First, to recuperate the newly disinterred knowledges, "to annex them, to take them back within the fold of their own discourse and to invest them with everything this implies in terms of their effects of knowledge and power" (Foucault, 1980a p.86). To my mind, this strategy of subversion is the process Barthes refers to as 'recuperation'. Second, to criticise them as, for example, "false, inadequately elaborated, poorly articulated and ill-founded"; and third, to simply ignore them. Essentially, the critic of the critic has available the same strategies as the critic. However, the critic of a dominant discourse may be obliged to engage with that discourse.

A more elaborate typology of resistance, or oppositional readings, is given by Liebes and Katz (1989 p.218-9; 1990 p.128-9) in their study of the reception of the US soap opera *Dallas* by members of several different ethnic groups. Their analysis yielded two dimensions: first, involvement ('hot' or 'cold'), and second, whether the reader gave credence to the programme (referential) or was critical. The four resulting oppositional

readings are shown in Figure 2.2 below:

Figure 2.2

	Referential	Critical
"Hot"	Moral	Ideological
"Cool"	Ludic	Aesthetic

Typology of oppositional readings.

(Liebes & Katz, 1989 p.219)

For each position, they identify a vulnerability. The moral position deems the programme worthy of argument in the first place, the ideological position is in danger of uncritically accepting as true the opposite of the programme's representation, the aesthetic criticism is in danger of letting the ideological message slip by unnoticed, and the ludic position, oddly and rather unsatisfactorily, "may fail to bring one back to earth". Their participants often employed more than one position, but Liebes and Katz do not comment on whether or not this multiplied their vulnerabilities as well as their defences, and it is tempting to conclude that all this simply illustrates the plasticity of argumentation and the strategic use of counter-arguments.

On this point, the work of McGuire and others on 'inoculation theory' is worth mentioning (e.g. McGuire and Papageorgis, 1961; McGuire, 1964; Allyn and Festinger, 1961; Festinger and Maccoby, 1964). Their research involved exposing subjects to a 'mild dose' of an argument opposing a 'cultural truism' ("beliefs one holds that are so ingrained within the cultural milieu that they had never been attacked") which 'activated' a defensive counter-argument. The subjects were then given statements countering the opposing argument and reinforcing their initial beliefs. A week later, subjects were less likely to find a second opposing communication persuasive. Interestingly, in investigating the issues of distraction and forewarning, Festinger and Maccoby come close to Billig's (1996) (and Bakhtin's, 1981) notion of thought as internalised argumentation. They imagine the thoughts of a person listening to a communication arguing against a position to which they are strongly committed: "Most likely ... he is very actively, inside his own mind, counterarguing, derogating the points the communicator makes, and derogating the

communicator himself" (Festinger and Maccoby, 1964 p.360).

In relation to resistance, inoculation theory highlights the importance of the availability of counter-arguments. Whilst much of rhetoric is concerned with the generation of these alternative perspectives, it becomes clear from McGuire's work that the potential for counter-argument may not always be realised; and that the social availability of 'templates' is an important aspect of resistance. It also becomes an essential task for the critic: to continually open up discursive space, and to prevent its closure by globalising discourses. In relation to this, Festinger et al's (1956) study, *When prophecy fails*, highlights the importance of social support for the maintenance of an argument when it is challenged.

2.10 Conclusions

This chapter has described a theoretical framework grounded in the structuralist approach of Saussure and drawing upon the work of more recent analysts in the structuralist, 'post-structuralist' and discursive traditions. For Saussure, meaning is relative: it is the product of a system of differences. A thing is defined only in relation to what it is not. The model of discursive, or more broadly, representational, space adopted here has used Eco's formulation of the labyrinth as a (multidimensional) spatial analogy of meaning. This 'space' is conceptualised in two ways. First, as the composite of all relevant Saussurian associative (or paradigmatic) sets of connotation, and, second, as the analytic product of a body of material analysed using multiple semic axes, or dimensions (the collapse of the hierarchical Porphyrian tree). A distinction was made between the potential and the realised labyrinth. The latter is discourse, which is seen as the chosen trajectory through discursive space.

The structuralist approach advocates a synchronic as opposed to diachronic approach. This emphasis is itself the result of historic conditions: specifically, Saussure's dissatisfaction with contemporary linguists' exclusive focus on phylogeny. The distinction between the synchronic and the diachronic may be considered in terms of the labyrinthine analogy. The synchronic approach addresses the labyrinth as it stands at one moment in time. The diachronic approach seeks to chart the evolution of the labyrinth over time and in relation to external conditioning factors. Whilst diachronic change for Saussure was an irrelevance in relation to *la langue*, when it comes to representations and to political

conflicts over time, the diachronic assumes an important role: it charts the interaction and respective dominance of different representations.

The medicalization thesis in relation to smoking is, in part, an historical thesis, or claim. For this reason, two of the empirical studies reported below take a diachronic approach. In addition, an historical literature review of the medical discourses on smoking is included. These sections address different (historical) questions. The medicalization thesis is primarily concerned with the evolution of the contemporary medical discourse (and its globalising tendencies). The literature review (chapter four, part one) examines some of the medical representations of smoking in the pre-modern era and questions the nature and relative dominance of these representations. The first empirical study examines the evolution of tobacco-related themes in the modern (post-war) period, as reported in one UK newspaper (chapter four, part two). This analysis seeks to explore the development and expansion of the contemporary medical discourse in relation to other representations of smoking. The second diachronic study focuses on the evolving nature of UK cigarette advertising over the same period and, again, explores the development of contemporary medical and other representations (chapter six). The first analysis is largely structural in that it does not seek to relate the evolution of the text to external factors. The second analysis, however, is contextualised in relation to the first. It is argued that contemporary cigarette advertising is best understood in relation to the absences of previously current representations.

Whereas some of the more radical readings of structuralism have advocated a free-floating relativism (or an absolute 'social constructionist' perspective), this chapter has discussed a more moderate approach. Following the discourse analytic emphasis on discourse as an act and discursive space as the site of political conflict, this chapter has argued for a grounded approach to analysis. For example, the process of criticism is grounded in a consideration of the implications of specific discourses, and especially, dominant discourses. In relation to smoking, some of the implications of the dominant, medical, discourse have been discussed in the previous chapter.

This grounded approach is motivated by a vision of representational space as the site of representational conflict. That is, the evolution of the medical discourse is not simply a 'random drift' effect. It is, rather, the product of a deeply contested battle for legitimacy. This chapter has considered Barthes' concept of recuperation, or the 'Protean' capacity of

representations to subvert contrary representations, and Foucault's distinction of three 'rhetorical' strategies available to the dominant discourse in the face of insurrection on the part of 'subjugated' discourses. Of these three broad strategies one option is similar to Barthes' idea of recuperation: the alternative, critical discourse is annexed by the dominant discourse, or, pursuing McGuire's interestingly medical analogy, the dominant discourse infects the alternative discourse in the manner in which a virus introduces itself into a host cell and hijacks the cell's chemical apparatus to its own ends (the production of more viruses).

The second strategy is to undermine the alternative discourse through criticisms of falsehood, inadequacy, partiality, dubious political motivation etcetera. One such strategy entails the contention that the legitimating authority (in the case of medicalization, the medical and scientific community) has been inconsistent in its pronouncements on smoking over time. This, in itself, is vulnerable to the contrary medical and scientific claim that the history of medicine and science is progressive - an illustration of the first critical strategy: the critical perspective is vulnerable to recuperation.

These first two general strategies are equally available to both the dominant and the alternative, critical representations. However, the final strategy seems to be less readily available to the critical discourse. This third strategy is simply to ignore the opposing representation. This is because the dominant representation sets the terms of the representational space in which the alternative representation is obliged to operate. This is in contrast to Billig's championing of the freedom of invention in the generation of antilogoi. In a very material sense, the antilogos is constrained by the terms set out in the logos: it must in some respects address those arguments, even if it goes on to propose new terms.

The studies reported below follow one prescription of the structural approach in focusing, primarily on the representations themselves in public discourse and images, and not in investigating their reception or use in everyday conversation. This places important constraints on the conclusions which may be drawn from the present analyses, as well as suggesting the place of the present research in the context of a wider project of future research. However, the critical process, as exercised academically, should not be so sharply distinguished from everyday lay practices. This is illustrated by Liebes and Katz' discussion of critical strategies among television soap-opera viewers. I have argued that

the critic's aim in contextualising his or her discourse is, ultimately, to ground the critical act in sociopolitical resistance. However, it becomes apparent that the interaction amongst discourses may yield patterns and effects which merit attention in their own right, separate from (although never entirely independent of) their political ends. This approach focuses on the interaction among representations themselves as critical strategies. While the primary focus of this thesis is on the medicalization of smoking, an important secondary focus is thus on the role of the critic.

Finally, a broadly structuralist approach is useful in that it does not require an exclusively linguistic modality. Although I have referred largely to 'discourse' and not to 'representations', a key point made in this chapter is that representations can also be images. For example, a cigarette advertisement featuring a newly developed type of filter may use an annotated diagram of a section through the filter, which recuperates the form of scientific imagery. Alternatively, colour may be used in cigarette packet livery to distinguish between different tar levels. This allows, indeed necessitates, a methodology which can encompass these different modalities, and this is what I shall turn to in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter seeks to address the following questions: First, what are the methodological prescriptions implicit in the theoretical framework of the previous chapter? Second, what kinds of substrates offer suitable means of addressing the generation and content of tobacco and smoking-related representations. Third, how may the theoretical framework be tailored to the specific sources chosen? That is, the particular methods employed will, in part, be determined by the substrate itself. And, finally, what means of 'quality control' are appropriate?

3.1 FROM THEORY TO METHOD: GENERAL PRESCRIPTIONS

There are two general prescriptions inherent in the theoretical review of the first chapter. These may be labelled relativity and reflexivity. Each will be addressed briefly below: the former in relation to the notions of triangulation and contextualisation, and the latter in relation to the issue of quantitative versus qualitative approaches. These general prescriptions will also be considered in relation to 'quality control' issues towards the end of this chapter.

Relativity, Triangulation and Contextualisation

It is tempting to say that a series of related studies will provide a means of 'triangulation' on an issue. However, whilst it is true that a series of such studies will yield a variety of perspectives, it is less clear that they will converge upon the same object. This is because the object is, in part, generated, or constructed, by the method. A variety of methods may highlight the partiality of other accounts, but this does not mean that biases will be systematically delimited, or 'cancel each other out'. Rather, this is to assume that an objective position is possible in the first place, and that methodological inadequacies are no more than just that. In other words, that some objective truth is only partially revealed,

on account of the researcher's partialities or biases, and the limitations inherent in a particular research technique. This model misses entirely the discursive and rhetorical dimensions of research, and thus itself is partial (see, for example, Potter and Wetherell's discussion of ATP scientists; 1987 p.146-57).

However, having argued that the notion of triangulation, or rather, its underlying assumption of objectivity, is problematical, it is also clear that methodological relativism is an essential sequitur of a generally relativist theoretical position. It might also be added that the recent(ish) flurry of interest in 'triangulation' (see Flick, 1993) might most usefully be seen as a bizarre lexical fetish, akin to the person who was amazed to discover that they had been talking prose all their life¹: research has always entailed taking different perspectives. The relativist position simply argues that it is unsafe to assume that a series of different perspectives will 'naturally' converge upon the same object to yield a unified and consistent picture. The relativist would, rather, expect a divergence in the resulting representations and, further, would attempt to locate this variation in relation to politically-motivated rhetorical practices and contextual variation.

Does methodological relativism mean "anything goes"? The answer is, of course, both yes and no. The tolerant relativist will have to admit that no types of question, or methodology are ruled out *a priori*, on theoretical grounds. However, ethical considerations will, no doubt, preclude certain forms of enquiry and certain 'objects'. Similarly, and relatedly, certain researches will be deemed improper by the politically sensitised researcher, if they serve to justify or promote the interests of the dominant over the 'downtrodden', and if they effect a closure of discursive space.

The model of semantic space allows a more refined perspective on methodological relativism. The approach situates any particular discourse or image in the context of all other discourses and images. Thus, it is appropriate, indeed necessary, to take each perspective in itself, but also to be aware of its position in relation to other positions; that is, to appreciate its rhetorical nature. Each perspective acts as a context for the others. Further, this does not imply a passive relationship; the positions themselves interact with each other, and provide mutually conditioning 'selection pressures'.

¹Molière: *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, II.iv, "Par ma foi! ily a plus de quarante ans que je dis de la prose sans que j'en susse rien."

The academic, or critical discourse is just as 'located' as the representations on which it seeks to comment. However, it may be hoped that a critical discourse will show some evidence of reflexivity, or awareness of its political position and that it will serve to open up discursive space. This notion of reflexivity is a useful means to deconstructing some of the antagonisms among different research styles. One such antagonism is the issue of qualitative versus quantitative techniques.

Qualitative and Quantitative: A Rapprochement?

The tension between these two approaches will be a recurring theme of this chapter. It may be sketched out in 'strawperson' fashion: The qualitative researcher accuses the quantitative researcher of simplification and 'management' of the subjects' responses, for example, in questionnaire design. The quantitative researcher counters that the qualitative researcher has granted him or herself greater freedom to argue his or her own cause, in selecting their data in the form of convenient quotations from, say, interview transcripts, and in presenting 'summaries' of qualitative data which must simply be taken on trust. One side is accused of using blunt tools which are further wielded selectively, in recourse to statistical means and significant differences which are blind to all but the most obstinate outliers (which are usually excluded anyway). The other side is accused of spurious political motives and lack of rigour.

The binary opposition of quantitative and qualitative research is readily deconstructed. First, it appears that each has its adherent research camp, critical of the other, as the 'strawperson' sketch above illustrates. It is less clear, at present, which is the dominant camp, although quantification has traditionally occupied this place in social psychology. The two styles are, however, closely related. Quantified results may be spelled out in words. Indeed, it appears their conventional expression (to take Oakes' example (discussed below): " $t=2.7$, $df=18$, $p<.05$ ") connotes greater precision, or certainty, than the identical proposition reported in words (e.g. "there is a one in twenty probability of finding a difference between the means as large as, or larger than, the observed difference, assuming that the null hypothesis is true.") The possibility of an erroneous conclusion is stated more explicitly, and qualified in the verbal account. Similarly, quantification is not an abstract enterprise. Rather, it relates to qualitative distinctions, even in the realm of experimentation. The distinction between the groups to be compared, or the identification

of the variables to be correlated, is a qualitative one, which is then 'mapped on to' quantitative differences. Conversely, much qualitative reporting entails implicit quantitative claims or references: statements of tendency, trends and so forth. Curran (1976 p.5-6) makes this point in discussing content analytic techniques. Where quantitative estimates form part of an analysis, they should be appropriately supported. Thus, whilst the two approaches are vigorously distinguished in their respective discourses, the distinction is difficult to maintain on closer inspection.

The details of the approaches to be used in the present studies, and their combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques will be presented in subsequent sections of this chapter. For the present, I shall restrict myself to a few comments on the place of quantification, as the promoters of similar theoretical positions to the one developed in the first chapter tend to belong to the exclusively pro-qualitative camp.

Numbers should not be accorded a privileged place in an account, at least not without a clear realisation of their underlying assumptions. This applies not least to the hallowed .05 significance level, which has acquired almost mystical properties in its ability to determine the likelihood of publication and the resulting affect of the researcher. The statistical theory underpinning quantitative research of this kind is a discourse on assumptions and parameters, a precise delineation of what counts as a justifiable conclusion, and what confidence should be attached to it. Apparently, this credo is but poorly understood, if the findings of Oakes (1986 p.79-82) are in any way representative of the community of psychological researchers.² It can hardly be hoped that there has been a dramatic alteration to this state of affairs if a recent replication and extension of his study, with second year undergraduates is anything to go by³. This seems to highlight a certain lack of reflexivity in the quantitative approach as it is pursued by at least a proportion of quantitative researchers.

However, there is nothing inherent in quantitative research which absolutely precludes reflexivity. Rather, the hagiolatry of the canon of ANOVA techniques seems to relate to

²Oakes (1986) found that many of his academic psychologist participants endorsed a number of incorrect statements in relation to the legitimate conclusions to be drawn from null hypothesis testing.

³carried out in January 1996, by P.Jackson, A. Wells and myself.

the denial of the discursive or rhetorical nature of the research enterprise. A more pertinent criticism of an approach which relies heavily on quantification is the general neglect of what can't be measured, and the reduction of what can be measured to measurement alone. But, quantification can be seen as just another research tool and used intelligently in combination with qualitative analyses, and reflexively, with an honest recognition of the limits of possible interpretation. This means that the nature of quantified results should be qualified and illustrated. For example, if quantification requires categorisation of elements of raw data, the categories require more than just a label: that is, a suitable balance between categorisation and particularisation must be attempted.

Similarly, where quantitative results are presented, elements or aspects of the data which appear to contradict the conclusions drawn, need to be considered in detail and their potential implications for the 'general findings' spelled out. This act of quantification operates not merely to define the boundaries of application of the 'general rule', but to enhance the total analysis by readmitting, or legitimating, the contrary data. It is not merely an awkward thing to be explained away, or ignored, but an essential aspect of the data, worthy of comment itself. In this way, the qualitative techniques permeate the entire analysis. They do not simply constitute the preliminary 'breeding ground' for hypotheses to be tested quantitatively, nor simply a qualifying postscript.

The most suitable means of analysis, however, derives in part from the choice of substrate, which will be discussed in the next section.

3.2 THE CHOICE OF SUBSTRATE

This section is intended to outline the choice of data sources used in the empirical chapters to follow and to justify these choices. It should be pointed out, however, that there are myriad possibilities of both materials and methods compatible with the general aims and theoretical position of this thesis, and that the choices made here are a selective subset. Thus it will be necessary to justify, also, the entire selection, as well as the individual sources in isolation. The selection is necessarily made before the analyses are carried out and the conclusions composed. In this way, the selection represents the prior expectations based on saliences suggested in preliminary readings. It would be unreasonable not to expect that these expectations will be revised in the light of the

analyses conducted. These retrospective alternatives will, of course, be explored as part of the concluding chapter, together with the possible biases involved in the current selection.

Times Index: historical contextualisation

The theoretical framework reviewed in the previous chapter highlights the importance of contextualisation within any broadly structural approach. This role is the subject of my first empirical study, reported in chapter four, which attempts to provide an historical account of tobacco and smoking-related issues for the period 1946-1995. For this analysis, a relatively generalist source was required, and I decided to choose press reporting, as this may be assumed to provide a reasonably broad coverage of the issues circulating in public discourse. The choice was further narrowed down to UK national 'quality' press, on the grounds that I am primarily concerned with the range of tobacco- and smoking-related issues within the British context, and that the 'quality' press are generally regarded as providing wider and more detailed coverage of news than their 'tabloid' counterparts.

I chose to focus on a single paper, *The Times*, in accordance with the labyrinthine model of discourse as generation of discursive space by a single, located, source. This may stretch the notion of a 'single source' in that the press articles themselves are the product of a large number of individual writers. However, they all appeared in the same media organ, and to that extent, they all carry the editorial support of *The Times*: even if this includes the publishing of contrary letters to the Editor. In this respect, it is important to note that discursive space is not limited by any constraint of consistency. Rather, it includes all arguments or representations granted access to the discursive platform. The actual source used was a publication called the *Times Index*. This is an abstract listing all items published in the *Times*, organised alphabetically by topic. All references under the heading "Tobacco..." and those cross-referenced therein were used. This served to reduce the volume of the source material sufficiently to afford an analysis of the complete 'population'. The choice, however, involved a compromise in that the editing involved in the production of the *Index* will, no doubt, have deemphasised some arguments.

"Smokeless Zones" and its Critics

This macro-level analysis of press material is followed, in chapter five, by a micro-level

analysis of a single contemporary press article (*Smokeless Zones*), together with a series of (critical) letters to the editor about the article, and two cartoons which appeared with the material. The choice of the article itself and the methodological relationship between the two press-related studies, are discussed in detail at the head of chapter five. One further justification for the choice of the article may be noted here. The author of the article, Richard Klein, is known also for his book *Cigarettes are Sublime* (1993). This book is the only source material quoted in detail by Lupton (1995) in her review of alternative 'cultural' perspectives of the symbolism of cigarette smoking. Whilst many other sources exist, Klein's book is the primary source which does not place comprehensive historical boundaries on the legitimacy of such symbolic readings, i.e., does not parenthesise them as historical curios. (Although, it should be noted that much of his chosen primary material is European, and especially French, and thus may not be as salient within UK cultures.)

Cigarettes Advertising

The remaining empirical studies focus primarily upon cigarettes. This allows a more detailed analysis than would be possible were I to include other means of tobacco-consumption, and may be further justified by the relative contemporary predominance of cigarettes in terms of consumption statistics:

"Despite the widely differing methods of consumption used throughout the world up to the nineteenth century, the entire world has been converging in the twentieth towards one type of tobacco consumption, the cigarette" (Goodman 1993 p.97)

The UK has been in the vanguard of this consumer convergence. In 1900 cigarettes accounted for over 10 percent of British tobacco sales (Alford 1973 p.480). Twenty years later the figure was in excess of 50 percent, and by 1950 it was 84 percent (Goodman 1993 p.94). The cigarette has also attracted the most intense medical interest. Possible extensions of these analyses to other forms of tobacco will be considered in the concluding chapter.

Chapter six interweaves three approaches: quantitative, discursive and semiological, to the analysis of a sample of 622 cigarette advertisements from four national newspapers for the period 1946-1995 (the same as for the *Times Index* study). An historical 'skeleton' of

relevant events, in addition to the *Times Index* analyses, provides the contextualising reference here. Newspaper advertisements were chosen because of the widespread audiences they achieved, and the four papers sampled were also chosen for their prime market positions. A random sample of advertisements across the 50 year period was chosen to prevent possible selection biases (see section 6.3 for details of sampling procedure). The choice of a relatively large-scale diachronic study is justified, in part, by the argument that contemporary advertising is not clearly explicable without a study of its evolution and the selection pressures which have shaped it. The respective claims of the large-scale content analytic approach and the small-scale semiological approach are addressed below.

Cigarette packaging

The final study, reported in chapter seven, concerns cigarette packaging. Packaging design, together with point-of-sales material, is the 'Cinderella' of academic attention to the media. However, there are several reasons for addressing this absence. Packaging design features heavily in contemporary cigarette advertising (see section 6.9). Indeed, it may be seen as a form of advertising in itself. Further, should advertising be banned, packaging will probably acquire even more importance. This is because packaging, together with price, is the most obvious difference between brands within any class of cigarettes: this is shown in blind-fold brand-identification tests (e.g. Whiteside, 1971 p.49). More than most consumer products, the cigarette packet is a personal object. The smoker sees and touches it throughout the smoking day, and is seen with it by others, to whom it may also be offered. Cigarette packaging is thus a visual discourse on the aesthetics of smoking, and the aesthetic tastes of the smoker. But it is more than a purely aesthetic discourse. It also refers to an economic and a medical discourse, in the way it may communicate its relative expense and tar content. In addition, it was the symbolic target of a recent anti-smoking campaign, in which John Cleese was shown addressing and then shooting a packet.

As an aesthetic discourse, it marks an interesting attempt at subverting the terms of the representation of tobacco and smoking away from the dominant medical representation. However, to the extent that packaging addresses medical representations, it indicates their relative power-relations. Pack livery, together with advertising, is a means of opening up the representational space of risk, in contravention of the medical pronouncement that

there is 'no such thing as a safe cigarette', by positing a representational space which includes a dimension of 'relative safety'.

The research questions to be addressed in this study concern the hypothesis that cigarette packaging design is a semiological system. The study takes as its material a near-complete synchronic collection of UK cigarette packets, current during Spring-Summer 1995. This analysis, together with the semiological analyses of advertisements above, is the closest in form to a traditional structural analysis, in that it focuses on the synchronic moment (see Barthes, 1964 p.98, Langholz Leymore, 1975 p.vii-ix). This choice was dictated, largely, through convenience of access. An historical study of the evolution of cigarette packaging design would be possible, but would pose serious problems in terms of selection criteria and simply locating extant instances of 'extinct' brands. This alternative, diachronic, approach will be discussed in the conclusions section of the analysis.

* * * * *

The entire selection of materials needs to be justified. Two of the studies focus on contemporary material, but I have argued that an important element of the contemporary is its (recent) historical evolution. Thus, the empirical studies begin with an analysis of this evolution. The 50 year period chosen marks what may be called the 'modern' era. This is by no means the start of the tobacco debate, as the first part of chapter four will show, but the post-war era represents a convenient starting point (and '50' is a nice round number!)

I have selected widely-available sources: national press reporting and advertisements and cigarette packaging, in an attempt to address the most visible public discourses and images of smoking. The choice of publicly-available texts will facilitate the task of the critic who wishes to check the analyses, as complete references to the materials used are provided in the appendix.

Having introduced the sources of the data to be used below, I shall now introduce the respective methods to be used in the analyses.

3.3 THE ANALYSES

Press Reporting : The Labyrinth Elaborated

In the previous chapter, I outlined a model of representational space based on Eco's description of the labyrinth. This section considers how this might be translated into a research method, by contrasting the labyrinth with classical content analysis: the traditional technique for handling quantities of text and images.

Classical content analysis presupposes a nested, hierarchically structured set of data. The coding frame imposes this linear, tree-like structure. For example, Holsti (1968 p.659) advises putting together a coding frame which asks binary questions. The advantages of this form of analysis are that vast quantities of data may be managed with relative ease and (quantifiable) comparisons may be made at any chosen level of the hierarchy. This conceptualisation is useful, but it requires some 'squeezing' of data to fit into the pre-ordained structure, however detailed ones initial codes may be at the most fine-grained level. In collapsing across codes to gain broader groupings (and a 'broader picture' of the data), there will always be awkward pieces of data which might happily 'go into' more than one category, and awkward categories which might happily 'go into' more than one superordinate category. To take a simple illustration, suppose one had the following six categories to organise into superordinate categories by the classical method:

- Sale of tobacco to children (STC)
- Sale of tobacco to adults (STA)
- Health risks of smoking to children (HRC)
- Health risks of smoking to adults (HRA)
- Passive smoking health risks to children (PSC)
- Passive smoking health risks to adults (PSA)

There are several possible ways of organising this data. Two are shown in Figure 3.1:

Figure 3.1 Two Alternative Trees

Example Tree 1

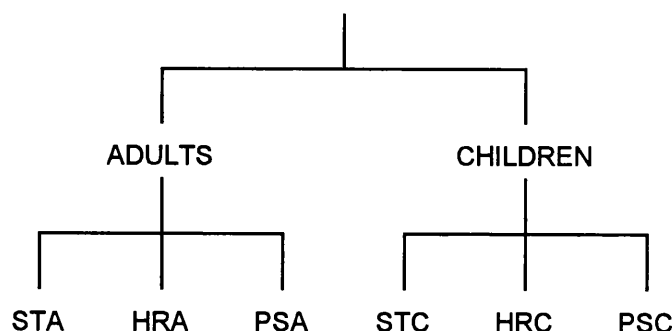
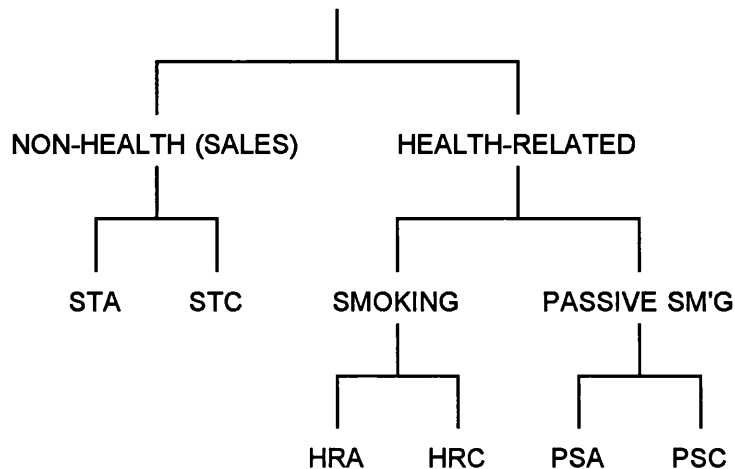


Figure 3.1 cont'd

Example Tree 2



If the researcher has theoretical reasons for wanting to make certain comparisons and ignore others, the choice will be dictated by these reasons. However, if the analysis is exploratory, and especially if the researcher is interested in the structure of the data, for instance, in terms of co-occurrences, or multiply-coded items, then any such choice will introduce unnecessary constraints.

The model of the labyrinth allows for flexibility in both conceptualisation and subsequent comparisons and analyses. The analysis still requires coding, or the grouping of the raw data into categories according to some dimensions of semantic similarity. This is unavoidable if one wishes to cover a large data set. However, a reflexive approach - one which describes the content of each category - can at least address the tendency to reification entailed by the abstraction of a category label. That is, the presentation of analyses makes explicit the constructed nature of the analytic categories or codes, and provides a detailed summary of the data which constitutes each category.

Nested hierarchies and labyrinths belong to different theoretical discourses. The nested hierarchy imposes structure from without and thus assumes objectivity. The labyrinth belongs to a tradition which is critical of the notion of a unitary objectivity. The labyrinth is generated through exploration of representational space. The analytic process is necessarily active, or constructive, and is always partial and located. The coding frame, or chosen hierarchy of classical content analysis, becomes just one among many possible perspectives. In adopting the labyrinthine model, it becomes clear that one important part

of any analysis is to situate oneself in some part of the labyrinth and simply report what can be seen: what links are made. In accepting that any specific hierarchy represents just one perspective, one is free to extract any number of such hierarchies. To return to the example, the health risks of smoking are linked to both adults and children, and to passive smoking by adults and children.

Assuming a labyrinth to be an appropriate way of representing the data, it is reasonable to suppose that some regions of the labyrinth are more densely inter-connected than others - i.e. certain themes or codes tend to co-occur in the data. This suggests one possible method of analysis: to lift these areas out of the labyrinth and designate them 'superordinate categories', (As Lacan rips the 'tree' of 'tree' out of the labyrinth, leaving loose threads: 1977 p.154-5) Eco justifies this as the reverse operation of labyrinth construction: i.e. a series of open-ended 'trees' may be joined together (1984 p.81). At this level, the interconnections within the superordinate category are unproblematical, as the purpose is to compare the different superordinate categories. The interconnections between codes which do not fall within the same superordinate category are more problematical, although expected. It is possible to deal with them, at least in part, by considering them in the discussion and by cross-referencing them. Further than this, they may be used directly to investigate the structure of the labyrinth: which codes are closely related, or familiar co-occurrences, and which are less closely connected.

So far the discussion has assumed a synchronic data set. The labyrinth, however, also allows for diachronic analysis: it evolves with the addition of new data. That is, themes appear and disappear over time. To anticipate the analysis of the *Times Index* presented in the next chapter, some themes, such as cigarette production and supplies, are prominent in the early years of the study and virtually disappear in later years. Other themes, such as the health risks of smoking, and then passive smoking, appear later on. Some themes are necessary prerequisites for others. For example, to sue a tobacco company successfully for the negative health-effects of its products requires that those negative health-effects be already established. That is, a code relating to litigation is 'budded off' an already existing code.

To summarise: a labyrinthine approach does not require the wholesale abandonment of traditional content analysis. It does, however, require a reconceptualisation of the process of content analysis, and in particular, a recognition of the constructive and partial nature

of the research process. This has two implications. First, the coding frame must not be allowed to gloss differences among bits of data allocated to the same code. In practice, this means that detailed accounts of constituent data, which stress differences and especially changes over time, should be presented. Second, as the labyrinth is not hierarchical, the appropriate method is to employ a detailed one-level coding frame which remains as close to the data as possible. The process of abstracting superordinate categories needs to be justified explicitly, either in relation to theoretical concerns, or with reference to co-occurrences of codes in the data. This second form of justification should discuss cases within the data which run counter to the proposed justification. The model thus suggests the importance of focusing on the links between codes and between groupings of codes, as well as their differences. It also raises the question of reconciling two types of analysis: synchronic and diachronic. The synchronic would look at the structure of the labyrinth without reference to time, the diachronic would chart change over time. Different techniques are suited to each. These will be discussed in the chapter on the *Times Index*.

"Smokeless Zones" - Discourses and Rhetoric

The micro-analysis of press-reporting presented in chapter five may also be conceptualised within the framework of the labyrinth. The analyses are primarily discursive and expansive, as the material analysed is on a vastly smaller scale. A series of discourses are identified as a means of organising and interpreting the material. These discourses are not merely substantive themes, but also arguments. The analyses focus on each discourse in turn and explore the rhetorical relationships among the different discourses qualitatively.

Cigarette Advertising: Content Analysis and Semiology

This section focuses on the analyses reported in chapter six, on cigarette advertising. It addresses the methods to be used through a comparison of content analysis and semiology, with a view to achieving a workable synthesis which conserves the strengths of each methods.

The approach here will take the form of a consideration of some of the main contrasts between the content analytic tradition of media analysis and a semiological approach,

although, as the theoretical position draws heavily on a broadly structuralist framework, the focus will be on the methodological improvements to be added from content analysis. It will be argued, following Curran (1976) that the two approaches are not entirely irreconcilable, but that there are genuine problems to be resolved, and compromises to be made. The first step is to identify the contrasts, or oppositions, of interest. The main oppositions cited in the literature seem to be the following:

content analysis	semiology
contextual	within text
quantitative	qualitative
manifest (surface)	latent, interpretive (deep)
content / themes	structure

A further distinction, which is less easily positioned in the above list is that between detail and abstraction. This will be considered in relation to the manifest / interpretive opposition.

Whilst content analysis can be descriptive, it often refers to events outside the text: effects on, or of, the text, on, say, behaviour or attitudes. This is in contrast to a 'pure' structuralism, which explores the text from the inside only. In the case of a novel, for example, without reference to the intentions and biography of the author. However, Barthes (1964a p.46) neatly illustrates the impossibility of an entirely internal analysis, in recourse to the idea of lexicons, i.e. knowledges which do not originate with the text to be analysed, but which are required in order to understand it. Whilst some discourse analysts may argue that the researcher should focus purely upon the text, the present theoretical position sees contextualisation as an essential part of an analysis. Discourse and images are very interesting in their own right, but they serve a purpose, and the apprehension of this purpose is essential to the analysis. This is especially clear in the case of explicitly propagandist materials such as advertisements.

The opposition between quantitative and qualitative techniques has been deconstructed above, where it was argued that quantification was a form of qualification. It may be added here that quantification is just one dimension of qualification, or a means of weighting, or qualifying, one or more of the different qualitative dimensions.

Curran (1976 p.13) points to the convergence of content analysis and structural, or

semiological analyses in terms of both technique and research aims. This is not readily apparent in many other texts, such that Leiss et al (1990) do not appear to reference any prior attempts at synthesis in their book published 14 years later. Indeed, they retain several of the supposed 'irreconcilable differences' which Curran debunked as "misrepresentation and myth" (Curran, 1976 p.12), such as content analysis' alleged exclusive concern with manifest, or 'surface' content (Leiss et al, 1990 p.226). Curran does not propose any specific method which would synthesise the two approaches, although his evaluation of what each approach would give to an analysis is suggestive of this synthesis:

"The application of statistical procedures in content analysis, at least, minimises participant bias in the execution of an analysis and ensures that its conclusions are based on precise, systematically derived formulations. On the other hand, the use of statistical procedures may blunt and desensitise the analysis itself, particularly when applied to style." (Curran 1976 p.13)

What is of particular interest in Curran's conclusions, from the present theoretical perspective, is the move by some structuralist analysts to "adopt the same systematic inspection and sampling procedures as quantitative analysis." (Curran, 1976 p.13) He cites Hall's exhortation to employ 'representative' sources (in Smith, 1975). In rhetorical terms, the constraint in choice of materials or samples imposed by, say, a random sampling technique, addresses the potential criticism that the researcher is selectively hand-picking his or her materials, or evidence. The systematic application of a coding frame answers a similar question in relation to selectivity in evidence drawn from the selected text. These moves are both endorsed by Leiss et al (1990 p.225).

Curran argues persuasively that content analysis is not restricted to surface features, i.e. the way in which it is carried out often includes inferential or interpretive category codes. Similarly, the coding frame itself is a piece of construction. Semiological accounts recognise the relationship between 'surface content' and 'interpretive content', in the distinctions between denotation and connotation and between signifier and signified. However, much semiological research places greater emphasis on connotation and the signified. Cook (1992 p.70-1) criticises the abstractive nature of much of this research: the quest for hidden myths blinds the researcher to surface structure. For example, advertisements are not remembered as abstract entities, their minutiae are essential: detail

and style are just as important as underlying myth. As Barthes (1964a p.45) puts it, there is always something left when one strips an advertisement of its messages, "the message without a code". The lizard on the unanswered telephone in the *Flake* advertisement may be a metaphor, but it is also a very concrete animal. Sift out the myth and you are still left with a lizard, representing itself, and this lizard is part of what is remembered by the reader, and what is lost in the process of abstraction.

The essence of this criticism is that the analysis aims at a unified statement of underlying meaning, and that this ignores variation and contradiction. It reduces myriad complexity to a handful of abstract dimensions. Edmund Leach (1970 p.31) comments upon the mythological analyses of Lévi-Strauss, "at this point, some English readers may begin to suspect that the whole argument was an elaborate academic joke." Yes, Lévi-Strauss has shown that it is possible to deconstruct complex social discourses into neat matrices of fundamental dimensions, but, this is only possible by leaving out what is characterised as "non-essential", the gist is decoupled from the ephemeral, transitory, content-specific: it is distilled and presented in an elegant, almost aphoristic glass-bead game. The critical process generates an academic elite in contrast to a laity entranced by non-essential detail.

Similarly, Leiss et al applaud Barthes and Williamson for their close analyses of detail (albeit with the irony of patronising the 'expert practitioner' of an esoteric craft), but they criticise the abstractions which Williamson presents in the second half of her book, following Lévi-Strauss: They are banal and she deserves credit for being one of the first to brave such an exposition, but they are lacking in specifics and, in a practical sense, the analyses are not very practical. In this way, Cook and Leiss et al's criticism wrests the semiological account from its tendency to focus on the signified at the expense of the signifier. Indeed, Cook is critical of the connotations of the metaphors 'deep' and 'surface' (Cook, 1992 p.71). The detail should not be seen as purely secondary, dependent upon the myth structure: it is important in its own right, and, especially useful as a potential social index. Thus, an analysis should be reciprocal. Abstraction should feed into concretisation, and vice versa.

The compromise proposed by Leiss et al is a systematic application of interpretive codes, pitched at a lower level of abstraction than their semiological sources: the identification of themes. However, while this lower level of abstraction is certainly an improvement on

extreme abstraction, it simply does not address the structural aspects of a semiological approach at the level of the individual advertisement. This manner of exposition, even in the hands of the most adept and laconic of researchers, requires a vast amount of space if the analysis is to cover even a fraction of the standard sample size routinely entertained by the content analyst. It might be recalled that the paragraph or two per advertisement which comprise the bulk of Williamson's (1978) text are illustrations of different analytic points and are not intended to encompass an exhaustive analysis of the advertisements (this is not to suggest that any analysis can be completely exhaustive). Similarly, Barthes' (1964a) chapter merely suggests a number of different analyses, and again, makes no pretence at spelling them out.

This is a genuine difficulty. Whereas Leiss et al seem to argue that their novel contribution is a 'medium-range' approach employing interpretive codes (which Curran's text suggests is not a particularly novel approach), what they appear to lose is the structural analysis within a particular advertisement. That is, regardless of the subtlety and complexity (and 'depth') of the codes used, they must be sufficiently broad, or abstract, to be of use in large-scale comparative analyses. In this way, much that is specific to a particular advertisement is, quite simply, missed in a larger-scale study, and this is mainly the result of logistics.

For this reason, I am not predisposed to be as sanguine about a methodological rapprochement as Leiss et al, although the analysis reported in chapter six adopts a similar method to theirs. This study focuses on a relatively large selection of cigarette advertisements contextualised in relation to the prior content analysis of tobacco reporting in the *Times Index* study. The identified codes will be of the 'middle-range' level of abstraction described by Leiss et al. This quantitative analysis of themes is interwoven with a detailed qualitative discussion of the coded material and 'in depth' semiological analysis of a small sample of advertisements selected from the original sample, in part, as representative of each identified theme. This analysis addresses the weaknesses of the large-scale content analytic approach in qualifying the choices of analytic codes and in discussing the structural coherence of the materials. Both types of analysis seek to contextualise themselves in relation to each other, and to the findings of the *Times Index* analysis.

One of the strengths of semiology as a method is that it focuses on sign-systems in

general and not purely the linguistic sign-system of discursive psychology. Ironically, though, the linguistic sign-system plays an important role in semiological analyses, even for material which consists mainly of images. This is because an image is always polysemic, or ambiguous, open to different interpretations. In propaganda it is especially important that a message is communicated unambiguously, from the perspective of the communicator. Barthes (1964a p.38-41) discusses two ways in which the textual accompaniment of a message may serve to disambiguate the message of the image. The first he calls anchorage. This works at both the level of denotation and the level of connotation. Vestergaard and Schrøder (1985 p.34) cite the various kinds of deixis, including time, place and person deixis as examples of the former (identification). Connotative anchorage, according to Barthes, guides interpretation:

"... constituting a kind of vice which holds the connoted meanings from proliferating, whether towards excessively individual regions (it limits, that is to say, the projective power of the image) or towards dysphoric values." (Barthes 1964a p.39)

This latter form of control, it may be argued, is especially important in tobacco advertising. Relay is Barthes' term for the second type of relationship between text and image. Here text and image stand in a reciprocal relationship to each other, "the unity of the message is realised at a higher level, that of the story ..." (Barthes, 1964a p.41) Relay is less important than anchorage in propaganda images. It is more common in cartoons and films. The final empirical chapter, however, questions the absolute primacy of discourse over images in focusing primarily on the non-linguistic aspects of cigarette packaging.

The Cigarette Packet as a Message and Cigarette Packaging as a Sign-System

The cigarette packaging design study is in two parts. It assumes that cigarette packaging design constitutes a sign-system. That is, that various design elements signify, by denotation, or connotation, aspects of the brand, or promoted brand 'values'. The first part of this study is a (synchronic) structural analysis of a variety of design elements (proportion, colour, type face etc) and how these relate to aspects of the product (tar/nicotine level, menthol / non-menthol, price). The packaging itself forms a part of the sign-system, but the system is also constituted by absences. The study will aim to reconstruct the system and define the distinctions upon which it is constructed.

The second part of the packaging study investigates whether this sign-system is recognised as such by self-rated smokers and non-smokers, i.e. whether it is a genuine sign-system in terms of a shared convention of meaning. That is, even if a clear set of distinctions results from the first analysis, it is not a valid sign-system unless it is perceived as such. The second part relies on a sample of 40 packets from the original collection, and a simple questionnaire format to gather both quantifiable ratings of each packet of five dimensions (closed-ended questions), and qualitative data on open-ended questions relating to these five dimensions. This relatively formalised method was chosen in order to yield directly comparable ratings on each packet. Four of the dimensions chosen were drawn from the work of Martineau (1957 p.60) on the salient features an advertiser is required to communicate about a cigarette brand in order to position that brand in the marketplace. The questionnaire also gathers qualitative data, including participants' comments in relation to the criteria they used in arriving at the dimensional ratings.

3.4 QUALITY CONTROL

The underlying approach to 'quality control' adopted here is clarity on the part of the researcher in making explicit what he or she has done and why, i.e. not only the methodological choices made, but also the assumptions upon which the work is conducted. This is more than the impeachable exhortation to honesty (after all, dishonesty is seldom to be recommended as a rhetorical device). What it does is to spell out exactly the discursive space in which one is operating. This allows the critic ease of access to one's argument. In spelling out one's assumptions and methods, the critic's task of further deconstruction is made easier. This follows from the rhetorical nature of discourse: any argument will have its counter-argument. This should also serve to keep the researcher 'on his or her toes', constantly interrogating their own assumptions and methodological choices. This serves to highlight the researcher's own position and is a prompt to reflexivity. The researcher acts as his or her own critic, in constantly seeking out alternative perspectives, akin to Billig's advice mentioned in chapter two. This is not to suggest that the critic's task will ever be complete - a new perspective is always possible. Rather, it highlights the importance for the researcher of maintaining a critical perspective.

Each of the quantitative codes and 'representations' or 'discourses' identified in the empirical studies are discussed in detail in the text, or in appendices. This enables the reader to judge whether the abstracted code label is appropriate to the subject matter it

collects together. Where codes are grouped together into larger analytic units, this also helps the reader to decide whether the grouping is appropriate. In both these cases, 'appropriate' is a relative term, and should, perhaps, be read as 'useful', i.e. do the analyses help the reader to understand the data, and do the code labels have 'face validity'? In the same way, graphical presentations of data enable the reader to criticise the textual summary of trends and differences.

More than this, the approach of readmitting the raw data allows the critic more scope than is usually available in, say, classical content analysis, for thinking independently from the critical perspective of the analyst. This is an important critical tool identified by the contemporary discourse analytic approach to social psychology (e.g. Potter and Wetherell, 1987 p.170). For example, the discussion of the labyrinthine approach to content analysis discussed in section 3.3 above stressed the importance of considering counter-examples to the coding frame adopted.

One important function of being explicit is that it automatically prompts alternative perspectives, i.e. it identifies the paradigm from which the present choice is made, and thus identifies the alternative choices which remain unexplored. For example, the choice of cigarette advertising suggests advertising for other products, such as giving-up aids, and also other means of cigarette promotion, such as sponsorship, point of sales material etc. Whilst a finite piece of work can never address all such alternatives, simply identifying some of them will serve to place boundaries on the present analyses, and to suggest further research. These alternative perspectives are pointed out in the concluding sections of each empirical chapter and are discussed in the final chapter.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the validity of a theory or a piece of research is also judged in terms of its productivity and its ability to provide the reader with a different perspective on the broader issue, and a set of terms or ideas which help the reader adopt this new perspective in relation to further issues. This form of validation is, of course, in the eyes of the critical beholder. The role of the researcher here is, again, in clarity of exposition and illustration. Most generally, the reader is invited to ask: how useful is it to frame a critical account of smoking in relation to the notion of medicalization? Does it help to add coherence to an understanding of both historical and contemporary smoking-related discourse and images? And, will it provide a clear framework for generating smoking-related policies for the future?

3.5 CONCLUSIONS

The materials which will form the substrate of the analyses reported in the next four chapters are, for the most part, widely-available and familiar sources of representations of tobacco and smoking in the UK. The first study to be reported, on the *Times Index* focuses on an abstract of press material on the issues. The accounts here are less obviously partisan than the cigarette advertisements and packaging of chapters six and seven, although this is not to suggest that they are neutral. The most obvious problem here is the so-called 'tobacco dollar', or the financial interest of the newspaper in tobacco advertising. On this point, it can be noted that the newspaper also requires credibility, in addressing the issues of the day, for example, reporting medical and social research and parliamentary debates. The *Times Index* study is primarily a means of providing a broad contextualisation for the subsequent studies. The time-period chosen: 1946-1995 is characterised by a mushrooming of medical research on the diverse health-consequences of smoking, and more recently, passive smoking. This, in turn, seems to have given rise to a variety of other issues: social, legal, economic and so forth. This expansion will, of course, be discussed in the analyses.

A 'pure' structuralist approach is synchronic. Two of the studies reported in this thesis, however, are diachronic. As well as the broad contextualising analysis of the *Times Index* study, the analysis of cigarette advertising in chapter six also takes a diachronic approach. Cigarette advertising, even by the standards of advertising in general, is a peculiar discourse. This is, in large measure, due to the expansion of the medical discourse and the sustained attack of the anti-smoking lobby, which has placed an increasingly stringent array of controls upon it. This has served to prohibit a number of standard sales propositions. So, in part, the choice of this second diachronic analysis is to contextualise and account for something of the nature of contemporary cigarette advertising, although it may be noted that this change over time is interesting in its own right.

Advertising can be seen as a strategic and rhetorical response to the changing environment of issues and representations, and more directly, control measures. The protean nature of advertising and its abilities of recuperation have been discussed in the theoretical chapter above. Part of the problem this poses for legislators is the near-impossibility of legislating upon the image. These means of recuperation will be addressed by more discursive and especially semiological methods. The strength of this

approach lies in its potential subtlety in addressing the structure of propaganda materials and their means of signification. In taking a broader view of signification than a purely discursive, or linguistic, method, the semiological account is potentially adept at analysing images.

The devotion of a whole chapter to cigarette packaging may strike the reader as a bit odd, at first glance. However, it is partly because of this likely surprise that I decided to include the study. Packaging, together with point of sales material design, is the 'poor relation' of advertising, for both market researchers and academics. However, several reasons have been given for a reevaluation in relation to cigarettes. It might also be noted that cigarette packaging has not escaped the attentions of the anti-smoking lobby, and cigarette packets are now obliged to display information on the tar and nicotine levels of their contents, and a government health warning. More generally, product packaging is an almost taken-for-granted part of everyday experience. This saturation seems to 'naturalise' packaging: when I open my fridge, I don't even 'see' the jumble of logotypes and trademarks, although if someone were to substitute, say, my usual brand of margarine for another, I dare say I would notice it. This point can be made in relation to the health warning on cigarette packets. The smoker may become 'habituated' to it to the point that he or she no longer even notices it. Incidentally, this argument may be used to justify periodic changes in its wording and style.

The purpose of this chapter has been to serve as a bridge between the theoretical concerns of the previous chapter and the empirical chapters to follow. In this way, I have reviewed several general implications of my theoretical framework for the analyses. These have included the role of reflexivity, especially in relation to the vexed question of triangulation, and the issue of contextualisation, together with the relationship between quantification and qualification. I have been in the unusual position, for a researcher promoting a theory built on a representational reading of structuralism, of arguing for a certain degree of quantification and systematisation. This, perhaps, deserves more comment here.

Quantitative techniques in social psychology are the legacy of a positivist tradition, a tradition which is heavily criticised in much critical 'discursive' psychology. I find this criticism only partially persuasive, and a little disingenuous. The traditional language of quantification certainly has reductionistic and absolutist connotations, as does the

traditional laboratory setting. This is readily observed in the, now recognised, problem of assuming that one can produce a 'context-free' environment, and in the prioritisation of measures of central tendency over those of dispersion. However, whilst some of the proponents of qualitative, discursive research would wish to exclude quantification and see no benefit in systematisation, this in itself is inconsistent with their usual exhortations to multi-method and inter-disciplinary research. That is, they seek to deny a voice to quantification. I have argued that systematisation, in selection of materials and in the application of a coding frame, are useful means of presenting a more persuasive argument. One is less vulnerable to criticisms of bias in selection of materials and evidence.

The use of a coding frame helps, additionally, to maintain the same perspective on a series of data over a time-period, that is, all the data is interrogated in the same fashion. It strikes me that this is a key factor in presenting meaningful comparisons. Similarly, a coding frame makes explicit the researcher's own perspective. This precise characterisation of one's methodological and theoretical perspective is an aid to reflexivity on the part of the researcher, and criticism on the part of the reader. This is because each point which the researcher makes is readily questioned, or considered in its negation, by the critic, whereas it requires more effort on the part of the critic to reconstruct silent assumptions. This is not to suggest, however, that one can be aware of all of one's assumptions. Rather, the role of reflexivity is an aid to continual self-criticism.

To return to quantification, the role of reflexivity here is important, especially given the connotations of statistical analysis. Quantification has a tendency to suggest a unified representation on an issue. However, quantitative techniques may be employed in a variety of different ways on the same data matrix, to yield a variety of different perspectives. For example, the next chapter presents a series of different studies on the *Times Index* which employ a variety of quantitative techniques and which yield several different perspectives on the *Times Index*. These techniques are heavily qualified throughout. This qualification takes several forms, including the detailed discussion of 'exceptions' to general statistical findings, and a qualitative account of the content of (quantified) codes. These are, especially, reflexive moves.

The relationship between quantitative and qualitative methods is also relevant to the discussion of the method chosen for analysing the cigarette advertisements of chapter six.

At this point, it was argued that detailed qualitative accounts of specific materials would provide a more subtle means to analysis which would complement the larger-scale content analysis of cigarette advertisements, through a structural method. However, the quantitative account, together with the *Times Index* analysis, was born of the requirement for a contextualising history of tobacco and smoking-related issues. It was felt that a more 'in-depth', qualitative, analysis would be less likely to be sufficiently representative of the issues in itself, on account of the quantity of material that could be surveyed by such an approach in the space available; and especially in the light of the vast amount of media attention smoking has attracted in the last half-century. The discursive analysis of chapter five perhaps sustains this point, but it also serves to illustrate the kind of in-depth analysis possible. It also highlights the subtlety of rhetoric and a rhetorical approach to such material.

Finally, the validity of an account, of course, lies partly in the eyes of the beholder. The researcher's task is thus, in part, to substantiate his or her account in ways acceptable to the beholder: in this case, the appropriate research community. The technique employed here entails the full explication of the methods and materials employed, in order to both facilitate replication and aid the critic in identifying assumptions.

CHAPTER FOUR

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

4:1 INTRODUCTION

One of the major features of tobacco-related issues during the post-war period has been the mushrooming of medical research into the health-consequences of smoking. This modern medicalization of smoking is addressed empirically in part two of the chapter, which presents an analysis of UK tobacco-related press reporting in the *Times* and *Sunday Times* newspapers over the period 1946-1995. A possible effect of this choice of time-frame is that it gives the impression that this was the starting point of medical and related 'suspicions' on the subject of tobacco. This is wrong.

The first section below aims to correct this impression, by providing a selective review of pre-1946 medicalization of smoking. In this way, the section provides a wider contextualisation of smoking, especially in the UK. The concluding focus of this first historical review is the theory of degeneration current in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century. This theory is particularly relevant to the discussion of (social) psychological approaches to the issue of smoking presented in chapter one. Degeneration theory and its political sister-theory, eugenics, have had a major influence on twentieth century psychology. Part of this influence is sketched with reference to the work of Francis Galton.

PART ONE

4.2 TOBACCO AND MEDICALIZATION

The literature on pre-twentieth century tobacco-use and related beliefs is vast, encompassing, amongst other things, discourses on trade, religion, taxation, war, modes of consumption and health. The present review focuses on the medical discourse, and even here it is necessarily cursory, although references are cited to more detailed and complete sources.

There is little recorded evidence concerning the nature and belief structures of pre-conquest tobacco use in the Americas, although it was considered to have divine origins (Gabb, 1990 p.10) and was used in religious and political ceremonies, such as smoking the pipe of peace¹. Tobacco use seems to have pervaded Amerindian culture around the time of the first European contact. Wilbert (1987) describes what he calls 'tobacco shamanism'. Pipe-smoking facilitated communication with both spirits and other humans. Tobacco leaves were among the gifts offered by the natives to the first ship-loads of Europeans. Not knowing what to do with the gift, the recipients promptly dumped them overboard (Gabb, 1990 p.4).

Tobacco use was taken up quickly throughout Europe, arriving in France and England in 1556, Portugal in 1558, Spain in 1559 (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1994 vol.11 p.812). From Europe it was spread throughout the rest of the world. The introduction of tobacco to England is variously attributed, Sir John Hawkins and Drake being the favourite candidates. Sir Walter Raleigh is usually credited (or blamed) for its popularisation (Kiernan, 1991 p.12), although von Gernet (1995 p.74) cites reports of use by Englishmen as early as 1570, but also comments that the pipe was still a novelty during the 1580s. However, "the habit of taking tobacco in long clay pipes was very general by the time the queen (Elizabeth I) died", in 1603 (Trevelyan, 1944 p.175).

¹ Encyclopedia Britannica Micropaedia Vol.11 (1994 - 15th Edition) p.812. Although, according to von Gernet (1995 p.73), "references to the 'peace-pipe', or *calumet* ceremonialism are rare in the pre-1650 literature."

One hypothesis put forward to explain this rapid diffusion is that tobacco was readily assimilated by the prevailing Galenic, or humoral, medical system (Risse, 1984). However, Goodman (1993 p.41) argues that the Galenic system operated merely to ascribe properties to an already transferred substance, that is, it served to legitimise rather than to make the choice. Tobacco's character was determined as hot and dry (Monardes, 1577), and thus a suitable remedy for certain disorders characterised by excess humours, which tobacco would 'dry out'. Von Gernet (1995 p.74-5) quotes a contemporary description to this effect². Some early supporters went further, touting tobacco as the much-sought after alchemists' panacea. For example, an influential treatise by Monardes, published in 1577 was entitled, "*Joyfull Newes Out of the Newe Founde Worlde*." This text remained influential for two centuries (Goodman, 1993 p.46). As late as 1659, Dr Everard published a medical work entitled, "*Panacea, or the Universal Medicine*" (Kiernan, 1991 p.206). Jean Nicot, French Ambassador to Lisbon in 1559-1561, whose name is immortalised in the botanical denotation *Nicotiana tabacum*, claimed of tobacco that it healed, among other things, cancer (Hewat, 1991 p.44).

Besides the ready assimilation into the contemporary medical structure, Goodman extends Sahlins' (1988) notion of commodity indigenisation into a model of cultural contact: "the success with which a commodity crosses from one culture to another depends on whether this new object can be given meaning within the host culture." (Goodman, 1993 p.41) This host 'meaning structure' is wider than the prevailing medical philosophy. In relation to this hypothesis, he suggests that the intoxicating and mild psychotropic effects of tobacco were readily integrated with lower-class experiences of similar effects, such as ergotism³.

A third and related factor, which seems to be reported widely in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, including Monardes' 1577 text, is the capacity of tobacco to suppress hunger (Goodman 1993 p.42). A fourth factor is undoubtedly the addictive nature of tobacco. Las Casas, the first European to describe the act of smoking, reported the problem of giving up discovered by some Spaniards who had acquired the habit (reported in Klein, 1993 p.11).

² The author, Thomas Hariot, later died of cancer of the nose (von Gernet, 1995 p.86).

³ Poisoning produced by eating food, especially rye, infected with the fungus *Claviceps purpurea*.

Tobacco was also useful in warding off unpleasant smells and infection. During the Great Plague of London in 1665, children were apparently required to smoke in their classrooms, and Pepys records in his diary of June 7th, that he was obliged to "buy some roll tobacco to smell and to chew - which took away the apprehension" of a sortie into Drury Lane. This use of tobacco was not purely aesthetic. Rather, it relates to the miasmatic, or air-borne concept of contagion prevalent during the seventeenth century (Wear, 1992 p.137-8). The use of tobacco as a prophylactic retained some currency as late as the nineteenth century, during the European cholera epidemics (Kiernan, 1991 p.206)⁴.

However, medical opinion was divided from the start. James I's much-quoted *Counterblast to Tobacco*, published anonymously in 1604, argued against the weed by questioning the Galenic typology and the alleged panacea-effects, among other things. The initial medical enthusiasm for tobacco wore off, but medical opinion was essentially just that, - opinion, until the 'modern era'. This did not stop a number of episodes of the most severe persecutions of the habit, by, among others, Tsar Michael (1596-1645), Sultan Murad IV (1604-1640), Louis XIII (1601-1643) and Pope Urban VIII (1601-1644) (see, for example, Hewat, 1991 ch.3). These were conducted largely on religious and other non-medical grounds. (This move from opinion to evidence will be picked up at the end of part one, below.)

This review has focused on the medical discourse of smoking. This is because the modern era is dominated by this discourse. However, a second, fiscal, discourse is worth mentioning. It appears to have had its inception shortly after the medical discourse had begun - in tandem with James I's compromise. This historical discourse is documented by, among others, Price (1995). In the modern era, Taylor (1984) has argued that 'addiction' on the part of governments to tobacco tax revenues has been the main factor restraining the practice of the medical discourse. This concern is also spelled out in much of the modern econometric work on price elasticity: cynically, by how much can tobacco taxes be raised before smokers stop smoking? (e.g. Russell, 1973, Peto, 1974, Atkinson and Skegg, 1974 and Keeler et al, 1993.)

⁴ The cigarette is also an efficient means of removing leeches from skin and clothing, a fact which I can personally vouch for!

4.3 THE DEGENERATE SMOKER

I would like to consider in some detail one particular perspective on smoking current in the latter part of the last century: degeneration theory. This may be introduced by means of a couple of quotations from a text published in 1906 by the Reverend Mr. Henry, entitled "The Deadly Cigarette, or the perils of juvenile smoking":

"All medical men now admit that if a boy takes to smoking in his early teens, the heart and brain soon become seriously affected - the former weak, flabby, and unable to pump out a sufficient quantity of blood to supply the body. Consequently, a low kind of nervous dyspepsia is the result and growth is seriously interfered with ... boys who smoke never grow into perfect manhood. The tide of life ebbs; it does not flow. They will lack true manhood, but will very easily be led to drink. Such creatures are not the fittest, and consequently cannot survive. But while they do hold on to their wretched lives, they help to fill our gaols, and latterly probably lunatic asylums." (p.135, quoted from the *York Telegraph*)

"Thomas A Edison, the great inventor, found a package of cigarette paper outside the door of his private office, and tacked it up with a sign 'A degenerate who is retrograding toward the lower animal life has lost his packet'. When interviewed on the inscription, he said, 'They go well together, - these two drugs, cigarettes and alcohol, - and they accomplish wonders in reducing man to a vicious animal'. (Henry, 1906 p.147)

Writing in the vein of Temperance⁵ proselytising, Henry characterises cigarette smoking as the first stage of an inevitable process of degeneration. This particular reading of evolutionary theory also merits discussion, as it is related directly to the later obsession of psychology with measurement, normality and social control, or engineering.

Degeneration theory and its sister imperative, eugenics, have been largely buried in the discourses of the latter half of the twentieth century, especially in the wake of Nazism.

⁵In general, the Temperance movement was not especially concerned with tobacco, although Walker (1984 p.7) notes a provincial Nonconformist stronghold of the English Anti-Tobacco Society.

The term 'degeneration' has no special significance to us today, but during the latter part of the nineteenth century especially, the term carried a great deal of theoretical baggage and political clout. Degeneration theory was never a formalised unitary theory, but rather a series of related and evolving strands of discourse. The common thread was the naturalisation of the opposition between progress and regression, or degeneration.

The history of this dichotomy and the moral and social imperative to nurture progress has a long tradition in Western culture. Plato's vision of *The Republic* is rooted in social engineering (see, for example, Republic p.240 sec.459). But he also acknowledges the inevitability of decay: "since all created things must decay, even a social order ... cannot last for all time, but will decline ... Not only for plants that grow in the earth, but for animals that live on it, there are seasons of fertility and infertility of both mind and body, ... reason and observation will not always enable [the Rulers] to hit on the right and wrong times for breeding; sometimes they will miss them and then children will be begotten amiss" (Republic p.360 sec.546).

So, the theme was not new. However, nineteenth century Europe witnessed a conjunction of Imperialism and Industrial production which intensified the vision of progress and brought into sharp focus the attendant opposition of degeneration. Pick (1989 p.20) discusses the mushrooming literature of the period which took degeneration as its theme. He justifies the periodisation of the term by pointing to a change of tone: a turning from a purely religious and philosophical conceptualisation to a more medical and scientific one, in the quest for validation. In relation to smoking, this is not to say that the scientific and medical establishments had never pronounced on the subject before: some of the history of tobacco and medicine has been sketched above. Rather, the late Victorian era saw their colonisation of the issue as an authoritative voice. In addition, it is during this period that the cigarette began its rise as the most popular form of tobacco consumption.

In some respects, degeneration theory was inevitable following Darwin.⁶ The theory of natural selection placed humanity within the animal kingdom and, as such, subject to the same processes of selection and change. This continuity was later to justify generalisation from experiments on animals to humans, during the 'behaviourist era', and in medical

⁶ Although the term was current before the publication of *The Origin of Species* in 1859: e.g. Morel (1857); as was the term 'evolution'.

research, for example, the ICI beagle experiments in 1975.

There are several related (mis)readings of natural selection inherent in both degeneration theory and its political enactment, eugenics. First, is the notion of teleology; expressed in the idea of the 'chain of being'. Life is seen to evolve through a series of stages of increasing complexity - from amoeba through fish, amphibia, to mammals, culminating in man: the pinnacle of 'creation'. Thus there is the assumption that humanity is progressing towards perfection. One variant on this theme is encapsulated in Ernst Haeckel's slogan "ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny" (Haeckel, 1906 vol.1 p.2-3). Pick spells it out thus: "From such a notion it was possible to think of the individual as in quite a literal sense the summation and standard bearer of the history of the race" (Pick, 1989 p.28). Individual development also mirrored that of the race, superimposing a series of 'higher' faculties (reason, will) on 'lower' ones (sensation, passion, emotion). The 'higher' faculties suppressed the baser instincts, and their ineffectuality was equated with insanity (Showalter 1985 p.106). This interplay between physiology and cognition is also a prominent feature of the twentieth century psychological theorising (see chapter one).

In postulating the notion of progress, its opposite is also potentialised: we may be slipping backwards too! - Regressing to a less perfect, 'animal-like' state. For example, the neurologist John Hughlings Jackson was able to see in his epilepsy and stroke patients a process of reversion to ancestral conditions. "Illness or injury brought about a recapitulation of the patient's evolutionary history: by losing abilities that his species had recently acquired, he was forced to act out in an exaggerated way the repertoires of his forgotten predecessors." (Miller, 1978 p.317-8)

The second reading was what is now called the 'Lamarckian fallacy', or the inheritance of acquired characteristics. This allowed environmentally triggered degeneration in one generation to be transmitted to the next generation. The complete process of degeneration took several generations to reach its 'natural' end: sterility. The degenerate line would proceed through stages of alcoholism, immorality and depravity, criminality and insanity.

Immanent in this conceptualisation was a value-judgment, or a moral reading of evolution: the superiority of civilized humanity - defined specifically according to western, middle-class standards. By making explicit and defining the value-judgment implicit in the notion

of progress, theorists were able to legitimise discrimination against 'inferior stock' and other measures to ensure the 'purity' and perfection of the race. This conflation of medical science with morality has remained a feature of the contemporary medical discourse reviewed in chapter one.

The kernel of degeneration theory contains several interesting paradoxes. The belief in progress through evolution was a founding assumption, but the practice of eugenics which it engendered entailed active measures to ensure the continued validity of the assumption. Similarly, 'progress' implies that we are not yet perfect, but evolving towards yet higher states. However, degeneration theory acts to prevent regression, which implies that we are perfect, as regression is defined as deviance from the existing 'norm'. Thus each member of the opposition names, also, its opposite. The tension between the two terms is the mainstay of their theoretical status. One term is de-emphasised, the other prioritised: they are subject to an imposed hierarchy. This hierarchy is naturalised through recourse to evolutionary science.

'Nature': the natural imperative and evidence of evolutionary progress, runs in similar counterpoint to 'science'. The science of evolution reveals progress to be the natural state. But in conflating natural and social history (for example, Spencer's analogy of the 'social body': Showalter 1985 p.109), degeneration is naturalised, or at least, potentialised, and it falls to science, in the form of eugenics, to provide the solution: to prevent the natural progress of degeneration. The higher faculties, in alliance with science, overcome the lower faculties: reason prevails over appetite, scientists and medics over the deviant. The moral reading of evolutionary science led to the equation of the biological and the moral at the level of the individual as well. This is especially clear in Henry's reading, where moral and physical corruption go hand in glove (Dorian Gray was, after all, fictional).

Smoking was not a primary focus of degeneration theory, although the alliance between alcohol and smoking attributed to Edison in the quotation above (Henry, 1906 p.147) is interesting, given the prominence of alcohol in degeneration theory. Henry himself makes much of the alleged tendency of cigarette smoking to lead to alcohol drinking. However, besides Henry's book, there are a number of references to smoking in the degeneration literature. Morel's landmark treatise of 1857 included tobacco, together with alcohol and opium, as an environmental toxin, considered alongside a bizarre collection of physical conditions: "an infinite network of diseases and disorders and the patterns of return and

transformation between them" (Pick, 1989 p.50). Tobacco also received mention in medical reporting throughout the period. For example, it was cited, together with alcohol, and poor living conditions, as a cause of urban degeneration in articles published in *the Lancet* in 1866 and in 1888. The first edition of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, published in 1883, included an anecdotal account of the effects of the detrimental effects of smoking on children (Decaisne, 1883).

The picture so far presented needs to be placed within its socio-historical context; much of which can be gleaned from Henry's book. His justification for vilifying juvenile cigarette smoking is not purely disinterested and spiritual. Rather, his concern is with the threat to industrial production and the military defence of the Empire. Thus his sources collude to provide appropriately specific impairments associated with smoking: at work, the applicant for employment on the Railways who smokes is "almost sure to be more or less colourblind" (Henry, 1906 p.112), and in the military, "smoking affects the nerves and prevents a boy becoming a good rifle shot" (Henry, 1906 p.148). Tobacco had been implicated in the decline of army recruits for the Boer war: many were rejected because of "tobacco heart" (Walker, 1984 p.7). Gabb (1990 p.15) cites a contemporary pamphlet⁷, which claimed that, "Medical officers under the Factory Acts have pointed to the increased use of tobacco as one of the sources of the physical deterioration of our factory population."

For Henry, the threat to the superiority of his own race cannot be internal, at least in the first generation, but must have been introduced from outside: the environmental pollutant, which is socially mediated (Boys acquire the cigarette-smoking habit from their peers, in order to appear adult and masculine). He recuperates the alternative view simply by refusing to comment on it in the single quotation he cites in which it is expressed (Henry, 1906 p.140). However, it is one further paradox of degeneration theory that the degenerate 'other' was not exclusively located in other cultures, but rather, could be discovered in the heart of Industrial England's capital: "Outcast London"⁸. The unrest among the mid-1880s urban unemployed engendered alarmist press reporting and a fear

⁷ J. Forbes Moncrief, *Our Boys and Why They Should Not Smoke*. British Anti-Tobacco and Anti-Narcotic League, Manchester, p.5 (no date is given).

⁸ The title of a book by Gareth Steadman Jones (1971) relating the language of degeneration to Victorian metropolitan politics.

of socialist revolution. In paradoxical counterpoint to the dictates of degeneration theory, these urban masses of 'incipient degeneration' were believed to be multiplying rapidly.

Thus a space was created for a science which would aim to address this threat, both positively and negatively: to identify natural selection in the human world and to assist it. On the 'positive' side, natural abilities could be fostered and workers allocated to suitable jobs. Note that jobs were not fitted to workers (see, for example, Hollway, 1989 p.91-3 and Rose et al, 1984 p.93). On the negative side, the tendency to degeneration could be prevented, by segregation and enforced sterilisation (Parker, 1989 p.38). Science would also justify the withdrawal of poor aid and state funding for schools and public health (Parker, 1989 p.33). In its most extreme manifestation, this science of eugenics would legitimise the Nazi atrocities.

The first stage of this scientific 'solution' is the identification of incipient degeneration. Phrenology was a popular diagnostic tool: asymmetry being a sign par excellence of the less than perfect. This was superseded by psychometrics. The work of Francis Galton (1822 - 1911) is worth mentioning here, as it serves as a link between nineteenth evolutionary theory and twentieth century psychology. Galton coined the term 'eugenics'. He was concerned to spell out the implications of his cousin, Charles Darwin's theory, for humans. To this end he invented an impressive array of anthropometric and psychometric tests. The rationale behind these tests was the centrality of the notion of variation in evolutionary theory. Selection pressures operate across a range of phenotypes, selecting for and against.

Miller (1962) sees a rather benign implication of this notion of variability in psychometric measurement. However, it may be argued that a 'celebration of diversity' is not usually the primary vision of such research. There is always a purpose to the development of a psychometric scale. People are differentiated by some selective criterion, presumably for different treatment. Indeed, in clinical psychology, there is a whole discourse on diagnostic accuracy. This discourse is highly statistical, involving trade-offs between false alarms (false positives) and missed cases (false negatives). In this way, it appears that the aim of psychometrics is to inform artificial selection, or social engineering.

It is also interesting to note that Galton's methods provided the motivation for the development of numerous statistical techniques, including his student, Karl Pearson's,

product moment correlation coefficient. Galton's motto was "whenever you can, count", if Miller's (1962 p.158) panegyric is to be believed. The application of statistical techniques, and the attendant categorisation of people has had a profound influence on twentieth century psychology, and in this regard, Galton is a key figure. This has been noted by Boring (1950 p.507), whom Miller (1962 p.165) quotes, "[The Americans] changed the pattern of psychological activity from the description of the generalised mind to the assessment of personal capacities in the successful adjustment of the individual to his environment. The apparatus was Wundt's, but the inspiration was Galton's." This process of classification and differentiation can be seen as the first stage of the operation of what Foucault (1980 p.109-110) terms disciplinary power. This is essentially a normalising discourse. Galton's dubious legacy also includes the work of Sir Cyril Burt at UCL between 1932-50 (Gould, 1981 p.234-320; Rose et al, 1984 p.86-8.).

4.4 CONCLUSION TO PART ONE

From its arrival in the UK, tobacco has been the subject of numerous representations and discourses. The first section of this chapter traced, in particular, the medical representations. From the outset, tobacco was surrounded by controversy. A few early advocates found, in the weed, the alchemists' panacea. Others, more modestly, appealed to more specific benefits, such as its ability to dampen hunger and ward off air-borne contagion. Critics, on the other hand, saw an unholy alliance between tobacco and paganism. The association between medical and moral disapproval found a 'scientific' expression in the degeneration theory of the Victorian era. This period also saw the beginnings of the normalising discourse of much of modern day psychology, in the work of Francis Galton and others.

Much of the literature on pre-modern European tobacco use has an heroic quality about it: despite substantial periods of persecution, tobacco use has proved difficult to suppress. James I's *Counterblaste* fell largely on deaf ears, and various attempts since have failed, including those of Henry (1906), and groups such as the British Anti-Tobacco and Anti-Narcotic League. The literature on tobacco-use over the last few decades also has an heroic motif, but the boot, so to speak, is firmly on the other foot (e.g. Jowett and O'Donnell (1992 p.239-247). In this story, which certainly has its roots in the early literature, the medics and scientists are the heroes and heroines, wielding their research

budgets against a multi-national, corporate foe, and pushing the habit away into the developing world (Hewat, 1991) and working classes (Marsh and McKay, 1994).

It becomes increasingly clear upon reading the history of tobacco that many of the arguments which we tend to think of as modern have been around for a long time. James I (1604), for example, was concerned with the effects upon a non-smoker of living with a smoking spouse. Fraser (1974 p.112) observes, "His arguments against smoking ... are in many cases as valid today as then." His concerns were both aesthetic and medical. Many of Henry's (1906) arguments also have a contemporary ring. The use of smoking to ward off hunger and thirst also date to the early European contact with Amerindian tobacco cultures. Henry's concern with juvenile smoking is continued in the media reporting of the last fifty years (see part two).

Degeneration theory represents, perhaps, one of the keystones in the wider edifice of the medicalization of everyday life. In the field of psychiatry, evolutionary theorising came to prominence in the latter part of the nineteenth century, as the failure of moral management techniques became apparent. Its dominance was buttressed by the successful identification of the causes and treatment of late Victorian psychiatry's particular concern: general paralysis of the insane, or untreated syphilis. Indeed, in 1877, Krafft-Ebing blamed smoking, along with alcohol and heredity for this disease (cited in Rosen, 1968 p.247). As Showalter notes, this "was the perfect Darwinian disease because it linked immoral behaviour to hereditary causes" (Showalter, 1985 p.111). Henry appears to allude to this obliquely in identifying a further consequence of smoking, "*the frequenting of places which should be shunned*" (Henry, 1906 p.80). It is unlikely that he refers to drinking or gambling dens, as he has spelled these out elsewhere, so does he mean brothels?

The application of Darwinian ideas to humans was a turning point in the history of the discipline of psychology. This is exemplified especially in the work of Galton, and his legacy of psychometric testing and statistical normalisation. In regard to smoking, this also marks an important point in the social and disciplinary construction of the smoker. Smoking would become a variable to be tabulated against other measures in a growing campaign to identify, predict and control the behaviour (see chapter 1.6). One of the key aspects of this twentieth century research has been a focus on the (ir)rationality of smoking, premised on the growing medical discourse, and the assumption of psychological consistency between behaviours and cognitions (see chapter 1.4).

The 'modern era' of tobacco use seems to begin with publications on the link with lung cancer in the early 1950s (Wynder & Graham, 1950; Doll & Hill, 1952 and 1954), followed by reports of the Royal College of Physicians in 1962, 1971, 1977 and 1983, and by reports of the US Surgeon General in 1964 and most subsequent years. By 1986, Warner (1986 p.7) observed that the medical literature comprised 50 000 research publications. However, the early 1950s studies were not, by any means, the first medical studies on smoking. Whelan (1984) points to the emergence of scientific evidence in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. However, they do seem to mark the point at which medical opinion and research achieved primacy in the public eye; and the point at which substantial evidence began to accrue to medical opinion. Henry's (1906) turn-of-the-century 'counterblast' certainly drew on medical opinion, but it also comprised a now 'quaint' admixture of moralisation and aesthetics. This is not to say that tobacco and smoking-related reporting in the post-war period is never moralistic or aesthetic -it often is, but rather that such arguments have been subsumed under the medical discourse.

The history of tobacco and smoking between 1946-1995 will be considered in part two, which reports a content analysis of the complete Index of *The Times* newspaper for the period.

PART TWO: THE EVOLUTION OF DISCURSIVE SPACE : TIMES INDEX 1946-1995

4.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study was undertaken for two reasons. Firstly, in its own right, as a survey of the quantitative and substantive media reporting of tobacco-related issues over the period 1946-1995. This may be unpacked into three related research questions. (1) What substantive issues and 'themes' are reported? (2) How does the substantive reporting change over time? (3) How are the substantive 'themes' related to each other? i.e., to map the 'evolution', or generation, of the discursive space of 'Tobacco' in the *Times Index*. The second reason was to provide an historical skeleton of major tobacco-related issues for the study of cigarette advertising presented in chapter six. The study is *not* intended as an analysis of attitudes to smoking -i.e. a public opinion barometer. Neither will it be my aim to engage in a detailed discourse analysis, because I intend to work, in part, at one (and more) step removed from the text itself.

4.6 THE TIMES INDEX

The *Times Index* was chosen for ease of access to 'quality press' reporting of tobacco-related issues. It is simply a complete index of all articles, editorials, reviews, obituaries, letters etc printed in the *Times* and the *Sunday Times*. Articles are listed alphabetically by topic and cross-referenced. The available alternatives for this type of index are limited. I couldn't find one for *The Telegraph*, or for any of the 'tabloids'. The *Guardian* index was inconvenient, being on microfiche and not organised very accessibly, and neither *The Independent* index or *FT Profile* cover the complete 50 years.

One reason for using an indexical listing was that it enabled me to study a complete population. This was important because a sample may have missed rare but interesting themes. Also, in relation to my theoretical model, the *Times Index* represents one source, or agent, which is reporting a generation of the discursive space relating to 'tobacco'. The 'resolution' of the data available in the *Times Index* is poor, which leads to over-populated 'bin' codes where there is insufficient information to enable allocation to more specific codes. However, a higher 'resolution' text would necessitate a sample-based study,

especially as most of the data collection would be by hand. Resolution at the level of headlines, would require each article to be looked up individually and this would lead, in some instances, to poorer resolution, as headings may be equally vague, or give less information than is provided by some items in the *Times Index*. A cursory coding of full articles, whilst yielding far more information, would also necessitate a sample-based study.

4.7 METHOD

Procedure

All references listed (and cross-referenced) under "Tobacco" for the years 1946-1995 were extracted. The 'unit' to be coded was chosen, for simplicity, as a complete entry in the *Times Index*. This comprised a short piece of text (one word to a short paragraph) and a unique reference (Month, Date, Page and Column). Where a reference appeared more than once the text was amalgamated. Usually this was due to the repetition of the same information under more than one sub-heading. The software package *Textbase Alpha* was used to facilitate coding and statistical analyses. Each unit was allocated at least one code. Where appropriate, multiple codes were used. In the following discussion, I use the term 'item' to denote a coded unit of text. Each unit thus comprises one or more items.

Coding Frame

The coding frame (reproduced in Table 4.1) is best conceptualised as a story-telling tool or as a filter to arrange the text into manageable chunks. Its construction evolved didactically, through a recursive process of reading and piloting draft coding frames on samples of the text. This process is necessarily subjective, trying out new codes to solve tensions (hesitations) in allocating units to existing codes, and where two existing codes were consistently applied to units. On account of the theoretical problems associated with hierarchical structure, the coding frame constructed here is linear, i.e. all codes are on the same 'level'. For the purpose of presenting my discussion, I have grouped the codes into themes. Again, this was necessarily subjective, although some of the groupings reflect the format of the *Times Index* itself. It should be stressed that the resulting arrangement is just one among a number of possible arrangements. The theoretical validity of the themes will be addressed below in relation to the links within and between codes in multiply-coded units, but in part, must be justified by their usefulness in describing the text.

Table 4.1 CODING FRAME FOR THE TIMES INDEX

1. SUPPLIES, PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION & SALE		
	- Monopolies & Mergers Commission investigations	MON
Supplies	- Supplies(Tob. & Tob. products)	PS0
	- Of Tobacco - Overseas/Imports	PS1
	- Home-Grown (private)	PS2
Production	- INDUSTRY Labour, Wages, Strikes, Hours, Conditions etc	PS8
	- Automation	PS8A
	- Prodn & state of industry, supply of cigarettes	PS8P
	- Unions	PS8U
	- Workforce dismissals	PS8W
	- Tobacco Blenders etc	TA1
Distribution & Sale	- Rationing	PS3
	- OAPs	PS4
	- Forces	PS5
	- Retail Outlets/Distribution	PS6
	- Stores' own Brands	TBSB
	- Resale price maintenance	PS6R
	- Cigarette Machines	PS7
	- Retail Tobacconists Union	TA2
Exports		PSE
2. CRIME: THEFT & SMUGGLING		
	- Theft	CR1
	- Smuggling / duty evasion	CR2
3. FINANCE		
	- Price	FN0
	- Import Duty	FN1
	- Tax/Gov't revenue	FN2
	- Budget	FN2B
	- Manufacturers'/Retailers Price Changes	FN3
	- Tax revenue to pay NHS / t'ment of smoking-related diseases etc	FNHS
Shares	- General: performance	FN4
	- Health Group shares in tob. cos	SH0
4. SMOKING		
	- general / other	SM0
	- Statistics (Not Children)/ Consumption/Sales	SM1
	- Motivation to smoke	SMOT
	- Attitudes to smoking etc	SMAT
	- Positive effects of smoking	SPOS
	- Non-health effects (Fire, appetite, obesity, drinking)	SM3
5. HEALTH RISKS		
	- 'Health' general incl. death	SD0
	- Cancer - non-specified	SD1
	- Lung	SD1L
	- Specific other Eg. nose, mouth	SD1N
	- Specific Other eg. blood pressure	SD2
	- Heart	SD3
	- Respiratory Diseases	SD4
	- Pregnancy - Effects on Foetus	SD5
- Tobacco Research Council		TA5
- Cost to NHS		SM

6. PASSIVE SMOKING	- General	SD0P
	- Effects:	
	- Cancer	SD1P
	- Lung Cancer	SD1LP
	- Effects : Children	
	- Medical	CY5
	- Other (incl. Psychological)	CY6

7. CHILDREN & YOUNG PEOPLE

- General	CY0
- Children smoking: school & social service care	CYS
- Children: motivation to smoke	CYM
- Children: deterrents	CYD
- Sales to	CY1
- Smoking Statistics	CY2
- Effects/correlates of Smoking (not passive smoking)	CY3

8. TOBACCO	- blending	TB0
	- CIGARETTES	
	- Brands (Not incl. below)	TB1
	- Menthol	TB1M
	- New brands / introduction of	TBNB
	- CIGARS & Cigar-Smoking	TB6
	- PIPE & Pipe-Smoking	TB7
	- CHEWING (wet snuff/quids/skoal bandits)	TB8
	- Hand-rolling tobacco	TBHR
	- Snuff (dry)	TBSN

9. 'SAFE' CIGARETTES	- Filters/Tipped	TB2F
	- (Low) Tar/Nicotine+additives	TB3
	- NSM/Synthetic/Substitute	TB4

10. SMOKING IN PUBLIC & AT WORK

In Public Places	- General bans	SP0
	- Transport	SP1
	- Places of Entertainment	SP2
	- Council Premises	SP3
	- Conferences	SP4
	- Hospitals	SP5
	- Pubs, Restaurants & Hotels	SP6
	- Stores	SP7
At Work		SW1

11. NON/ANTI-SMOKING GROUPS

- Anti-Smoking Groups Eg. ASH	HGP
- Non-smokers' interests	NS

12. HEALTH CAMPAIGNS & MEASURES

	- Price increase as deterrent	FND
Campaigns	- General incl. no-smoking days	HC0
	- Effectiveness of campaigns	HCE
	- Children	HC1
Quitting	- General	HG0
	- Treatments: general	HG1
	- Drugs/Medical treatments	HG1D

Cont'd...

	- Gum	HG1G
	- Nicotine Patches	HG1N
	- Other specific treatment	HG1O
	- Psychological incl. hypnotherapy	HG1P
	- Clinics	HG2
	- Organised giving up (Eg. village expt.)	HG2O
	- Incentives incl. £ / courses from employers	HG2W
Legislation	- Health Warnings on Packets	HL1
	- Legislative Measures (other than Health Warnings)	HL2

13. ADVERTISING & SPONSORSHIP

Advertising	- General Advertising	AS0A
	- Advertising & Children	AS0C
	- Cigarette Cards	AS1
	- POS & shop front	AS3
	- Broadcasting and cinema	AS4
	- Print/Billboard (incl. Health Warnings)	AS5
	- Packaging	PG1
Sponsorship	- General Sponsorship	AS0S
	- Sports	AS6
	- Arts	AS7
	- Medical Research	AS8
	- Education. Eg. Technical Colleges, NUS deals	AS9
Other	- General Marketing	AS0M
Techniques	- Gift Coupons	AS2
	- Other offers	AS2O

14. LITIGATION	- Against Manufacturers - By/On behalf of Smoker/s	LT1
	- By/On behalf of 'Passive' Smokers	LT0

15. DISCRIMINATION & SMOKERS RIGHTS

Discrimination	- Employment	DI1
	- Insurance / Finance	DI2
	- Medical Care/Treatment	DI3
	- Adoption	DI4
Smokers Rights Groups (Eg: FOREST)		SGP

16. CONTROVERSY, MEDIA & DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

	- 'Government Conspiracy' pro tobacco	HL3
	- 'Bad Tobacco Cos'e.g. cover-ups	HL4
	- Smoking in the Media	SMED
	- Media reporting of health dangers	SD0M
	- Developing Countries	TWD

17. MISCELLANEOUS	- Smokers Accoutrements	AC1
	- Trade Associations (other)	TA0
	- Miscellaneous: anything else!	MISC

4.8 OVERVIEW OF ANALYSES

The study is based upon the theoretical model of discursive space as a labyrinth introduced in chapter two and elaborated methodologically in chapter three. Three types of analysis are reported, related to my three research questions:

1. What substantive issues and 'themes' are reported?

The first is a detailed summary of the text. For each theme, I report numbers of items per code, and how they are dispersed over my time frame. Where the contents of a code change over time, I describe this, especially with reference to issues which have appeared in several items. I also report items which seemed in some ways pivotal, or simply illustrative. My initial rule of thumb was to use as many words in my summary as there were items in a code, with the following caveat: some codes were repetitive, or not very detailed, while other codes contained distinct, though related items in detail, often with connections to other codes, and the latter received more emphasis. This counteracts the possible biases of quantification: e.g. several dozen items which say "Budget" or "More details on budget" are quantitatively weightier than a few which report relatively detailed accounts of specific events and their possible implications for other issues, but the latter receive more qualitative weight. Thus, quantity is recorded numerically and quality, verbally. These summaries are presented in an appendix (4.1) as they will be referred to throughout this thesis (and as the presentation style is somewhat condensed).

2. How does the substantive reporting change over time?

While the focus for the first analysis is on content, the second level focuses on time. I make the assumption that the *Times Index* represents the exploration, by one social organ, of the labyrinth of tobacco. Time marks progress through the labyrinth. I assume that the labyrinth is real-ised and open to inspection. This analysis will necessarily be general and broad-sweeping, but should pull together the detailed summary, highlight changes in the distribution of themes over time, and the evolution of new themes. My tools will be two pictorial time-series analyses. The first will plot the frequencies of items coded per theme over time. The second will display the cumulative percentages of themes per year. A section through the second graph will show the balance of themes in a particular year.

That the nature of the *Times Index* changes over time may confound the diversification inherent in the field (for example, "correspondence" becomes "letters about...") However,

this in itself represents the exploration of the labyrinth as newly-applied distinctions generate sub-topics and their headings. This, and related issues of diversification and complexity will also be investigated quantitatively, using correlation statistics.

3. How are the substantive 'themes' related to each other?

There is a danger in the above analyses of simply reinforcing my own coding frame, by allowing my codes and themes to congeal, when they were only intended to be working tools for managing the material. This will be addressed in my third analysis, which will focus on the links between codes, based on multiple-coded units. This analysis will begin with a statistical justification of my chosen themes and a discussion of counter-instances. The final analysis entails the interpretation of a MDS solution based on the matrix of between-theme links, which will bring into focus the structure of the discursive space.

ANALYSES

4.9 THEMATIC SUMMARY

This section addresses the question: What substantive issues and 'themes' are reported? The detailed analyses are presented in Appendix 4.1, under the headings of the 17 identified themes, together with a quantitative breakdown of each theme's sub-codes.

4.10 'EVOLUTION': DIVERSITY AND COMPLEXITY

This section addresses the question: How does the substantive reporting change over time? I have summarised the quantitative data graphically in two ways. Graph 4.1 shows the frequencies of items coded per theme across the period (see Appendix 4.2 for raw data). This indicates the density profile of each theme and helps summarise the detailed accounts reported above.

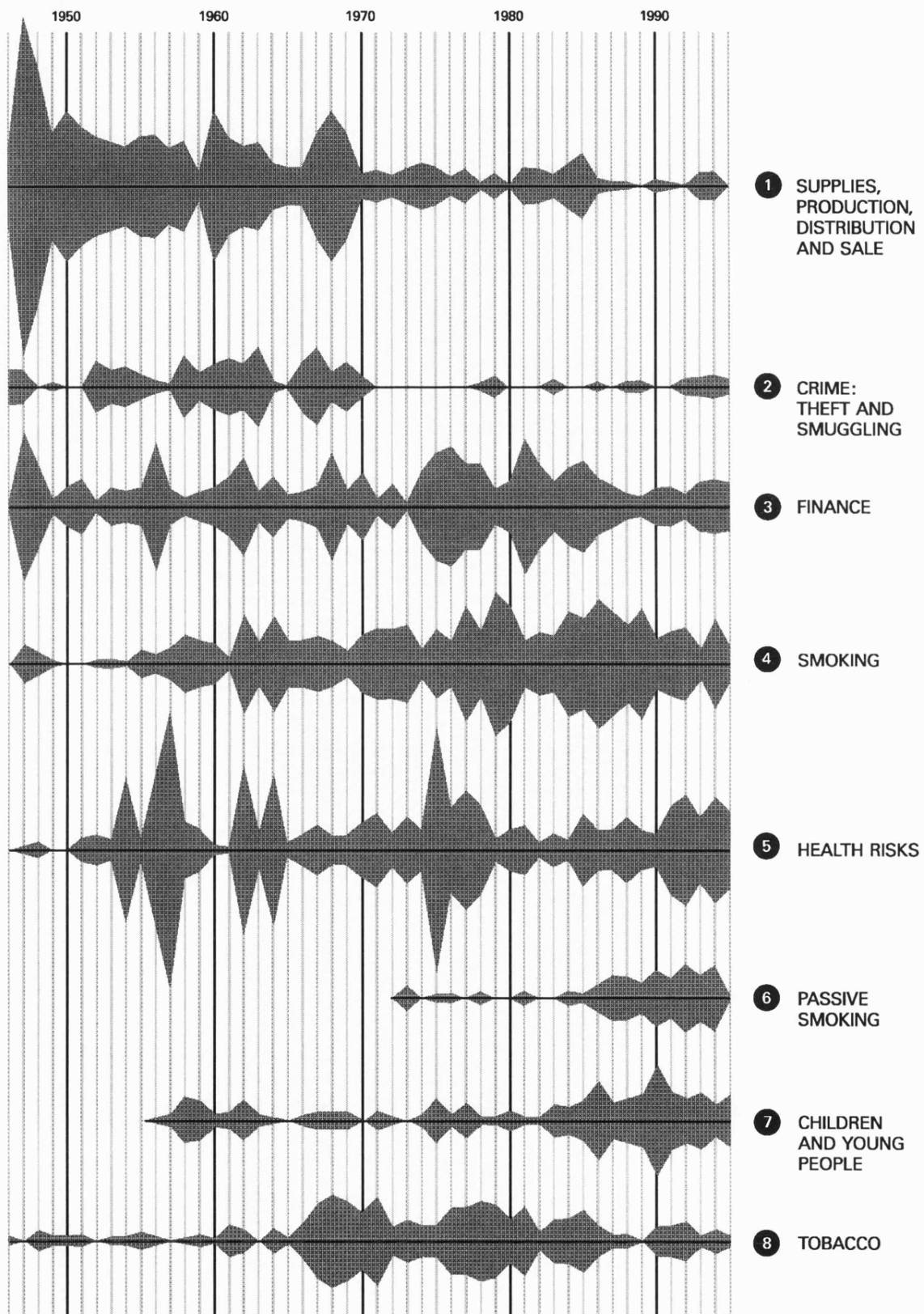
1. Supplies etc comprises 19 codes related to tobacco supplies, production, labour, distribution and retail, and exports. The frequency of items is highest in '47-'50, with peaks also in '60 and '68, and a further reduction after '70. In '47, the main issues were labour, imports and home-grown tobacco, and rationing, and in '48, labour unions and dismissals and retail distribution; and in '50, labour unions,

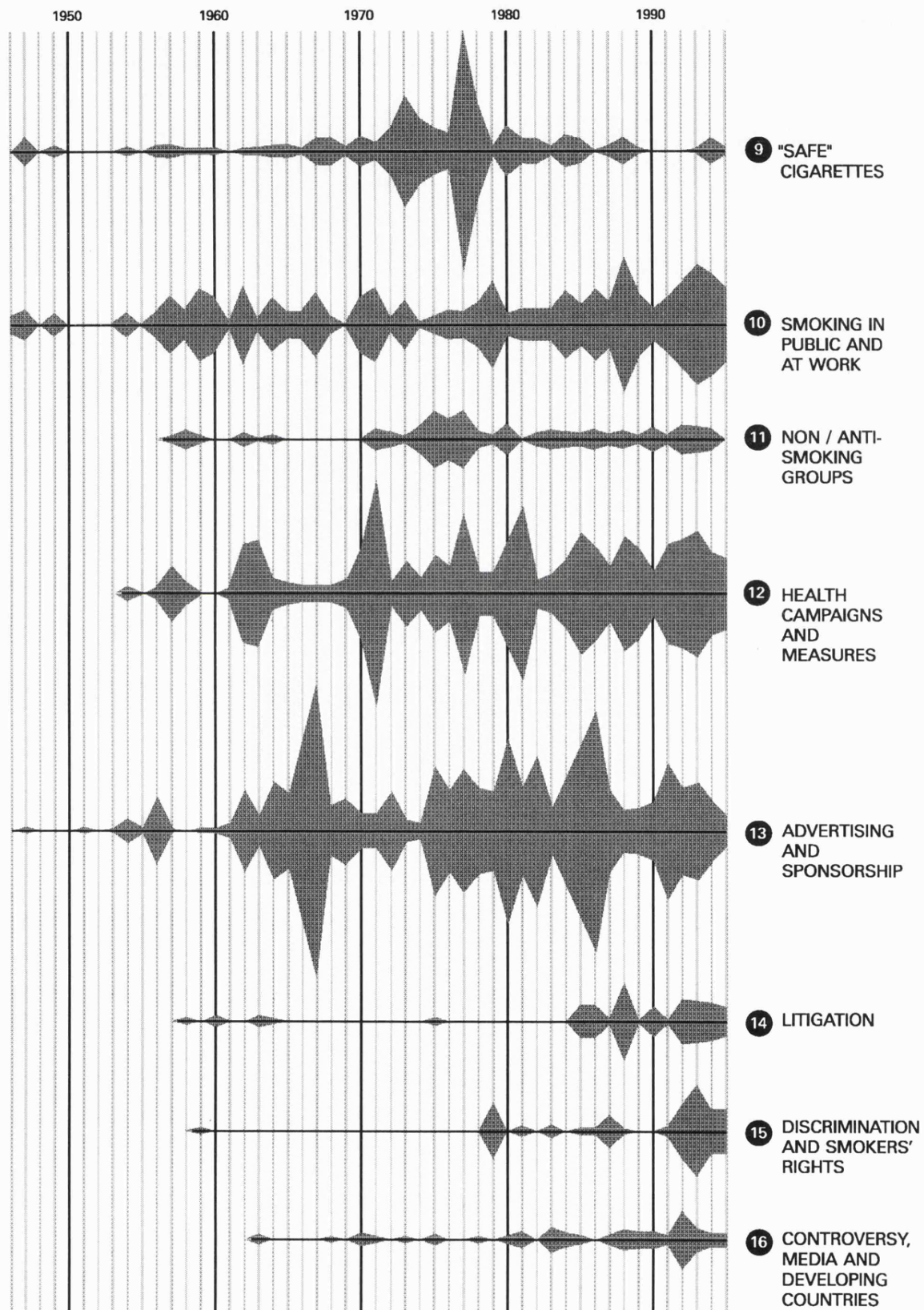
imports and general supplies. Reporting was consistently high through the '50s and '60s, peaking in the early '50s with items on automation and in '68 with items on resale price maintenance.

2. Items on crime are also distributed more densely in the first half of the period, with peaks in '63 and '67 relating to theft. All items from the '80s onwards relate to smuggling.
3. Finance was densely reported throughout the period. An early peak in '47 represented items on budget and shares performance. Dense reporting of manufacturers' and retailers' price changes led to the mid-'70s peak and, in conjunction with budget items, to the peak in '81.
4. The graph for the Smoking theme becomes more dense throughout the period, with peaks in '62 and '64 and in the mid-late-'80s, reflecting general items on smoking and in the late '70s including also smoking statistics and attitudes to smoking.
5. The Health Risks theme is also present throughout the period, with pronounced peaks in '54, '57, '62, '64 and '75. These all relate to dense reporting on the link with lung cancer, and in '75 and the '90s, with general health risks.
6. The Passive Smoking theme first appears in '73 and increases in density from the mid-'80s onwards, with small peaks in '92 and '94, mirroring those in the Health Risks theme.
7. The Children and Young People theme first appears in '56, with small peaks in '58-9, '62, '75 and '77. Density increases in the mid-'80s onwards, with peaks in '86 and '90. The peaks in '62, '75 and '77 mirror those in the Health Risks theme. The '58-9 peak represents general items and items on children smoking at school and in care. The '62 peak also represents items on sales to children, as do the '75, '86 and '90 peaks. The small '77 peak relates to items on deterrents. Dense reporting of child smoking statistics also contributed to the increased density of items in the final decade.
8. The Tobacco theme is present throughout the period, with dense reporting from the mid-'60s to the mid-'80s. The '66-7 peak represents items on cigars and cigar smoking and the introduction of new brands, while the '76-9 peak represents most of the contributing codes and especially pipe-smoking. Dry snuff and cigars contribute to the '81 peak, and chewing tobacco to the '85 peak.
9. The 'Safe' Cigarette theme appears in most years, with prominent peaks in '73 and '77, representing items on synthetic tobacco, with items in the late '50s and '60s mostly on filtered cigarettes, and early '80s items on low tar/nicotine cigarettes.

Graph 4.1

FREQUENCY OF ITEMS PER YEAR FOR EACH THEME





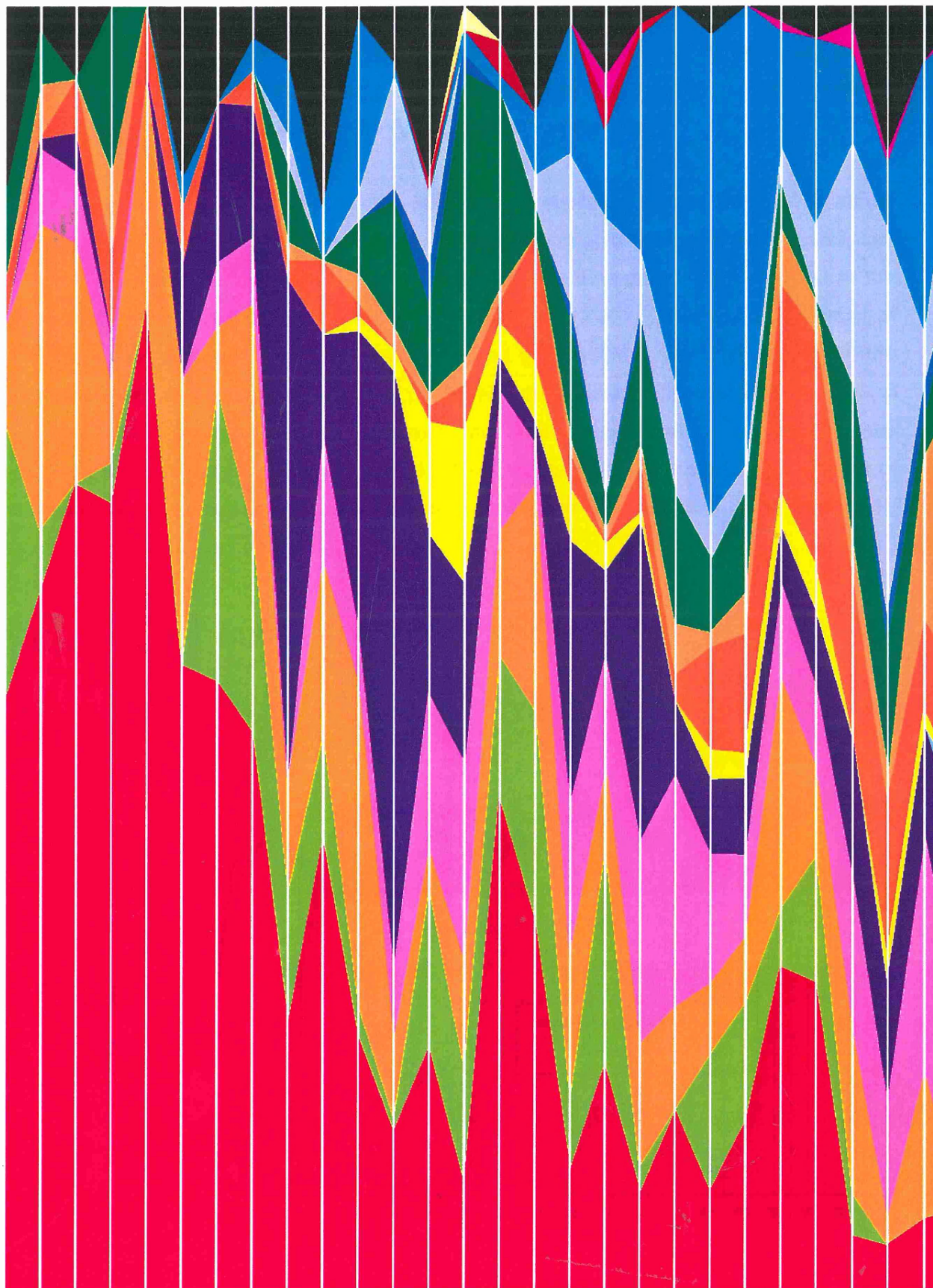
10. The theme on Smoking in Public and at Work is again present in most years, with an increase in density in the mid-'50s. General bans, smoking on public transport and at work were key contributors to the '88 and '90s peaks.
11. The Non-/Anti-Smoking groups theme first appeared in '57, and peaked in the mid-'70s, with consistent reporting from then on.
12. The Health Campaigns, Quitting and Legislation theme began in '54, with peaks in '57 and '62-3 representing general items on campaigns and clinics. The '71 and '81 peaks represented items on organised quitting, and general campaigns, and the '77 peak, general campaigns and financial deterrents, and '93, nicotine patches.
13. The Advertising, Marketing and Sponsorship theme is present in most years, with dense reporting in the mid-'60s and from '75 onwards. The '67 peak represents items on gift coupons and general items on advertising and marketing, and the '86 peak on sports sponsorship.
14. The Litigation theme had a few isolated items from '58 onwards, with density only increasing from '85 onwards.
15. With the exception of a single item in '59, the Discrimination and Smokers' Rights theme is found from '79 onwards, with a peak in this first year representing smokers' rights groups, and a further peak in the early '90s, especially on financial and medical discrimination.
16. The final, Controversy theme appears sparsely from '63 onwards, with a small peak in '92 representing items on government 'cover-ups'.

The second, colourful, graph (4.2) shows the cumulative percentages of each theme per year over the period (see appendix 4.3 for raw data). The number of items coded per year is standardised. On account of the detail, the graph is best read impressionistically. In the first eight years, the graph is dominated by items on Supplies etc, with Crime and Finance featuring strongly too. In '54, Health Risks was the largest theme, with Supplies etc the second largest. Supplies continued to feature prominently through the '50s, and again in the late '60s. During this period, Health Risks was also prominent, together with shorter-lived features on Smoking in Public and at Work ('59), Health Campaigns etc ('63) and Advertising, Marketing and Sponsorship ('65-7). Health Campaigns were back in focus in '70-1 and Advertising, Marketing and Sponsorship in '72. 'Safe' Cigarettes featured in '73-4 and '77-8, together with Finance in '74, '76 and '79, and Health Risks in '75. Health Campaigns etc featured in '81 and Advertising, Marketing and Sponsorship in '80, '82 and '85-7. In '88, Smoking in Public and at Work and Health Campaigns etc

Graph 4.2

TIMES INDEX: CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGES OF THEMES (1946-'

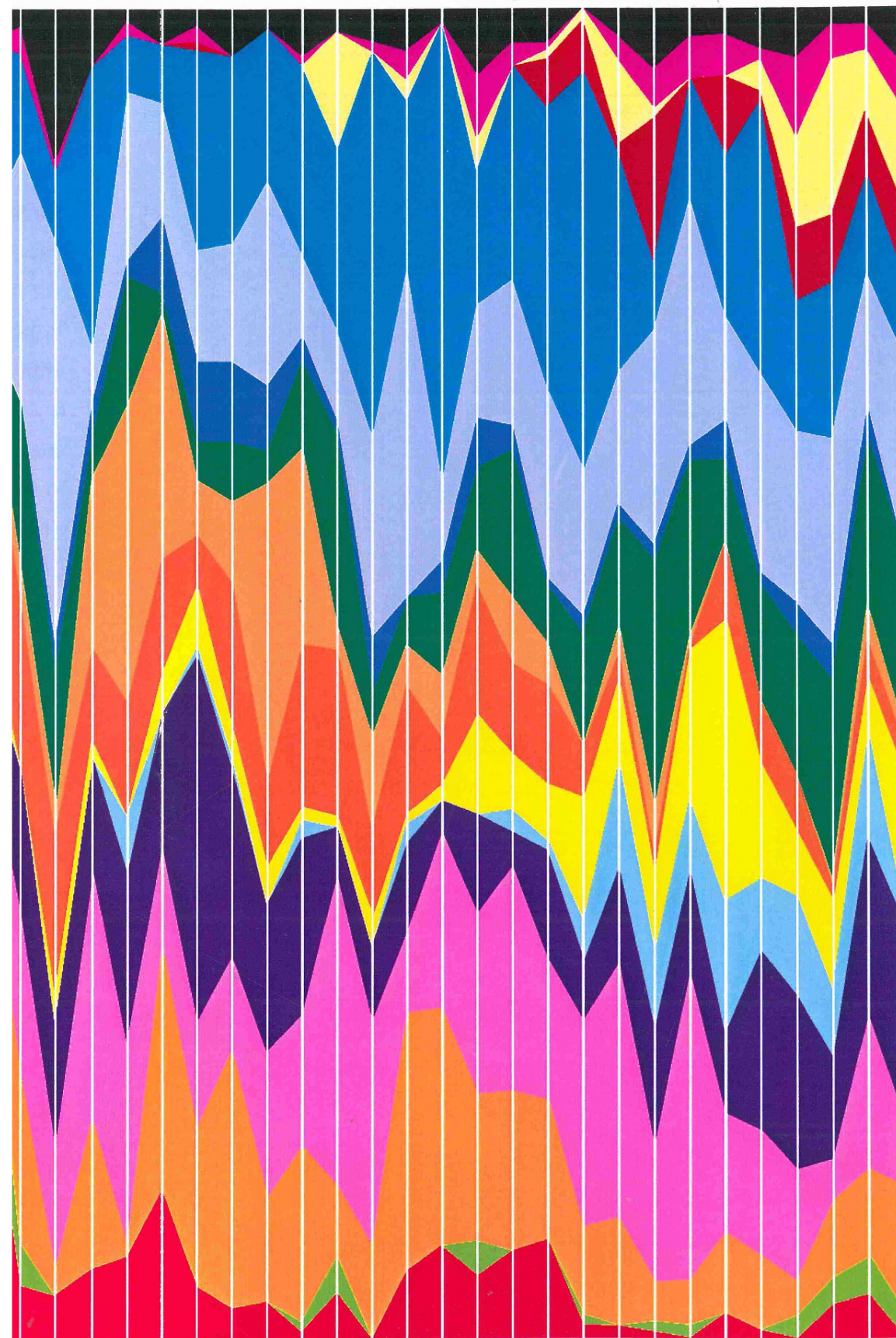
46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72



46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72

3 (1946-1995)

70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95



- Miscellaneous
- Controversy, Media and Developing Countries
- Discrimination and Smokers' Rights
- Litigation
- Advertising and Sponsorship
- Health Campaigns and Measures
- Non-Anti-Smoking Groups
- Smoking in Public and at Work
- 'Safe' Cigarettes
- Tobacco
- Children and Young People
- Passive Smoking
- Health Risks
- Smoking
- Finance
- Crime: Theft and Smuggling
- Supplies, Production, Distribution and Sale

70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95

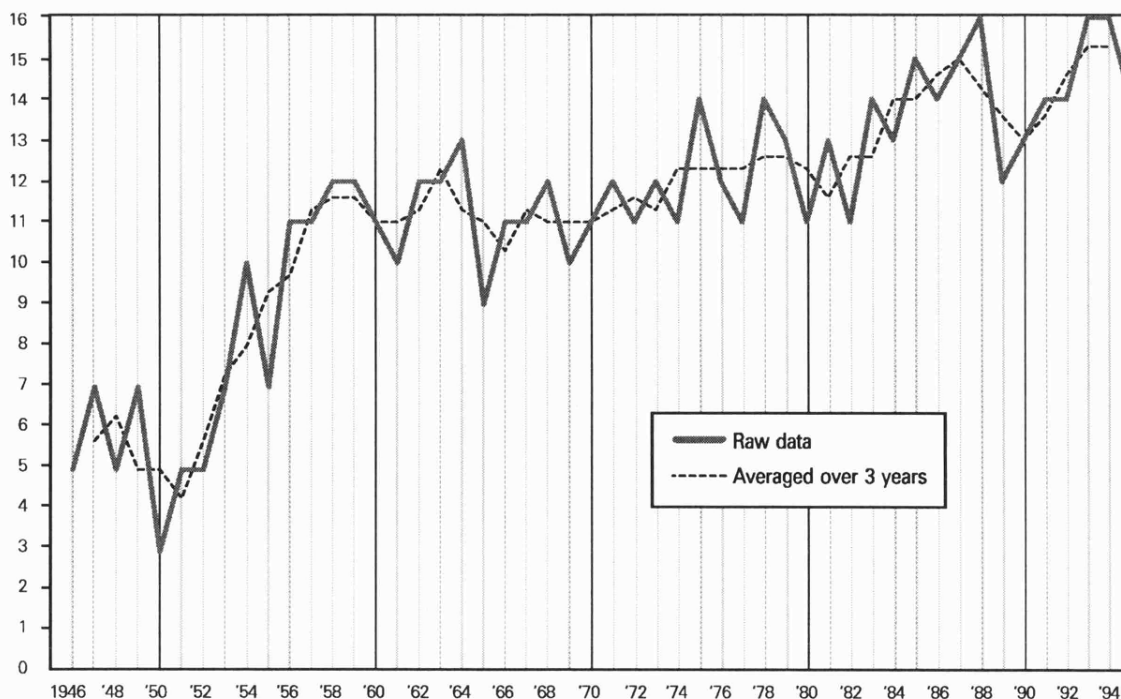
were prominent, in '90, Children and Young People and in '91, Advertising, Marketing and Sponsorship were prominent. In the last four years, Health Risks, Health Campaigns etc and Smoking in Public and at Work were dominant. Graph 4.2 also indicates the increasing diversity of the themes reported over time, with new themes appearing to the right of the graph. This is better captured in a simple line graph of the number of themes present per year (see Graph 4.3, and Appendix 4.4 for raw data)

There are several measures of diversity and complexity which may be gleaned quantitatively from simple correlational statistics (Spearman's Rho: $N = 50$, 2-tailed; see Appendix 4.4 for raw data/). First, the number of tobacco-related units per year in the *Times Index* increased over the period ($\rho = .5849$, $p < 0.001$). Second, the number of themes coded per year increased over the period ($\rho = .8398$, $p < 0.001$). Similarly, the number of different codes found in any one year increased over the period ($\rho = .8293$, $p < 0.001$). Third, as a measure of complexity, or interconnections among codes, the ratio of items to units per year was calculated. This last measure controls for the number of units per year, and again, yielded a significant correlation with year ($\rho = .4897$, $p < 0.001$).

Graph 4.3

NUMBER OF THEMES PER YEAR: 1946-1995

(dotted line shows three year averages)



4.11 THE STRUCTURE OF THE LABYRINTH

This section addresses the question: How are the substantive 'themes' related to each other? The thematic groupings of codes can be justified on 'common sense' semantic grounds and as being useful on grounds of data management. However, in terms of my labyrinthine model, it is also possible to test an hypothesis relating to the density of between- and within-theme links, in multiply-coded units of text. The density of links should be greater within themes than between themes. To control for the prior likelihood of links, I have weighted the within- and between-theme links by their respective number of possible types of links. Thus, a theme with six contributing codes has a weight of 1/15 for within-theme links and of 1/(6x117) for between-theme links (see Appendix 4.5 for raw data). The calculated Wilcoxon statistic (23) had an associated probability of 0.02 (2-tailed), which enabled me to reject a null hypothesis of no statistically significant difference, and conclude that within-theme links were more dense than between-theme links. A more detailed analysis of the data presents a useful qualification of this general assertion. This was approached by comparing the adjusted within-theme links with the specific between-theme links (also adjusted). Of 240 possible comparisons, 189 (78.75%) were in the predicted direction, or showed no difference between within and between-theme links, compared with 51 (21.25%) in the opposite direction. These exceptions are discussed below.

There were five themes in which the between-theme links were, on average, more dense than the within-theme links: Crime (2), Finance (3), Non-/Anti-Smoking Groups (11), Discrimination and Smokers' Rights (15) and Controversy (16). For Crime, there were no links between the two contributing codes: theft and smuggling, and the theme was most closely linked with Finance (3), through double-coded items on smuggling and tax/budget. Finance was also closely linked to Supplies etc (1), via a number of different connections, including retail tobacconists' union and tax/budget, and workforce dismissals and tax/budget. Finance was also closely linked to Tobacco (8), with double-coded items on prices/tax on tobacco products. Non/Anti-Smoking Groups also had only two contributing codes, one of which was not linked with any other code, which made within-theme links impossible. The other code, 'health groups' was linked with all but two other themes, and densely so with Health Risks (5), Children etc (7) and Smoking in Public and at Work (10). The themes Discrimination and Smokers' Rights and Controversy both had no within-theme links and few between-theme links. The four discrimination codes were linked

especially with smoking at work, and smokers' groups with health campaigns and smoking in public. Controversy was the final theme I decided upon and is made up of the remnants I considered worth reporting separately from the three Miscellaneous codes. The name reflects the degree of abstraction necessary to semantically connect or unify the theme, and the sub-heading spells out this tension. Thus, it is not entirely unexpected that there were no within-theme links. 'Cover-ups' by governments and tobacco companies were linked with Advertising etc (13), health risks of passive smoking and litigation on behalf of smokers; and media reporting of health risks of smoking was linked with health campaigns and groups.

There was one further case of two themes being more densely linked than either was within-theme linked: 'Smoking' (4) and Tobacco (8), with codes on smoking statistics and cigars being densely linked. There were four additional cases of one-sided discrepancy. Passive Smoking (6) and Smoking in Public and at Work (10) were both more densely linked with Litigation (14) than within themselves, while Litigation was more densely linked within-theme than with either of the other themes. Similarly, Smoking in Public and at Work and Passive Smoking were more densely linked than Smoking in Public and at Work was linked within-theme; and finally, Safe Cigarettes (9) and Supplies etc (1) were more densely linked than Supplies was linked within-theme.

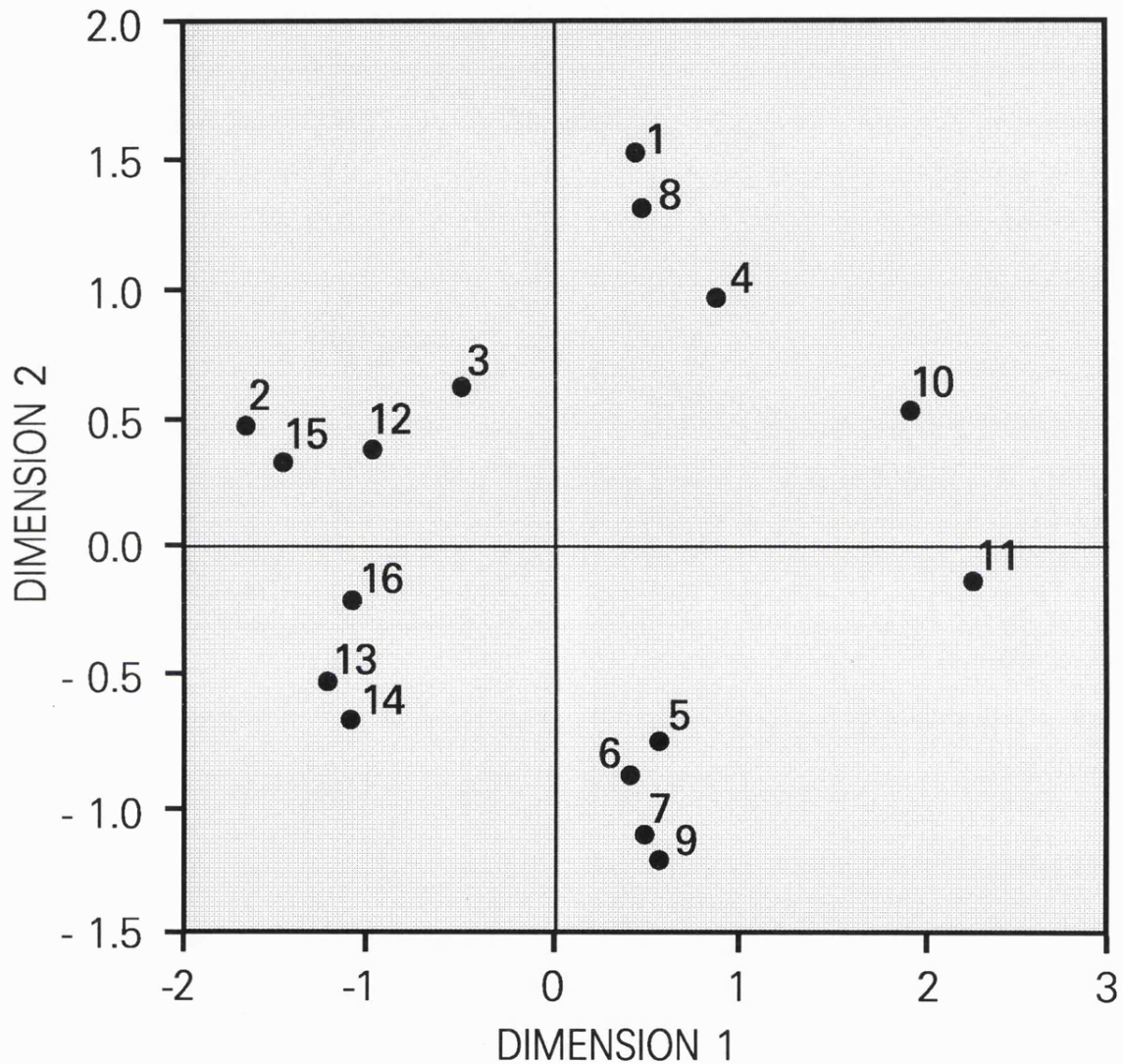
MDS Solution and Interpretations

A two-dimensional MDS solution (Graph 4.4) was generated from the binary matrix of adjusted links for the 16 themes (see Appendix 4.6 for raw data matrix). The plot achieved a suitably low stress value (.23642) and accounted for a respectable proportion of the variance (RSQ = .69377).

There appear to be four clusters of themes. The tightest group comprises themes 5 (health risk), 6 (passive smoking), 7 (children) and 9 ('safe' cigarettes). This cluster seems to relate most directly to the health risks of smoking and the issue of reducing the risks. At the other pole of this dimension is a cluster of three themes: 1 (supplies etc), 8 (tobacco) and 4 (smoking). This comprises the themes which do not tend to problematise smoking in health terms. Their object is the product itself and its means of production, distribution and consumption statistics. It could be argued that this dimension relates to the health-problematism of tobacco.

Graph 4.4

MDS SOLUTION (2-dimensional)



- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Supplies, Production, Distribution & Sale | 10. Smoking in Public and at Work |
| 2. Crime: Theft & Smuggling | 11. Non-/Anti-Smoking Groups |
| 3. Finance | 12. Health Campaigns & Measures |
| 4. Smoking | 13. Advertising & Sponsorship |
| 5. Health Risks | 14. Litigation |
| 6. Passive Smoking | 15. Discrimination & Smokers' Rights |
| 7. Children & Young People | 16. Controversy, Media & Developing Countries |
| 8. Tobacco | 17. Miscellaneous |
| 9. 'Safe' Cigarettes | |

The other dimension is less simple to name. At one extreme there is a small cluster of two themes: 10 (smoking in public and at work) and 11 (non/anti-smoking groups). The remaining seven themes appear on the opposite side, and are something of a 'mixed bag'. However, they include theme 15 (discrimination and smokers' rights), which might be argued to represent the opposing interest of theme 11. Clustered around theme 15, in the top portion of the graph are themes which have a strong financial element: 3 (finance) itself, 12 (health campaigns and measures), which includes financial measures to reduce smoking, and 2 (crime), which largely represents the smuggling code, which was often related to budget tax increases. It is interesting to note that the finance theme is the closest in the group to the cluster identified above on supplies, production and tobacco. The three remaining themes are located towards the lower portion of this side of the graph. They are: 15 (controversy), 13 (advertising and sponsorship) and 14 (litigation). Of particular interest here is the large distance between the litigation theme and the supplies and production theme. Both relate to tobacco manufacturers, but are here related to different sets of other themes.

The chief problem with the MDS solution is that it represents a high level of abstraction, which obscures the detail of the interconnections among codes between themes. These links, however, have been described in the first detailed analysis. The MDS technique could be used at the level of codes. However, the resulting picture would be too detailed for any sensible analysis (and it would require a huge graph to avoid too much overlapping!)

4.12 CONCLUSIONS TO PART TWO

The above analyses have wrestled with the problem of relating the diachronic and the synchronic. This synthesis, however, remains incomplete. This is, in part, the result of the two-dimensional medium of the graphs used here. A more satisfactory synthesis would require additional representational dimensions in order to more fully capture the sense of change over time inherent in the evolutionary model of the labyrinth. Whilst this is beyond the scope of the present chapter, one such method will be elaborated in the concluding chapter (section 8.6).

So, what may be concluded from the present analyses? The first analysis identified 126

different codes, which were organised, for convenience, into 16 themes, with an additional miscellaneous 'theme'. The occurrence and development of these themes was described quantitatively and qualitatively. These analyses showed a proliferation of codes and themes through the period, with the issue of supplies and production and crime declining in relative emphasis. Most other themes increase, with health risks of smoking first rising to prominence in the 1950s, together with health campaigns and measures. The 1960s witnessed the first bout of intensive reporting on advertising and sponsorship. The 1970s saw considerable reporting on the development of 'safe' cigarettes, and sustained emphasis on health campaigns and measures and advertising and sponsorship, together with items about anti-smoking groups. These trends continued through the 1980s, with a substantial increase in reporting on passive smoking, children and young people and litigation. The early 1990s saw an increase, also, in items on discrimination and smokers' rights and on other controversies. The 'structure of the labyrinth' was also investigated, justifying and qualifying the thematic groupings, and resulting in a MDS plot of the links between codes, based on multiply-coded units.

The analyses reported above by no means exhaust the data. Rather, they are general (although in places detailed) attempts to answer the questions set out at the head of part two. The study has combined qualitative and quantitative methods in application to broad thematic divisions of the data, and in turn, these divisions have been justified and qualified. Each technique (verbal, graphical or statistical) gives a different perspective on the *Times Index*. That is, it interrogates the data in a different manner. The aim has been to produce an analysis which gives a broad, but representative, review of the substrate. In this way, the study provides a means of contextualising the more specific analyses to follow, in presenting a history of the issue.

There are numerous other ways of arriving at an historical account of tobacco over the past 50 years. The *Times Index* is but one source of press reporting. The other available sources were mentioned above. The choice of a broadsheet was dictated by the absence of a similar index for any tabloid and the prohibitive amount of time required to construct such an index. This, in particular, places constraints upon the generalisability of the findings, especially as many tabloids have substantially higher circulations than broadsheets. However, it suggests a future line of research. As a source of news, the newspaper has also waned over the period covered as television has expanded. Again, this suggests further research. In the case of television, analyses would combine accounts

of the visual with the verbal.

The choice of a single source relates to the labyrinthine model of discourse as generation of discursive space by a located agent. A second literature review would have been one alternative. There are plenty of sources available, including the following: Whiteside (1971), Taylor (1984), Hewat (1991), Kiernan (1991) and Goodman (1993). However, such accounts are partial, in that they focus mainly upon the medical and political narratives. Each source marshals evidence which accords with its own position and moral. It may be argued that, in this respect, the *Times Index* is less partial. Although, this is not to say that the *Times Index* is impartial.

In what ways is the *Times Index* likely to be biased? It can be noted that an index is to some degree less dependent upon editorial preference than the full text, in that it identifies the issues discussed, without necessarily detailing the opinions expressed. However, the choice of issues in themselves is in no way apolitical. A number of texts identify the possible biases inherent in media reporting (e.g. Schudson, 1991 and Galtung and Ruge, 1973). A detailed exposition is beyond the scope of this chapter, but a couple of pointers are in order. First, it can be argued that the press have an interest in maintaining their own advertising revenue. This has been discussed above in relation to censorship and the 'tobacco dollar' (chapter 1.7). There is also the question of what is deemed 'newsworthy'. This applies to all media news and not just to tobacco.

From the characteristics of the 'newsworthy', it will be expected that official statistics and medical reports will receive substantial coverage and reporting of issues relating to 'non-élite' sources and countries will receive less coverage. This seems to have been borne out in the data. However, there is a limitation inherent in the source material used which precludes a more thorough structural analysis. The *Times Index* references only one part of the entire discursive space of the *Times* and the *Sunday Times* reporting. So, while it is possible to say what was definitely included, it is not possible to say also what was not included. This is the result of the decision to cover a whole population and not just a sample. It can be argued that the less 'newsworthy' issues may have appeared in some of the articles referenced in the *Index*, but that they were not deemed sufficiently important to be mentioned in the *Index* itself.

The relativist position entailed by the labyrinthine model highlights the role of the purpose

behind any chosen analysis. The aim of the present chapter has been a general survey of the *Times Index* tobacco references. However, more specific analyses are possible. These would focus on particular areas of the labyrinth in detail, and provide answers to narrower questions. The following chapter focuses in detail on several specific discourses as they have been constructed in one contemporary press article, related correspondence and cartoons. The analyses presented in this chapter also contextualise the analysis of cigarette advertising over the same 50 year period is reported in chapter six.

CHAPTER FIVE

"SMOKELESS ZONES" AND ITS CRITICS

5.1 Why "Smokeless zones"?

Since beginning my MSc dissertation on smoking, I have made a 'habit' of collecting any newspaper articles I come across related to smoking. The article discussed in this chapter struck me as interesting for several reasons. First, it was explicitly argumentative, as opposed to a straightforward piece of 'news reporting'. In particular, it argued, in part, for a wider definition of smoking than the purely medical. Second, it covered a wide range of issues, which provided an opportunity for a detailed analysis of the structure of the rhetoric and, in particular, the relationships among various issues. Third, many of these issues were related to the contemporary themes mentioned in the Times Index of the previous chapter. Fourth, the article was followed on two subsequent days by a series of 'letters to the editor'. This, together with the content of the letters, suggested that the article was controversial (only two of the eight letters were broadly supportive of the article), and that the letters themselves would provide an oppositional or structural characterisation of the arguments. Finally, there were two cartoons, one appearing with the original article, and the other on one of the letters pages, and these, too, I thought might usefully be included in the analyses that follow.

5.2 Critical Positions

This chapter works in methodological counterpoint to the thematic analysis of the Times Index study of the previous chapter. The different approaches are related in large part to the logistical problems discussed in the chapter on methods (section 3.1). The Times Index constitutes a large and complete corpus of references to 50 years of tobacco-related reporting in one UK newspaper. The study aimed to chart the changes in broadly-defined themes of reporting since the second world war. Whilst many of the themes were health-related, the Times Index study did not focus primarily on medicalization. In contrast, the present chapter's analyses are more closely contextualised within the framework of

medicalization discussed in the opening chapter. However, from the structural approach reviewed in chapter two, medical representations are considered in relation to the alternative perspectives on smoking which feature in the material analysed, that is, medical representations are defined in relation to what they are not.

The volume of the material in the Times Index study necessitated a quantitative approach to summarise the raw data, although this was tempered by qualitative summaries and an open and reflexive approach to the process of quantification. The smaller scale of the material analysed in this chapter affords a higher resolution approach which minimises quantification. In other words, the Times Index study was 'reductionist' in terms of summarising a large body of text, whereas the present study is, in places, 'expansionist' in elaborating upon fragments of a text.

One point of correspondence between the two studies is that both look at the relationships between different analytic units. In the Times Index study, this was addressed crudely by mapping cross-references between thematic domains. In the present chapter, the analytic units are individual fragments of text, or cartoons, and the analytic method is structural and focuses on the rhetorical aspects of the material.

In terms of the model of representational space as labyrinthine presented in chapter two, each discourse identified represents one trajectory (or several related trajectories) through the labyrinth. The method of analysis used in this chapter may again be characterised as a series of explorations of areas of the labyrinth starting at a series of points designated by the labels assigned to each discourse. The method is structural in that it reconstructs partial Saussurian paradigms in the form of oppositions. However, this process of reconstruction is largely constrained by the choice of oppositions which are present in the selection of material. This may be justified by the choice of an empirical as opposed to an armchair method, as the existing, as opposed to a potential labyrinth, is the object of study. In contrast to van Dijk's (1993) located critic, arguing against one text from a second, clearly-defined critical position, this chapter adopts a series of critical positions, in order to identify the range of representations of smoking in the original material.

The word 'construction' is used interchangeably with 'representation' (and the more specific 'discourse' and 'images'), to emphasise the active involvement of the various authors in generating the texts and images. As an exercise in criticism, the analyses below are

curiously multi-layered. The original article is a piece of criticism itself, and the letters and cartoons represent critical responses to the article. The analyses themselves thus form a third 'layer' of criticism.

The article, letters and cartoons are reproduced in their original form, together with transcripts of the texts, in Appendix 5.

5.3 The Analyses

For Klein, 'anti-tabagism'¹ entails two things: an "attempt to suppress the use of tobacco or to censor its culture" (K.3). He draws on a range of discourses in order to argue that "Whenever governments seek to interdict perennial vices, they produce a result exactly opposite of the one intended, and diminish personal freedom." (K.5) and that this will be the inevitable result of the recent rise of 'anti-tabagism' in Europe. The solution he proposes is that, "Governments, ideally, should protect the absolute right to smoke and the absolute right to be protected against second-hand smoke." (K.13). Two of Klein's critics are supportive of the article. Letter 3 cites an historical analogue of one of Klein's arguments (about taxation) and letter 7 argues against the practices of discrimination against smokers. The other six letters are critical of the article. Letters 1, 2, 4, 6 and 8 argue against Klein with reference to several different discourses and largely from the perspective of the passive smoker. Letter 5 dismisses the article itself as a joke.

Klein proposes that smoking should not be defined in a purely negative and medical fashion, but, rather, that a wide range of perspectives should be granted currency. A discussion of these perspectives, as constructed in the article, letters and cartoons, will form the first set of analyses presented in this chapter. The discourses discussed are given the following labels: medical, alternative medical, historical, financial, cultural, discrimination and libertarian, and are discussed in relation to a number of rhetorical strategies. Two additional strategies are the subject of the final two analyses: hypothetical scenarios and critical distance.

¹Klein (1995 p.195 n2) provides the following rationale for this word: "The word *antitabagism* is borrowed from the French word for *antitobaccoism*, which in English seems inelegant and in French refers more precisely to the general category of hatred toward tobacco, which has been a concomitant human habit since its simultaneous appearance with that of tobacco at the beginning of the sixteenth century."

References throughout this chapter are specified in the following way: The article is referred to as K followed by a paragraph number, and the letters are referred to by L followed by the letter number and, where applicable, the paragraph number.

5.4 Beginnings

The title, "Smokeless zones" identifies the topic of the article: smoking bans. The editorial description above reads,

"Wednesday is 'World No Tobacco Day'. But, **Richard Klein** argues, we need more freedom for smokers"

This sets the tone: the article takes issue with official anti-smoking policy ('World No Tobacco Day'). The single quotation marks suggest that while Wednesday has been officially designated as such, in reality this will not be the case. The editorial also justifies the article: it is topical. It uses one of the key words of the article: "freedom" and ascribes it to Klein. It does not mention Klein's other argument: protection of non-smokers, perhaps because it is not a 'new' proposition, or such a contentious proposition.

The cartoon (see Fig. 5.1) which appeared with the article is curious. It answers the title "Smokeless zones" with an image comprised largely of stylised smoke. A smoker and a skull look at each other. The image is stark, unsettling and confrontational. While the smoker represents a smoker, what or whom does the skull represent?, and how are the two related? Several interpretations are possible. The skull may be a non-smoker, engulfed in the visual rhetoric of the smoker, and represented as small and vulnerable (like a child). The sharp, angular shading and the relatively small pupils of the smoker signify aggression, as does the force with which the smoke is exhaled. The skull is rounder, softer and passive. Alternatively, the skull is Death (the future smoker?) - a *memento mori*, and, perhaps, the smoker is defiant, or afraid. The stylisation may be read as a reference to gothic-novel illustration. The skull floats apparition-like in the smoke (see section 5.9). It may also refer to Death brand cigarettes, mentioned in the text, which feature a white skull and crossbones against a black background.

Figure 5.1

Cartoon 1



The first five letters are accompanied by the heading: "There is no smoke without ire" - a familiar polysemic journalistic pun: smoking inevitably meets with anger, and there is a justifiable cause for anger. The heading yields further meanings in the context of cartoon 2 and letters 1-5: the cartoon depicts both 'smoke' and 'ire', letter 1 proposes 'outrage' as a response to a hypothetical work-place smoker and letter 2 characterises Klein's article as "all smoke and mirrors". The final three letters are headed: "Smoking out the hypocrite". The title resonates with themes in the letters in several ways: letter six implies that Klein is making excuses for the tobacco industry, and letter 7 that the anti-smoking lobby, whilst claiming to work in the public interest, actually increases the suffering of the underprivileged.

5.5 The Medical Discourse

The medical discourse, as constructed by both Klein and some of his critics, emphasises the negative health consequences of smoking and justifies public policy in relation to smoking (including the banning of smoking in public places and the censorship of cigarette advertisements etc) on this medically-grounded moral imperative. Klein embraces this imperative with regard to the protection of non-smokers, but does not grant it exclusive 'rights' (see section 5.11). He contextualises his discussion of the medical discourse

historically. The rhetorical function of this approach is discussed in section 5.7 below. Paragraph K.6 quotes James I's Counterblast to Tobacco and makes an explicit identification with "the Surgeon General [or the head of the British Medical Association].", although, James' terminology certainly doesn't sound like contemporary medical discourse. In claiming this identity, Klein is denying that contemporary medical discourse has 'anything to add' to what James said, and he is also justifying his own use of non-medical terminology. For example, in the following paragraph he writes:

"...the alkaloid of nicotine in minute doses kills large rats. Every puff fills your lungs with an extremely noxious poison. Doctors have long observed the difference between the health of their patients who smoke, and those who don't. There is no smoker who doesn't feel the effects of the poison over time, probably with every first cigarette of the day" (K.7).

He uses a mixture of 'scientific' terminology (e.g. "alkaloid of nicotine") and everyday language (e.g. "an extremely noxious poison"). It is interesting to note that he does not use the term 'drug' at all in the article. Instead he uses the less narrowly medical word "poison" several times, including in the final sentence, "...and leave others free to choose their poison" (K.14). In the context of the cultural connotations elaborated elsewhere in the article (and discussed in section 5.9 below), "poison", like "death", carries a range of connotations besides the denotative negative ones. Tobacco is constructed as merely one of a number of equivalent (and perennial) vices: "tobacco, like alcohol, is a substance in universal use..." (K.12). The final sentence also denies one of the key arguments of the medical discourse. In suggesting that smokers choose to smoke, Klein ignores the issue of 'addiction'. Two other key medical terms also missing from Klein's analysis are (lung) 'cancer' and 'heart disease'.

These omissions are picked up by two of Klein's critics. Letter 1 mentions both lung cancer and heart disease (L1.1), and answers one of Klein's cultural observations by arguing that the health consequences are long term (L1.3) and therefore less salient to young smokers. Letter 6, again, counters another of Klein's cultural observations with a medical definition of tobacco:

Tobacco is not, as he claims, a "democratic substance". On the contrary, it is a

highly addictive drug, which (as any ex-smoker knows) is extremely difficult to give up (L6.1)

and, later:

the real issue - that smoking is the single largest preventable cause of death and disease in the UK (L6.2).

Both of these extracts illustrate what, in Foucauldian terms, might be referred to as the 'globalising' nature of the medical discourse. That is, it is presented as the *only* valid discourse and attempts to discredit all other perspectives on the issue. Letter 6 also expresses the medical-moral imperative in relation to one especially 'vulnerable' group:

It is an indictment on public policy-makers, therefore, that young people continue to be hooked at such an early age to this deadly addiction (L6.2).

5.6 The Alternative Medical Discourse

This alternative medical perspective is discussed at length by Klein and is mentioned in three of the letters. The discourse emphasises the positive health consequences of smoking. As with his discussion of the medical discourse, Klein's approach is again historical. He notes a variety of alternative, positive constructions of tobacco, "as a panacea ... used in remedies ... disinfectant powers ... may protect you against Parkinson's disease" (K.8), and a further list of positive physiological and psychological effects:

...a source of release after strenuous exertion, and a consolation following loss.

It kills boredom and is a spur to concentration; it kills appetite and fosters work.

It controls and mitigates anxiety in times of stress... (K.12)

and, finally, "it is the greatest natural instrument for alleviating fear of flying." (K.13). This last quotation is especially interesting in terms of his choice of words. Again, Klein avoids the contemporary medical term 'drug', choosing instead the more neutral 'instrument'. The qualifier, 'natural' may be contrasted with 'artificial' and carries positive connotations: what is 'natural' is, perforce, 'right' and 'good' (the naturalistic fallacy).

Letter 7 provides support for Klein in characterising smoking as a "therapeutic release from stress and misery" (L7.2), a comment which is contextualised by a critical and personal discourse on discrimination (see section 5.10i). In arguing for recognition of the "dual nature of tobacco", Klein does not seek to deny the medical discourse, but rather to challenge its absolute dominance. The list of positive medical views on smoking is presented uncritically and without any assessment of the relative merits of the alternative medical perspective in comparison with the medical discourse itself, although the substantial space allocated to it suggests that it is important. The point is raised in letter 2:

...the dual nature of tobacco impl[ies] that the good somehow balances the bad.

While I would argue for the right to smoke, this cannot outweigh the right to breathe clean air. (L2.2)

(see also section 5.11). The final, critical letter (L1.2) simply dismisses two of Klein's alternative medical claims as "dubious".

5.7 The Rhetoric of History

The function of the historical discourse has been touched upon above. This is the discourse in which Klein explicitly locates himself. He comments on the rise of European anti-tabagism from the perspective of "an American, who has been through the whole 20-year cycle from demonisation to re-divinisation of cigarettes" (K.3) and his article mentions several perspectives on smoking garnered from previous centuries and especially from previous (failed) episodes of 'anti-tabagism'. The historical approach serves several related, critical purposes. It stresses the continuity of present-day medicalization with previous similar episodes of 'anti-tabagism' and thereby denies that the contemporary medical discourse is any different, e.g.

We continue to imagine that we have only just discovered the noxious character of tobacco ... For over a century people have been calling them [cigarettes] coffin nails. (K.7)

Apart from allowing Klein to use the antiquated 'medical' terminology, with its wider

'cultural' connotations (see sections 5.5 and 5.9), this also works to undermine any assumption of progress in medical or scientific understanding of smoking: the present rise in medically-sponsored 'anti-tabagism' is constructed as just one among many temporary and reversible trends: history is cyclical, not progressive.

The historical approach also allows Klein to argue against the medical discourse on the grounds that the medical authorities themselves have been inconsistent and have, in the past, supported the alternative medical discourse (see Paragraph K.8). This historical alternative medical discourse serves to anchor a contemporary alternative view ("tobacco may protect you against Parkinson's disease", K.8) in a wider, and thus more weighty, tradition.

Klein stresses historical determinism:

the anti-smoking effort in Europe ... [is] bound to repeat the same inevitable failure (K.3).

and:

historically, losing the right to use tobacco has usually coincided with the loss of other freedoms, one form of oppression being a reliable index of others (K.3)

- although, he does not say what these 'other freedoms' are. Klein supports this assertion with reference to historical figures of repression: Hitler (K.6), Russian leaders (K.9) and King James I. After quoting from the "Counterblast to Tobacco", he reconstructs James' motives: they were not medical and disinterested but rather political and personal. Raleigh, by contrast, is constructed as the defiant hero:

James I was a tyrant and the dour enemy of Sir Walter Raleigh, who had brought tobacco from Virginia and lost his head on the block, his pipe clenched in its teeth, defiant to the end. (K.6)

The only letter to draw upon the historical perspective also offers a reconstruction of James I. Letter 3 begins by correcting the date Klein quotes for the publication of James I's Counterblast (1604 instead of 1607). The author also adds an 'e' to "Counterblast(e)", which, perhaps, is intended to signify superior historical knowledge. This is also signified by the rhetorical structure "...well-known ... What is not so well known is that..." (L3.1) The author goes on to cite evidence which compromises James' anti-smoking reputation:

the anti-smoking king actually became a partner with two tobacco merchants, Edmund Peschell and Edward White (L3.2)

Naming the two merchants adds credibility to the account. The explanation offered for James' apparent volte-face (tax and smuggling) is discussed in section 5.8 below, but it can be noted here that the author explicitly links James' predicament with the present-day: "a surge in smuggling, mirrored today..." (L3.1). In this way the author both draws on and offers support for Klein's position of historical inevitability.

5.8 The Financial Discourse

The financial discourse centres on the relationship between government taxation of cigarettes and smuggling. As Klein constructs the issue, substantial increases in taxation *inevitably* lead to increased smuggling, which, in turn, leads governments to reduce taxation to protect revenue and combat lawlessness. For Klein, the discourse also has connotations of prohibition and cultures of resistance (see section 5.9 below). Letter 3 offers an historical analogue of the Canadian illustration constructed by Klein, and letter 2 offers a substantially different construction of the events in Canada. All three extracts are reproduced in full in Fig. 5.2.

The author of letter 3 establishes his warrant for criticising Klein's account of the events: he is Canadian. He refers to Klein's "interpretation" with amazement, implying not only that Klein is inaccurate, but that he, the author, will give an accurate account. This is also signified through the rhetorical construction, "The Canadian government did not ... It did, however ...", and through the juxtaposition of Klein's colourful, emotive language with a precise, non-emotive choice of words. That is, letter 2 disputes Klein's construction of events both substantively and rhetorically. Letter 3, in contrast, uses similar colourful emotive language to Klein's, but, like letter 2, provides a detailed and thus more credible-sounding account of the tax increases.

Klein constructs the effects of the increases by contrasting the negative effect on the personalised, law-abiding store-owners with the expansion of impersonal, illegal behaviour, "requiring expanded law enforcement". This last point is important in the context of the Libertarian discourse discussed in section 5.11 below. Letter 2 denies the proposed

"increased crime and violence", and whilst admitting an effect on smuggling, denies that it had any effect on the subsequent tax decreases. Letter 2 does not comment on Klein's "Mom-and-Pop stores", or on whether the tax increases affected smoking levels. For Klein, the subsequent tax decrease does not require an explanation: it follows implicitly from the account he has rendered. Letter 3 also grants substantial agency to smugglers. For letter 2, however, an alternative explanation is required, and a prosaic political one is supplied.

Figure 5.2 **Extracts on Tax and Smuggling**

Article:

Recently in Canada, the government slapped a prohibitory tax on cigarettes, doubling the price. Instantly, smuggling took up the slack on a vast scale. Mom-and-Pop stores, whose income depended heavily on tobacco sales, ceased to sell any. Crime and violence increased, requiring expanded law enforcement. People continued to puff away. After a year, the government withdrew the tax.

Letter 3:

...because of his [James I] iniquitous fiscal imposition that year, when he raised tobacco tax from two pence per pound to six shillings and eight pence, this led to a surge in smuggling, mirrored today, which, within two years, had reached uncontrollable proportions.

Unable to beat the smugglers, the king slashed the tax to one shilling, and in 1613 took personal control of the industry. He introduced a monopoly and the anti-smoking king actually became a partner with two tobacco merchants... (L3.1-2)

Letter 2:

AS A Canadian student studying in England, I was amazed at Prof Klein's interpretation of recent events in Canada. The Canadian government did not "slap a prohibitory tax on cigarettes, doubling the price". It did, however, gradually increase the tax on cigarettes already in place, which meant about a 20 per cent increase in the price in the last five years. This did not lead to "increased crime and violence", and although smuggling was a problem, the decision to decrease taxes (not eliminate, as Prof Klein attests) was largely seen as a political favour to the provincial government of Quebec. (L2.1)

5.9 Cultures of Resistance

The discourse I have called 'cultures of resistance' is expressed at length in Klein's article and in one negative reference in each of letters 1 and 6. For Klein, 'culture' refers to both smoking and representations of smoking (advertising, packaging etc). 'Culture', with its positive connotations is represented as something under the threat of negatively-connoted 'censorship'. Klein proposes a counter-cultural model of reactance: attempts at censorship, he argues, fail in their object of reducing smoking because whatever is banned inevitably acquires "the cultural cachet attached to whatever is transgressive, rebellious and defiant" (K.3).

He supports his claim with references to both resistance to smoking bans (see paragraph K.4, and the discussion of 'smoke-easies' etc in section 5.12 below), and failed attempts at censorship of advertising and packaging. Again, he invokes the idea of historical inevitability. In Paragraph K.5, he draws an analogy with failed late-19th century attempts to suppress masturbation. The attempt didn't just fail, it resulted in the opposite effect ("a great explosion of masturbation") and a subversive form of resistance ("Scratching the least itch was suspect...and more fun.") (This extract is discussed in more detail in section 5.10ii.)

Klein mentions Portugal as an illustration of a failed attempt at controlling smoking through banning cigarette advertising (K.9). This reference is interesting on two counts. First, cigarette consumption in many countries with bans on cigarette advertising has been studied intensively and Portugal is not an obvious choice in relation to the available results of such studies. For example, Norway, Finland, Canada and New Zealand have had higher profiles in the literature, and have been interpreted as providing evidence for the effectiveness of advertising bans (e.g. Smee, 1992). Second, while Kline refers to the high consumption statistics among Portuguese men, he does not mention that Portuguese women have the lowest consumption rate in the EC (ASH, 1996 p.60).

Whereas the 'Libertarian' discourse constructs censorship negatively on absolute ideological grounds (see section 5.11 below), the model of cultural inversion offers a more pragmatic, although romanticised, argument, for example: "The absence of advertising is advertising, of a more seductive and powerful kind" (K.10). One locus of cultural resistance identified by Klein is the young, or 'neophyte' smoker, whom he contrasts with political leaders and bureaucrats. The latter, narrowly motivated by public health and revenue concerns, are represented as 'out of touch' with youth sub-cultures:

"Consider the brilliant scheme proposed in Canada to wrap cigarette packs in plain brown paper, since it was thought that skilful packaging attracted neophyte smokers. The idea was abandoned when the bureaucrats were reminded that pornography comes in plain brown wrappers. Cigarettes are sexy enough already, without being made more titillating by anonymity." (K.10)

This discourse strongly asserts the existence of alternative cultural constructions of smoking (e.g. as 'sexy'), which bear little relationship to the medical discourse. Klein also identifies a cultural discourse which directly inverts the medical discourse. Instead of offering alternative, positive, medical knowledge (as the alternative medical discourse does), this discourse subverts the negative medical knowledge:

"The warning on the packs already entices smokers to contemplate their own mortality with every puff. Governments ... incite more smoking by enlarging and sharpening these warnings. This increases the pleasure for the smoker, on the same principle that leads young smokers to buy Death cigarettes, the package featuring a skull and crossbones." (K.11)

The rhetoric is not the stark clinical language of lung cancer and heart disease, but a romanticised, gothic language of seduction, mortality and rebellion. The discourse of cultural resistance may provide one account of the first cartoon discussed in section 5.4 above: the medical discourse is subverted - the smoker stares at Death face to face - and continues to smoke.

Another cultural representation which Klein draws upon is that of the Native American:

"from the Iroquois nation to the Mayans, it [tobacco] was considered a god, the spirit that joined the tribe to its ancestors in a ritual of pipe and smoke." (K.12)

This reference serves to legitimate modern-day 'cultures of resistance' by anchoring them in relation to ancient traditions, together with their connotations of endangered heritage and folk wisdom. Klein also argues that the long history of consumption implies that tobacco "...must be presumed to have benefits for human civilisation..." (K.12) This argument is placed just after a list of alternative medical and cultural attributes and, again, challenges the restricted medical vision of tobacco.

The two letters which refer to Klein's cultural discourse are similarly structured. Both quote extracts from Klein's article and then refute them with reference to the medical discourse, implying that the latter is the *only* legitimate construction:

Young smokers may well see tobacco as "a civilising democratic substance, a token of civility and an instrument of sociality", but only because the adverse consequences of smoking are temporarily remote and largely unapparent. (L1.3)

Tobacco is not, as he claims, a "democratic substance". On the contrary, it is a highly addictive drug... (L6.1)

5.10 Representations of Discrimination

This section discusses two different constructions of smoking-related discrimination identified in the article and letters. The first relates to the smoker and the second to the 'passive' victim of smoking.

i. Oppressed Smokers

The previous discourse stressed the role of 'cultural resistance' in Klein's argument that 'anti-tabagism' does not work. In contrast, this discourse stresses a less rosy construction of the result of 'anti-tabagism' for the smoker. It argues that smokers are becoming an oppressed 'out-group'. Klein mentions this discourse briefly:

Everywhere you can observe the shaming, criminalising force of these new measures. Smokers huddle at doorways, and sneak around, while statistically seeming to diminish. (K.2)

This extract is interesting because Klein recuperates the 'statistical'² evidence that smoking bans work by qualifying 'diminish' with 'seeming to', and by pointing to the (paradoxical) higher visibility of smokers. Throughout the rest of the article, however, Klein recuperates

²'Statistically' may also be intended to carry negative connotations of the sort that "one may prove anything with statistics".

the negative construction of oppression by discussing in detail more positive constructions of (cultural) resistance among smokers. Letter 7, however, presents a less optimistic construction of the smoker:

My sister is severely handicapped and has been a moderate smoker for 40 years. Smoking is one of the few pleasures available to her - yet at every turn, outside the confines of her own home, she is denied this therapeutic release from stress and misery. (L7.2)

The author begins by stating her warrant. Her sister is identified with an already vulnerable social group, and this is further supported by the fact that the author writes on her behalf. The author draws, in part, on the alternative medical discourse to justify her sister's moderate smoking. She implies that the anti-smoking lobby have, effectively, placed further restrictions upon her sister's already constrained life: she is either denied access to public space, or she must relinquish "one of the few pleasures available to her". In the following paragraph, the author echoes Klein's argument that attempts to suppress smoking fail:

Smokers have become the world's politically incorrect underclass - only a notch above drug and alcohol abusers - yet the habit is not dying, it is merely being driven underground with the under-privileged suffering most. (L7.3)

Here, the author moves from the emotive and personal to the global and political sphere: Smoking is not just a behaviour, it is a new social label, an identification of 'out-group' membership. More than this, the negative effects of the anti-smoking lobby are disproportionately greater for those who are already underprivileged.

ii. Passive Victims

Passive smoking in general does not feature prominently in Klein's article, beyond his defence of "the absolute right to be protected from second-hand smoke" (K.13). This defence is grounded primarily in the Libertarian discourse of rights and freedoms, and not in the medical discourse. Klein enjoins non-smokers to "learn to tolerate occasional whiffs of smoke" and smokers to "learn an etiquette that respects the right of others to be smoke-

free."(K.14) He also minimises the 'problem' posed by second-hand smoke through reference to his historical discourse:

Humans have lived for 400 years suffused by second-hand smoke. Pregnant women have been smoking and adults blowing it in children's faces for several centuries, and yet civilisation has survived and possibly flourished. (K.14)

Several of the letters and one of the cartoons focus specifically on passive smoking and construct the non-smoker as an oppressed victim, in a similar way to the construction of the oppressed smoker discussed in the previous section. This discourse also presents a negative representation of the smoker as oppressor, which inverts Klein's construction of 'peaceful' cultural resistance. Letter 6 refers to this discourse implicitly in citing J.S. Mill: smoking thus "affects prejudicially the interests of others" (L6.2).

Letter 1 presents this discourse with the aid of two 'hypothetical scenarios' (discussed further in section 5.12 below). In the first, the author locates himself as an hypothetical 'smoker'³ in a busy workplace and comments, "I could only expect ... outrage" (from non-smokers). This prescribed response is contrasted with the final paragraph:

Meanwhile, I have little choice about being a "secondary" smoker. The rise in strident righteousness in smokers towards people trying to protect themselves suggests it will not be long before I am told by smokers that they object to me not smoking and would I mind moving? (L1.4)

Here, the non-smoker is constructed as powerless ("I have little choice") and defenceless against the aggressive smoker. Letter 4 raises the plight of the non-smoker in a slightly different way: by commenting upon the interpersonal psychology of expressing dissent. Quoting Klein's injunction to smokers, "You don't light up without permission"(L4.1), the author continues:

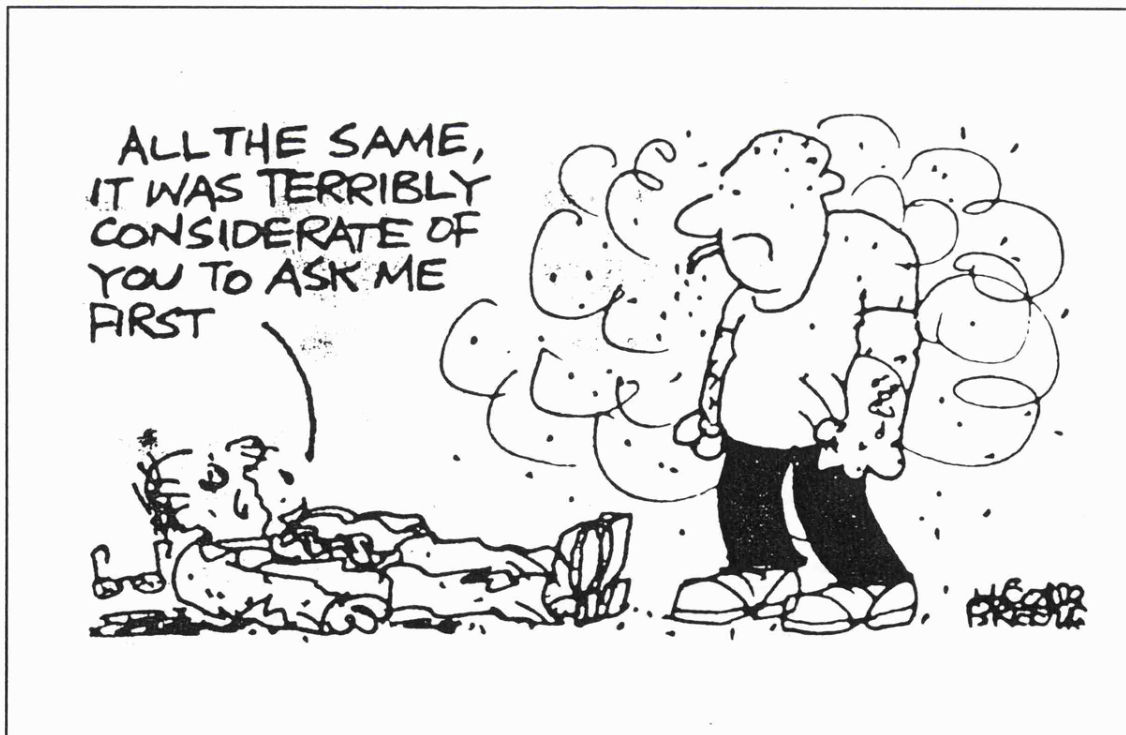
Can Prof Klein please advise me of a form of words that politely tells such an enquiring smoker that I do not grant my permission? I haven't found one yet. (L4.2)

³by analogy - see paragraph L1.2

The author cites personal experience ("I haven't found one yet") to justify his claim that there is no acceptable (polite) discourse of dissent.

Cartoon 2 (reproduced in Figure 5.3) illustrates both letters 1 and 4. The smoker is represented as aggressively expansive, with 'Pop-Eye'-style musculature and tattoos. Although the non-smoker appears to have a black eye, the cloud of smoke surrounding the smoker looks capable of knocking him over itself, without any help from its producer. The relatively smaller space allocated to the non-smoker connotes letter 1's concern with spatial displacement, and, of course, the depiction of the non-smoker lying on the ground suggests illness or death (inflicted by the smoker). In relation to letter 4, the cartoon implies that the absence of an available discourse of dissent is the result of aggressive oppression by smokers. The accompanying text parodies the concern for 'manners' voiced by the author of letter 4, as does the clothing the two men are wearing: the genteel non-smoker wears a suit, the thuggish smoker is casually attired.

Figure 5.3 The Visual Rhetoric of Dissent (Cartoon 2)



The final letter to mention this discourse presents an inversion of Klein's analogy between the suppression of smoking and of masturbation:

Trying to suppress smoking is like trying to suppress masturbation, attempted at the end of the 19th century. The result was more intrusive surveillance, supervision and control of dormitories, *and* a great explosion of masturbation. Scratching the least itch was suspect ... and more fun. (K.5)

Klein's representation supports his 'cultural resistance' argument and also draws on his historical perspective. The alternative construction is presented in full below:

So Richard Klein thinks that trying to suppress smoking is like trying to suppress masturbation? Speaking as a woman who was recently masturbated upon in public by a complete stranger, and who is frequently subjected to other people's cigarette emissions, I find his analogy interestingly accurate; both smoker and masturbator invoking very similar reactions in me. (L.8)

The author agrees with the analogy, but, because she implicitly inverts the 'fun' connotations which Klein attaches to masturbation, she profoundly disagrees with the implications of Klein's argument and expresses the irony of her position ("I find his analogy interestingly accurate"). The author manages the subversion through deconstructing two key elements of Klein's text: the subject position of the smoker/masturbator becomes that of the passive smoker/victim of masturbation and private space becomes public space.

5.11 The Libertarian Discourse

Together with the historical approach, which Klein uses to support the present discourse, this final discourse appears to be Klein's primary concern. It is a discourse of absolute rights and freedoms, opposed to suppression, bans and censorship, or what Klein calls 'anti-tabagism'. 'Anti-tabagism' is represented negatively by Klein, not only because it denies the 'right to use tobacco', but because, drawing on his discourse of historical inevitability, "losing the right to use tobacco has usually coincided with the loss of other freedoms, one form of oppression being a reliable index of others" (K.3). Klein does not identify these other freedoms. However, in his analogy with the attempted suppression of masturbation, he identifies a secondary theme of the discourse: "The result was more intrusive surveillance, supervision and control of dormitories." (K.6) This Foucauldian-style comment constructs the

smoker/masturbator as the object of controlling surveillance. Klein uses a similar construction in paragraph 2: "You feel the growing oppression of the cigarette police", and again in relation to the Canadian tax-smuggling extract, "Crime and violence increased, requiring expanded law enforcement" (K.4). Klein supports his claim of smoking as an index of other freedoms to be lost by mentioning historical anti-smoking 'tyrants' (see section 5.7).

Klein frames his political prescriptions in the following way:

Governments, ideally, should protect the absolute right to smoke and the absolute right to be protected against second-hand smoke. Such an ideal may seem contradictory, but it is the only one worth struggling for. (K.13)

While his article includes a range of pragmatic arguments, the prescription is expressed in the language of ideals and absolute rights and as such is unquestionable: it does not require any justification and, further, it carries a moral imperative ("it is the only one worth struggling for"). Klein does, however, justify the dual prescription through reference to the "dual nature of tobacco" - the conjunction of the medical and alternative medical discourses. His final sentence argues against the sole jurisdiction of the one-sided medical discourse:

"A more subtly informed, broadly tolerant attitude towards the dual nature of tobacco would protect people who loathe smoke and leave others free to choose their poison." (K.14).

Letter 6 provides an explicit critique of this discourse, grounded in the medical discourse. In contrast to Klein's alignment of smoking with freedom and democracy, the author characterises tobacco as "a highly addictive drug" (L6.1) which denies freedom of choice to the smoker. The author criticises Klein's "muddled association between smoking and freedom" (L6.1), and identifies the locus of the muddle in the distinction between public policy and individual choice. She cites the authority of John Stuart Mill: "As soon as any part of a person's conduct affects prejudicially the interests of others, society has jurisdiction over it..." (L6.2) In choosing a social injunction based on harm, any consideration based on possible benefit is ruled out *a priori* as irrelevant, but she goes on to explicitly deny any such benefits:

It is shameful that the likes of Klein and the tobacco industry continue to try and create a smokescreen between the real issue - that smoking is the single largest preventable cause of death and disease in the UK - and spurious notions of freedom. (L6.2)

In contrast to Klein's article, and to her own extract quoted above, 'freedom' is not only an absolute ideal, but also a morally reprehensible rhetorical tool ("spurious notion"), which she contrasts with "the real issue". Letter 2 also uses a familiar journalistic pun in its assessment of Klein's political prescription. Klein's argument is described as "all smoke and mirrors" (L2.2), that is, Klein is represented as a perpetrator of illusory, polluting arguments. The author does not deny Klein's alternative perspectives, but questions their respective moral weight.

5.12 Hypothetical Futures as a Rhetorical Device

The device of proposing hypothetical scenarios as analogies or extrapolations of the present was used in the article and in letters 1 and 7. Klein uses the device twice. The first occasion is in relation to cultural resistance to the banning of smoking in public places:

In New York, with new restrictions, cigar clubs are hot; and people sit on restaurant floors to beat the 35-seat rule [smoking is banned in public places seating more than 35]. Smoke-easies will follow. (K.4)

Here the reference is to prohibition practices, with 'smoke-easies' taking the place of 'speakeasies'⁴. The implication is that banning smoking will not stop the practice, but rather send it underground and provide opportunities for black-marketeers. The second use of the hypothetical futures device in the article refers to the alternative medical discourse:

Not far off may be the day, imagined by Woody Allen [in *Sleeper*], when doctors again prescribe cigarettes for health. (K.8)

⁴US slang: a place where alcoholic liquor is sold illicitly. (Oxford Reference Dictionary, 1986).

Klein uses the scenario as a familiar, although fictitious, illustration of the proposition that "doctors are faddish" (K.8). The possibility of each of Klein's hypothetical futures both draw upon and contribute to the wider historical perspective which he posits. Under this perspective, the present anti-smoking climate becomes a short-term 'fad' which will, like all prior anti-smoking periods, end in failure.

The most protracted hypothetical scenario is presented in letter 1, as an analogy:

If I entered a busy workplace spraying an unpleasant carcinogenic gas around and then responding to complaints by stating I enjoyed it, I could only expect further outrage. If I floated the dubious claims that it "fosters work" and is "a spur to concentration", should I be allowed to continue with my habit? (L1.2)

The author offers a point-for-point translation of the workplace smoker from the perspective of the non-smoker. The first defence attributed to the hypothetical smoker is ambiguous: does the smoker enjoy the unpleasant carcinogenic gas itself, or the act of spraying it around? This ambiguity serves to conflate the two distinct imperatives which Klein argued for: "the absolute right to smoke and the absolute right to be protected against second-hand smoke" (K.13) and thereby to prioritise the non-smokers' rights absolutely. Alternatively, the conflation may be interpreted as arguing that, *in practice*, it is impossible to distinguish between the two, and that the smoker's rights will, therefore, remain purely hypothetical. The hypothetical response ("I could only expect further outrage") denies legitimacy to any argument based on what might be called 'hedonic utility' to the smoker.

The other two claims made by the hypothetical smoker address Klein's alternative medical construction of the positive attributes of tobacco (it "fosters work" and is "a spur to concentration"). The author dismisses both as "dubious claims". Whilst the author denies these alternative perspectives explicitly, the use of the hypothetical scenario also accomplishes this denial implicitly, by abstracting the arguments from their usual social context. That is, the letter defines the terms of a 'new' and analogous debate and claims that the characterisation of workplace smoking is identical to the hypothetical scenario and that no other perspectives become relevant or legitimate when one moves from the hypothetical to the real.

The same letter presents a second hypothetical future scenario:

The rise in strident righteousness in smokers towards people trying to protect themselves suggests it will not be long before I am told by smokers that they object to me not smoking and would I mind moving? (L1.4)

The roles of persecutor and persecuted are reversed, with the smoker seeking to exclude the non-smoker (see section 5.10). The scenario inverts the representation of the smoker as displaced victim of smoking bans (e.g. "Smokers huddle at doorways..." (K.2)). It also presents an aggressive as opposed to a peaceful construction of smokers' resistance ("strident righteousness"), which inverts Klein's construction of peaceful cultural resistance.

The final hypothetical scenario appeared in letter 7:

We are at the stage where the condemned man is refused the traditional last cigarette on the grounds that the firing squad will die from passive smoking. (L7.1)

The author is supportive of Klein's article and frames the above remark with the claim that,

The current PC stance of the anti-smoking lobby has reached lunatic proportions. (L7.1)

The hypothetical scenario thus illustrates the claim, and the claim justifies the use of an extreme counter-illustration. As with the first scenario from letter 1, the present scenario hypothesises a situation in which certain arguments are either irrelevant or made to appear ridiculous by contrast. The condemned man himself can have no worries about long-term health risks for himself, and, it may be presumed, is relatively free from any social obligation to his firing squad, especially as the passive smoke from one cigarette is implicitly contrasted with gunshot. The power imbalance between the two sides is also enhanced by the use of the singular versus the plural. As well as suspending many of the usual factors surrounding the issue of passive smoking, the choice of scenario also introduces a cultural referent: "the traditional last cigarette", one of the ways in which capital punishment is 'sanitised', or 'humanised', through ritual. In this context, denial is constructed as both petty and dehumanising.

5.13 A Critical Distance

One letter has not been discussed in relation to any of the discourses identified above: letter 5. This is quite simply because the letter makes no explicit contribution to any of the discourses. It is reproduced in full below:

EACH year I eagerly look for and try to spot the Guardian's famous April Fools' article. I often miss it, but this year I spotted it - Smokeless zones, by Richard Klein, a well-written and clever spoof. Alas, I looked at the publication date and it was May 29. (L.5)

It is the shortest letter, which itself indicates that author's refusal to engage with Klein's article (although, the fact that he has bothered to write at all suggests some engagement). The letter reminds me of something which the actress Diana Rigg said at an NT platform to publicise her collection of "bad notices". One especially damning rhetorical technique employed by theatre critics is to write an article about something else (e.g. the service at the restaurant where they had their pre-theatre meal). Essentially this strategy says of the piece: you are not worthy of comment. That is, it denies discursive space to the article.

With this in mind, what is the topic of letter 5? - The Guardian newspaper. The paper is praised in a variety of ways. "Each year" implies that the letter writer has been a reader for some time. The paper's April Fool's article is "famous", and, presumably, so clever and subtle that the letter writer professes to "often miss it". Having set the scene in this way, the author describes a personal narrative employing a suspense motif of climax ("but this year I spotted it"), followed by anticlimax ("Alas..."). The letter requires a small cognitive effort to identify "May 29" with 'not April Fool's Day', and the reader appreciates the intended meaning: this should have been an April Fool's article. The letter is a reproach to the newspaper for publishing the article, that is, the writer addresses himself to the newspaper itself and not to the author of the article. The fore-going praise is now ironic and the letter writer, who above professed to have been 'out-witted' by the newspaper, has now 'out-witted' the newspaper. In keeping with the jocularly of the explicitly stated topic (the Guardian's April Fool's article), the letter itself is jocular. In terms of Liebes and Katz' (1993 p.128) classification of critical responses, it is 'cool' rather than 'hot'. This relates to the use of irony: the letter writer chooses not to complain aggressively and explicitly, but, rather, reproaches the paper playfully and elliptically for 'a momentary slip'.

The middle sentence refers to Klein's article. First, as an April Fool's article, it was obvious to spot. Second, it is "well-written". In praising Klein's writing style, the letter writer is, by omission, *not* praising the substantive content of the article. Third, it is a "clever spoof"; but, ironically, while the letter writer affects to have read it as a spoof, the paper had not intended it as such. 'Clever' may also imply that Klein is a 'clever' rhetorician, in the pejorative sense of the word. One clue as to the letter writer's position is that he gives his title as 'Dr', which may situate him within the medical discourse; in which case, the letter becomes another instance of the globalising nature of the medical discourse in refusing to entertain any divergent perspective.

In this way, the letter may be compared with similar examples of denial in some of the other letters. Letter 1 dismisses as "dubious" two of Klein's alternative medical discourse arguments (L1.2 - see section 5.12). Letter 2 concludes with the sentence: "I can think of no better description of Prof Klein's argument than that it's all smoke and mirrors" (2.2) Letter 4 begins with the sentence: "NOT least among the litany of lies and half-truths in Richard Klein's paean to tobacco was the absurdity in its final paragraph." (L4.1). Finally, letter 6 begins, "RICHARD Klein ... has completely missed the point..." (L6.1), and continues, "...It is shameful that the likes of Klein and the tobacco industry continue to try and create a smokescreen between the real issue..." (L6.2) However, in all of these cases, the letter writers explicitly mention Klein's arguments, and present counter-arguments to at least some of those mentioned.

That the newspaper chose to publish letter 5 may indicate an open-minded tolerance of criticism, or, perhaps, an appreciation of a story entertainingly-told (which may also have been the case with the article itself).

5.14 Conclusions

The above analyses have explored eight identified perspectives on smoking and two further rhetorical approaches to criticism. These will now be summarised in the context of the medicalization thesis discussed in chapter one and the role of the critic discussed in chapter two. The process of medicalization, or the redefinition of social problems as medical ones, constitutes the medical discourse. This has three aspects: an account of the negative health consequences of smoking, and the addictive nature of nicotine, a

medically-grounded moral and political imperative to stop smoking, and a denial of validity to alternative constructions of smoking. This 'globalising' tendency is illustrated especially in letter 6, which explicitly denies alternative constructions of smoking ("smokescreen") in favour of a purely medical definition ("the real issue").

Klein's article makes reference to this discourse, but, together with some of his critics, employs a series of alternative discourses to place constraints upon its globalising tendencies. The alternative medical discourse cites medical evidence of positive effects of smoking to critique the solely negative construction of smoking and thus question the absolute medical imperative: Klein argues for a recognition of "the dual nature of tobacco".

The 'financial' and 'cultural' discourses, together with the two representations of oppression offer a range of social definitions of smoking which refuse the narrow medical definition on empirical grounds and question the viability of its political implementation. Increased taxation creates the social problem of smuggling, which also affects government taxation revenue. The 'cultural' discourse identifies a variety of types of subversive reactance or resistance associated with attempts at suppression. The 'oppressed smoker' argues that one consequence of medicalization is discrimination against the newly-labelled out-group 'smokers', which compounds existing inequalities. The construction of the 'passive victim', while motivated by the medical imperative, also has the effect of identifying the practical social problems associated with negotiating 'smokeless zones', and with defining two social groups oppositionally.

Klein also counterpoises one set of absolute values and prescriptions (the medical) with another: the 'Libertarian discourse' of absolute rights, with its opposition to forms of social control and censorship. This discourse, together with many of the other alternative constructions of smoking, is grounded in a deterministic and cyclical 'rhetoric of history'. This validates the alternative perspectives through the identification of historical analogues of failed episodes of 'anti-tabagism', and thus questions the absolute dominance of the present-day medical perspective and its implicit assumption of progress.

The analyses have also identified a variety of rhetorical approaches to criticism. Two of these are discussed in detail. Hypothetical scenarios caricature the social context of smoking in order to support a particular perspective. The approach is interesting because it allows the author to construct his or her own representational space, instead of operating

within the constraints of the representational space constructed by others. The strategy of critical distance works in the opposite fashion, by refusing to engage with a pre-defined discursive space. Instead it simply dismisses such representations.

In between these two approaches, a variety of rhetorical techniques have been discussed which work broadly within the discursive space provided by others. Authors engage with these discourses, but reconstruct them in a variety of ways: by proposing alternative terms with a different complexion of connotations (e.g. Klein's use of freely-chosen 'poison' instead of the medical discourse's 'addictive drug'); by substituting different referents (passive smokers for smokers); by inverting arguments (non-smokers and smokers are both constructed as victims and oppressors in different places); and by selectivity at both a micro-level (Portuguese men) and a macro-level (alternative medical discourse).

The analyses have identified a number of rhetorical techniques which are employed in criticism and which may be harnessed for use by the critic him- or herself. Instead of identifying with one particular critical position, the analyses have moved between critical positions, exploring the labyrinthine shapes of arguments and counter-arguments. However, this in itself *is* a critical position. I have refused to take the critical position of the author of letter 5 and to deny legitimacy (a voice) to any of the perspectives identified. However, in explicitly identifying discourses, I have made them more tangible and bounded. Each 'discourse' may be seen as a constituent of a coding frame. In contrast to the analyses of the previous chapter, however, it is not possible to assess the extent to which the sub-themes of each discourse really do 'cluster' together in the wider realm of media reporting and everyday conversation. In comparison with the Times Index study, therefore, the present chapter's analyses rely for their validity on the practical value they may have in helping a reader to further critically read the original material and other media and everyday discussions.

Finally, the present analyses have been almost exclusively 'structuralist' in focusing on the material itself, and not its authorship or motivation, although where authors have mentioned their own positions within the text, e.g. as a warrant, this has been discussed. This alternative approach might entail comparisons of material from different sources, e.g. HEA campaigns, Parliamentary debate, propaganda from pro- and anti-smoking pressure groups, advertising and packaging of both tobacco products and stop-smoking products. The remaining two empirical studies address material from two of these sources: cigarette advertising and packaging.

CHAPTER SIX

50 YEARS OF CIGARETTE ADVERTISING IN THE UK PRESS : 1946 - 1995

6.1 Overview of Chapter

This chapter charts the evolution of four general representational themes in UK national press cigarette advertisements over the period 1946-1995. Four themes are identified: health representations, the act of smoking, fiscal representations and packaging. The themes, together with advertising itself, feature in the Times Index analysis of the previous chapter. A brief summary of relevant events, taken from the Times Index, is presented first, followed by a review of the sampling and analysis procedures, together with predictions for the analyses. The analyses are presented next and then summarised in relation to the Times Index material. In the final section I discuss some of the problems associated with the present study, together with proposals for further research.

6.2 A Skeleton from the Times Index

For convenience of access, Table 6.1, overleaf, lists the sequence of events taken from the Times Index which is germane to the present analyses.

6.3 Sampling

Four national newspapers were sampled for every year between 1946 and 1995. Two Daily papers, one 'quality' (*Daily Telegraph*) and one mass-circulation 'tabloid' (*Daily Mirror*) were chosen as having the largest circulation in their respective markets, for the period covered; excepting 1980-1995, when the *Daily Mirror* was supplanted by *The Sun*. It was decided, however, not to switch sources for this period, in order to maintain continuity.

Table 6.1 Skeleton of Key Events from the Times Index

1949	First tipped cigarette reported
1951	Speech by Dr Doll (on risks of lung cancer)
1952-1953	Link with cancer first raised in Times Index
mid-1950s	Dense coverage of link with lung cancer
1954	First major medical study on link with lung cancer - Doll & Hill
1956	Trade association ban on coupons lifted
1957	First calls for bans on smoking in public places Possibility of advertising ban raised
1960 and mid-1960s	Development of filters
1962	Royal College of Physicians report TV advertising restrictions agreed
1962-1964	Dense coverage of link with lung cancer
1963	Increased market share of filters reported
1965	TV advertising banned
1965-1970	Coupon schemes introduced
1966	Advertising expenditure limitations agreed
1967	Voluntary curbs delayed by disagreement on advertising / coupons
1967-1971	Calls for bans on smoking in public places
1968	Price wars reported
1970	Increased market share of filters reported
1971	Health warnings on advertisements and packets
1975	ASA Cigarette Code introduced Dense coverage of link with lung cancer First no-smoking day reported
1976	Higher tax on coupon brands
1976-1977	Price wars reported
1977	Advertising of high tar brands stopped; Introduction of Tobacco Substitutes fails
1978	Tax increases on high tar brands, increased sales of low tar brands British Medical Journal article on passive smoking; Radio advertising ban
1982 onwards	No-smoking days reported
1983	Royal College of Physicians report - passive smoking
1984	Market competition on low tar sector reported
1985	Cinema advertising banned
1987 onwards	Calls for bans on smoking in public places
1989	First extremely low tar cigarette reported
1995	Government plans to ban advertising within one mile of schools

The two Sunday papers sampled were the 'quality' *Sunday Times* and the mass-circulation *News of the World*. Again, these were chosen for their prime circulation positions in their respective markets for the period covered. The 1979 editions of the *Sunday Times* missing on account of the strike were substituted by the *Sunday Telegraph*, for chronological completeness¹. Circulation figures are reproduced in Appendix 6.1.

In order to achieve good coverage, and avoid too many repetitions, each year sampled was divided into four blocks of three consecutive months. Each newspaper was assigned to one block and the blocks were rotated in successive years. For the Sunday papers, one month was chosen randomly and all editions for that month were inspected, yielding either four or five editions according to the number of Sundays in the month. For the Daily papers, one date within the selected block was chosen randomly and all editions within that week (Monday to Saturday) were inspected. Where the chosen date was a Sunday, the following week's editions were inspected. When the date chosen was at the very end of the block, editions from the beginning of the block were sampled. In the exceptional case of missing pages/editions, the nearest complete consecutive editions were inspected. Thus, if a Friday edition was incomplete, the previous week's Friday and Saturday editions were substituted.

Only advertisements for cigarettes were recorded. The following were not recorded: Advertisements for other tobacco-products: cigars, cigarillos, rolling and pipe tobacco, snuff, chewing tobacco etc; and advertisements for smokers' accoutrements: filters, pipes, cigarette papers, cigarette rolling machines, cigarette lighters etc. Advertisements for other products (perfume, clothing, holidays etc) bearing cigarette-brand liveries were also disregarded. Advertisements for tobacco companies which did not promote specific brands of cigarettes, but aimed at raising the public image of the company, or encouraging investment, were also excluded; as were advertisements by the Tobacco Marketing Board. Advertisements for retail-outlets (usually supermarkets) which included cigarettes among a range of products were not recorded as they were considered not to be primarily cigarette advertisements. However, six retail outlet advertisements were included. These all focused on a single cigarette brand and, typically, the store details were secondary to those of the cigarette brand.

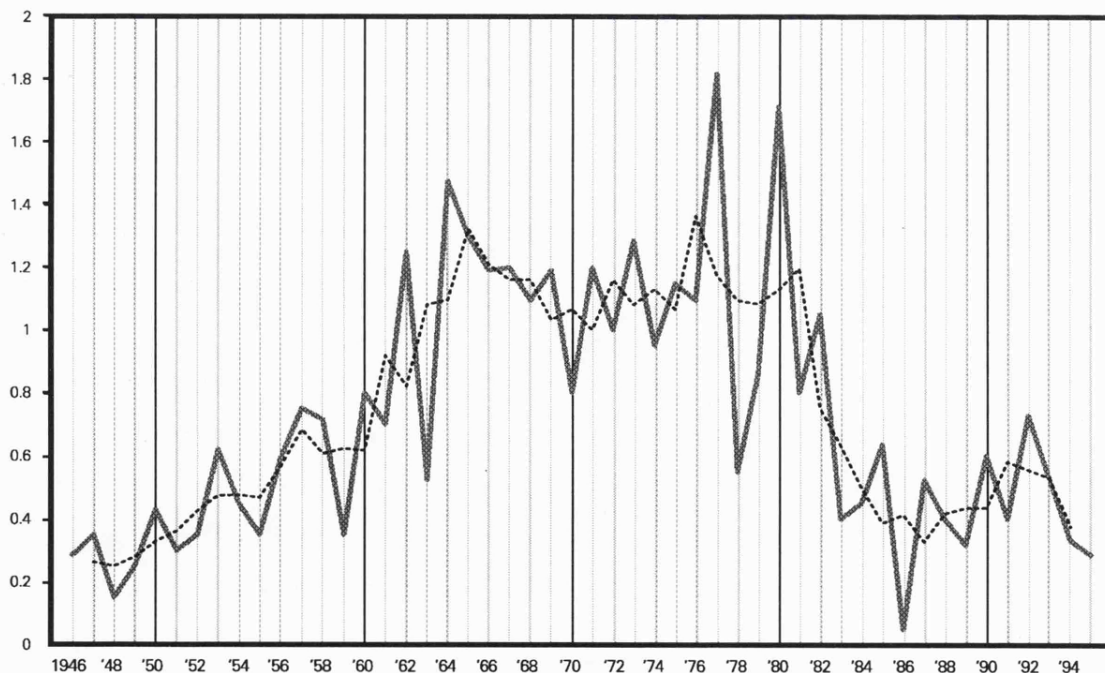
¹ This substitution was made by the British Newspaper Library.

All newspapers were obtained at the British Newspaper Library, Colindale, London, on microfilm, or, exceptionally, in original bound volumes. All cigarette advertisements found were photocopied in black and white, from black and white originals. Thus, unfortunately, colour analysis was not possible for those advertisements originally appearing in colour.

There was a total of 754 advertisements, 132 of which were repeats. Graph 6.1² shows the ratio of advertisements to editions sampled in each year. The Times Index analysis of chapter four provides explanations of some of these changes over time. Publicity of Doll and Hill's original research in 1954 and of the RCP report in 1962 are both followed by drops in the following year. Advertisements increased after the 1965 ban on television advertising, although the graph shows a relative levelling off and then a decrease following the 1966 agreement on expenditure limitation. In addition, the peak in 1977 relates to the launch campaigns for tobacco substitutes. Each advertisement is referred to below by year, brand name and a catalogue code.

Graph 6.1

Ratio of advertisements to editions: 1946-1995
(dotted line shows three year averages)



²Raw data in Appendix 6.1

6.4 Methods of Analysis

Most past studies of the nature and content of cigarette advertisements fall squarely into one of two camps: large-sample classical content analysis or small-sample semiological account. The former are presented primarily quantitatively (e.g. Altman et al, 1987; Ringold and Calfee, 1989; Warner, 1985, Chapman, 1986 ch.6 and Minkler et al, 1987). The latter are presented discursively, usually without any pretence at representativeness (e.g. Williamson, 1978, 1986b p.67-74 and Green, 1987). The respective strengths and weaknesses of each approach have been reviewed in chapter three, where it was noted that many of the supposedly irreconcilable differences were actually 'straw persons' kept alive by mutual "misrepresentation and myth" (Curran, 1976 p.12). It was concluded that the major incompatibility between the two approaches was logistical rather than intrinsic.

The prior content analytic studies are also of two kinds: synchronic and diachronic. The present study may be characterised as adopting the latter approach in order to inform the former. Contemporary cigarette advertising is a bizarre and elliptical sub-genre of advertising. This is, in part, the result of medically-sponsored restrictions agreed in the Advertising Standards Authority's *Cigarette Code* since 1975 (see Appendix 6.3a). That is, contemporary cigarette advertising must be seen in the context of what it is *not*, and this context is supplied by a diachronic approach which identifies some of these 'extinct' representations of smoking.

The analyses presented here interweave three distinct approaches. First, quantified codes are reported in the text and illustrated graphically. These codes vary in the explicitness and diversity of their referents. Where a code contains several sub-themes, or requires some interpretation, these issues are treated by a second, discursive method. The third approach is also discursive, but focuses on a small number of advertisements which are individually reproduced. These are discussed in more detail and the analyses may be considered partial semiological accounts. The two types of discursive account are embedded in the overall structure of the analyses provided by the coding frame.

The systematic random sampling of newspapers, together with the large sample size, answers questions of generalisability and representativeness; while the application of a coding scheme answers questions of selectivity bias with regard to the large-scale elements of the study. The coding frame also provides a context for the more detailed

discursive accounts and allows for a diachronic analysis of the evolution of different representations within the sample. Conversely, the adoption of a more discursive approach answers the criticism of classical content analysis as being too rigidly classificatory and qualitatively anaemic. That is, a balance is struck between categorisation and particularisation. A quantitatively manageable and interpretable theme is justified and qualified, and smaller sub-themes illustrate the broad-brush analysis.

6.5 Overview of Analyses and Predictions

The analyses in this chapter are presented in four sections. The first is concerned with health-related representations directly and covers health warnings, filter-tipped and low tar/nicotine cigarettes and tobacco substitutes. It was predicted that these representations would increase over time, in parallel with increasing public awareness and media coverage of the health risks attached to smoking. The obvious problem for advertisers in making explicit reference to health risks leads to the expectation that advertisements for health-related 'technologies' would be circumspect and make only implicit references to the health risks. Following the substantive account of smoking-related representations set out in chapter one and the theoretical account of the relationships among representations discussed in chapter two, it was also expected that there would be evidence for an appropriation of medical/scientific representations.

The second section covers a number of representations related to health representations indirectly. These include the act of smoking itself and representations of smoking as sociable and of the cigarette as 'social currency'. In contrast to the first section, it was predicted that these representations would decrease over time and even disappear. The third section relates to fiscal representations, including value claims and incentives. It was predicted that these representations would both change and decrease overall following the introduction of stringent taxation measures in the late 1970s. The final section is on references to packaging. It was predicted that these references would increase over time, and especially from the start of campaigns to ban cigarette advertising, as packaging would become the primary advertising medium.

All four sections address both textual and visual representations. Table 6.2 summarises the constituent codes. The raw data for all codes, together with running three-year average data for the graphs presented throughout the analyses, are in Appendix 6.4.

Table 6.2 Codes for Analysis of Cigarette Advertisements

HEALTH REPRESENTATIONS

H1	Official Health Warnings	<i>all advertisements from 1971</i>
H2	Tipped or Filtered Cigarettes	618.5
H3	References to Filter Tip	123
H4	High / Medium tar / nicotine	550.7
H5	Low to Medium tar / nicotine	101.7
H6	Low tar / nicotine	101.7
H7	References to Low tar / nicotine / mild	76
H8	Tobacco Substitutes (NSM, Cytrel etc) & claims	<i>1977 only: 24</i>
H9	Other health claims: throat	4

ACT OF SMOKING

S1	Cigarette lit	115
S2	Visible smoke	26
S3	Models 'lighting up'	21
S4	Cigarette held in hand	111
S5	Cigarette held in mouth	41
S6	Cigarette elsewhere in image	155
S7	Cigarette extracted from packet	339
S8	Hand holding / offering packet or taking / accepting cigarette	99
S9	The 'Sociable' Cigarette	87
S10	Cigarettes as Gifts	20
S11	The Relaxed, Contemplative smoker	22

FISCAL REPRESENTATIONS: Value and Incentives

F1	Price stated	364
F2	Price / value claim	118
F3	Mention Budget / tax	15
F4	"worth a little extra"	12
F5	Incentives e.g. Gift coupons	138
F6	'No coupons'	6

PACKAGING

P1	Presence of packet (Superimposed & / or Illustration)	671
P2	Textual and visual reference to packaging	195

6.6 HEALTH REPRESENTATIONS

Over the fifty years of the study, a number of changes have taken place which relate to the increased prominence of medical representations. The most obvious has been the introduction and regularly strengthening of the government health warning. The other developments to be discussed below are the introduction of filter tipped cigarettes, low tar cigarettes and the failed launch of tobacco substitutes.

Official Health Warnings

From 1971 cigarette advertisements have carried a mandatory health message (H1). The warning is governed by a voluntary agreement between Tobacco Manufacturers and Importers and the Government Health Department and is subject to regular review. Appendix 6.3b lists the health warnings found in the sample, together with their year/s of currency. Since its introduction, the health warning has been increasingly strengthened. 'Hedge' words have been dropped and references to the health consequences of smoking have been made more explicit, as the following examples show:

PACKETS CARRY A GOVERNMENT HEALTH WARNING (1971)
CIGARETTES CAN SERIOUSLY DAMAGE YOUR HEALTH (1978-1986)
SMOKING CAN CAUSE FATAL DISEASES (1987)
SMOKING CAUSES FATAL DISEASES (from 1992)
SMOKING KILLS (from 1992)

The warning has also become more specific and has addressed the following health risks: respiratory diseases including lung cancer and bronchitis, heart disease, foetal damage and premature birth, and the risks to children of passive smoking. From 1978, the health warning has been attributed to H.M. Government Health Department, and from 1987, to Health Department's Chief Medical Officers. From 1975, the health warning included a tar category: middle tar, low-to-middle tar or low tar (as defined by H.M. Government), and from 1992 the tar and nicotine levels were shown in milligrams. In addition, the relative size of the health warning has increased over time and is now 20% of the total surface area. Changes in wording and size probably also serve to counter reader habituation.

The health warning introduces a second, clearly attributed voice. Its role is worth considering for a moment. This second voice contradicts the main body of the

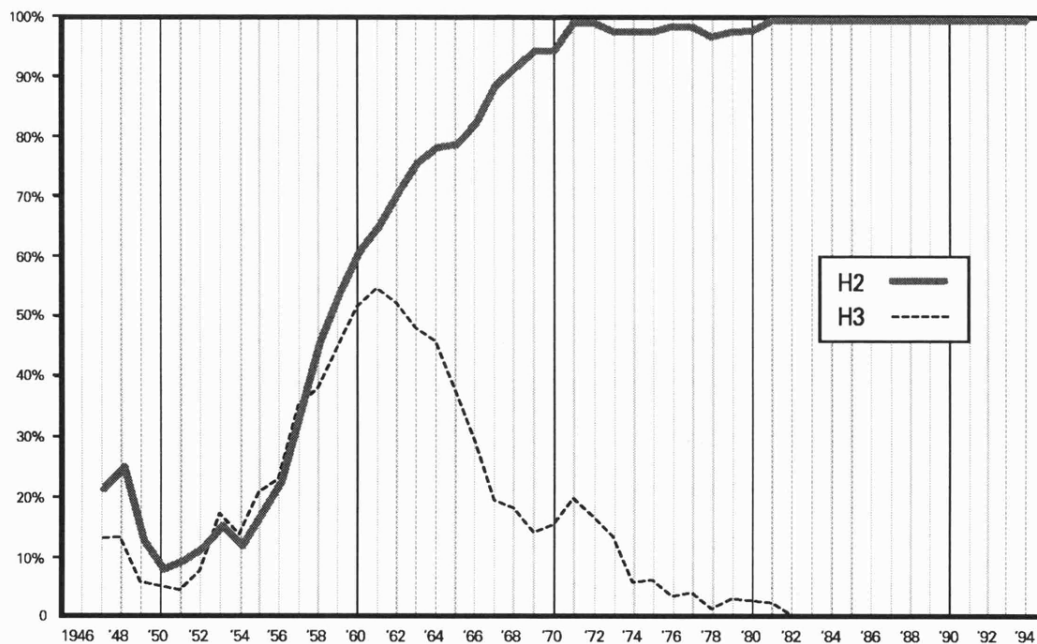
advertisement, but may not serve an entirely negative purpose from the advertisers' perspective. Besides fulfilling a 'duty' to inform readers of the health risks (and thereby counter potential claims of reader ignorance), the health warning may also be read, subversively, as pronouncing that the Government Health Department is prepared to allow cigarette advertising. In addition, it allows the advertiser to address health issues in an elliptical fashion and to develop subtle and primarily visual strategies on the assumption that the advertisement is immediately recognisable as one for cigarettes.

The Filter Tip

One of the main features of cigarette advertising over the 50 year period has been the rise of the filter tip. This was addressed through two codes. The first, (H2, $n=618.5$), coded the presence (1) or absence (0) of filter tipped cigarettes. Advertisements including both filter tipped and 'plain' cigarettes were counted as a half. The proportion of advertisements for filter tipped cigarettes is plotted in Graph 6.2³. Between 1946 and 1955, the number of advertisements for filter tipped cigarettes averaged approximately 14%. In the following five years, the percentage climbed above 50% and by the late 1960s, it was over 90%, with only three instances of plain cigarettes during the 1970s and none thereafter.

Graph 6.2

Percentage of advertisements for filter tipped cigarettes (H2) and references to filter tips (H3) averaged over three years



³All reported percentages and graphs are based on three-year running averages. This clarifies trends by smoothing over erratic effects related to small sample sizes in some years.

The second code (H3, n=123) records all textual references to filters / tips, except a few cases where the term served to denote respective packets or prices. The proportion of advertisements containing references to filters / tips is also charted on Graph 6.2. During the early- and mid-1950s the graph is nearly identical to that for H2. That is, advertisements for filtered brands always referred to the filter tip in the text. The graphs diverge, although remain nearly parallel in the late 1950s, with textual references to filter tips peaking in the early 1960s and falling back thereafter and disappearing completely from the early 1980s.

Some of the advertisements coded under H3 simply mention the fact that the brand is filter tipped. Others make claims about the position of the brand within the filter tip market. Most of the advertisements, however, make claims directly about the filter tip. The denotation 'plain' for untipped cigarettes appears to imply that the filter tip is an aesthetic embellishment. Indeed, the first filter tipped cigarettes were designed and advertised on aesthetic grounds. The tip, usually made from cork, prevented the end of the cigarette from becoming soggy and leaving loose bits of tobacco in the mouth. It also prevented the cigarette from sticking to the lips - a problem in particular for women wearing lipstick. For example, "The firm feel of cork between the lips is an extra pleasure in itself. Cork cannot stick, cannot slip and keeps the end of the cigarette firm and dry..."(1953: *Craven 'A'*, 44-136); "Your lips will be grateful for those natural cork tips" (1956: *Craven 'A'*, 75-98).

The health purpose of a filter tip i.e. that it removes a proportion of the toxins and carcinogens in tobacco smoke, is never mentioned directly. Where it is referred to, the reference is oblique and positive: "The du Maurier filter tip gives a cool clean smoke..." (1958: 108-178); "Effective Guardfilter." (1960: *Guards*, 126-76); "...a firm clean filter..." (1964: *Guards*, 200-224); "This neat, firm filter never masks the flavour but lets you enjoy to the full all the benefits you look for in tipped smoking." (1964: *Bachelor Tipped*, 201-198) The notion of 'purity' was also conveyed through reference to the white colour of some filters: "Consulate combines menthol freshness with rich tobacco and a pure white filter ... cool clean Consulate" (1964: 210-207).

The filter tip is a physical and metaphorical barrier between the smoker and the tobacco. This, of course, is its purpose, whether for aesthetic or unnamed health reasons. However, much of the advertising suggests that there were two problems associated with filter tipped cigarettes: 'draw' and 'flavour'. These problems seem to be particularly male

concerns. Several advertisements directed at these problems explicitly address men, and others refer to men via imagery, for example, the use of a man's hand holding a packet. Advertisers made use of two rhetorical strategies in countering the problem of 'draw'. First, many advertisements denied the problem, proclaiming that their brand was 'easy-drawing'. Second, the effort of drawing tobacco smoke through the filter was turned into an advantage: the smoke was cooled and 'smoothed' by the process: "The extra length of Rothmans King Size travels the smoke further to give you that cooler, smoother taste"(1961: 145-399). Similarly, flavour was asserted: "...Men smoke Barons because they get a more deeply satisfying Virginia tobacco - plus the one and only filter that lets every bit of flavour through" (1958: 101-234); "Marlboro - the filter cigarette with the unfiltered taste" (1962: 169-181).

One brand invented a name for the problem: "Bachelor beat 'flavour-blur' - The Bachelor tip does not come between you and your pleasure in smoking ... doesn't blur the tobacco flavour" (1960: 130-80). This rhetorical tactic is familiar to advertisers. For example, Williamson (1986 p.223-7) discusses the three kinds of dirt identified by *Hoover*. The alternative strategy of stressing mildness was little explored until the 1970s and even here, "the result is a smooth, mild but satisfying smoke." (1971: *Silk Cut*, 379-601), as the filter "softens the smoke yet allows the taste to come through." (1972: *Silk Cut*, 388-300). Underlying the problems of 'draw' and 'flavour' is the less tractable issue of reconciling the natural with the artificial: tobacco with filter tip. Smokers were reassured that the highest quality tobacco was used in filter tipped cigarettes: "Piccadilly are blended from the highest grades of Prize Virginia tobacco normally reserved for the most expensive plain cigarettes. The Piccadilly Promise is the good taste of a real cigarette"(1965: 230-546).

More than this, the relationship between tobacco and filter itself was naturalised; from the 'natural cork' of early tips to the "all white tip for that natural Virginia taste" (1962: *Olympic*, 165-231), which also unifies the tip with the white paper of the cigarette. Several advertisers promoted the specific match of tobacco and tip, for example, "Bristol is not just an ordinary cigarette with a tip on the end." (1962: 154-267). The filter may be designed for the tobacco: "Here is a specially designed filter precisely matched to the famous blend of prize Virginia tobaccos always reserved for Piccadilly, for a flavour that's rich and mellow" (1962: 161-227). Or, the tobacco matched to the filter: "It's tobacco is carefully selected to suit the tip" (1962: *Bristol*, 154-267). Either way, the idea of 'balance' is important: "The secret of Silk Cut's satisfying mildness lies in the unique balance between

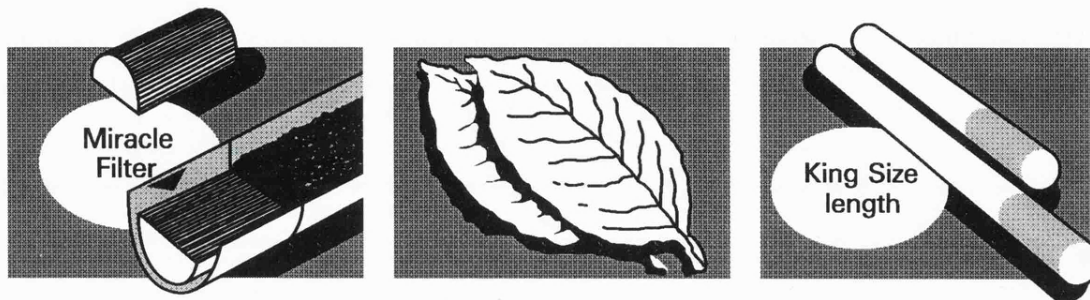
filter and high quality Virginia tobaccos" (1972: 386-274); "In Bachelor tip and blend belong together. The full-flavoured Virginia tobacco, the clear-drawing tip, are right together" (1963: 181-404). Again, the solution to a problem is named: "A unique balance of tip and tobacco that actually *improves* the flavour, *increases* smoking enjoyment. The experts call it Tip / Tobacco Balance" (1962: *Bristol*, 154-267). The image accompanying this particular piece of text is of a man's hand holding a lit cigarette, with a signet ring on his little finger bearing a picture of a pair of scales.

Besides stressing the 'natural balance' of tobacco and filter tip, advertisers also focused on the scientific credentials of filters. Scientific-sounding names for particular filters are mentioned, for example: "millefil tipped" (1960: *Strand*, 128-78), "charcoal Dual filter" (1964: *Olivier*, 190-261) and "the unique cross-fibre filter" (1972: *Rothmans*, 392-304). Scientific research and development is also mentioned: "It took seven years to perfect: seven years and nine improvements during those years" (1962: *Bristol*, 154-267).

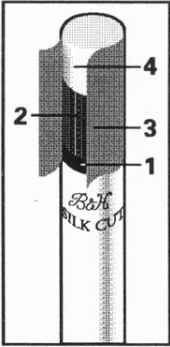
The scientific reference is especially apparent in nine of the 123 advertisements which referred to filter tips. These used scientific imagery, typically in the form of a dissected cigarette, in the style of the scientific diagram. Several examples are reproduced in Figure 6.1. In all cases a simple line-drawing of the filter-end of a cigarette is shown, either in cross-section or with the outer paper 'peeled back'. The later diagrams are accompanied by textbook-style annotations. This tactic represents a substantial coup on the part of cigarette advertisers and demonstrates the ability of advertising to recuperate all kinds of criticism. The scientific criticism of cigarettes is turned back on itself: the problem is scientific, and so is the solution.

Other claims made about filter tipped cigarettes were that they were longer, yet cheaper, because, "You don't pay tax on the tips!" (1954: *De Reszke*, 57-116) Finally, it can be noted that the double meaning of 'tip' has not gone unnoticed by advertisers. For example, "A tip for smart women" (1952: *Bachelor Tipped*, 37-101); "Here's a tip to save money" (1957: *Matinée*, 90-394); "What's the King Size tip for race-goers these days? Pure Gold from Benson and Hedges" (1966: 258-195).

Figure 6.1 a-c The Scientific Filter (H3) *Extracts from three advertisements*



a *Peter Stuyvesant* (1961: 141-582)



1. The secret of Silk Cut's satisfying mildness lies in the unique balance between filter and high quality Virginia tobaccos.
2. The smoke first passes through a filter of highly absorbent crimped tissue sprinkled with granules of activated charcoal. This gives a smooth, balanced smoke.
3. The tiny perforations around the cork tipping paper act as air vents. Cool, fresh air is drawn in with the smoke.
4. Lastly, a white acetate filter similar to those used on ordinary cigarettes. The result is a smooth, mild but satisfying smoke.

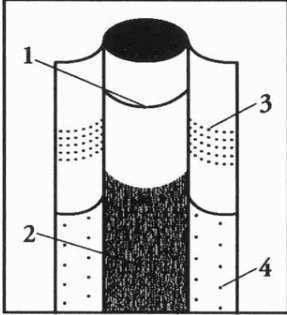
If you like the mild taste of Silk Cut, you'll be pleased to know that you've got a choice. Silk Cut comes in three sizes. They've all got the mild but satisfying taste that has won over nearly a quarter of a million smokers in less than a year. And they've all got Benson & Hedges coupons.

And now there's one for everybody.

b *Silk Cut* (1972: 388-300)

Extra mild because:

1. the dual filter softens the smoke yet allows the taste to come through.
2. the taste which the filter allows through is that of carefully selected mild Virginia tobaccos.
3. a new ventilating system in the



tipping paper regulates the flow of cool air into the cigarette.

4. a series of tiny perforations in the cigarette paper further contributes to the flow of cool air.

The result is what you would expect from a cigarette called Embassy.

The best in mild smoking.

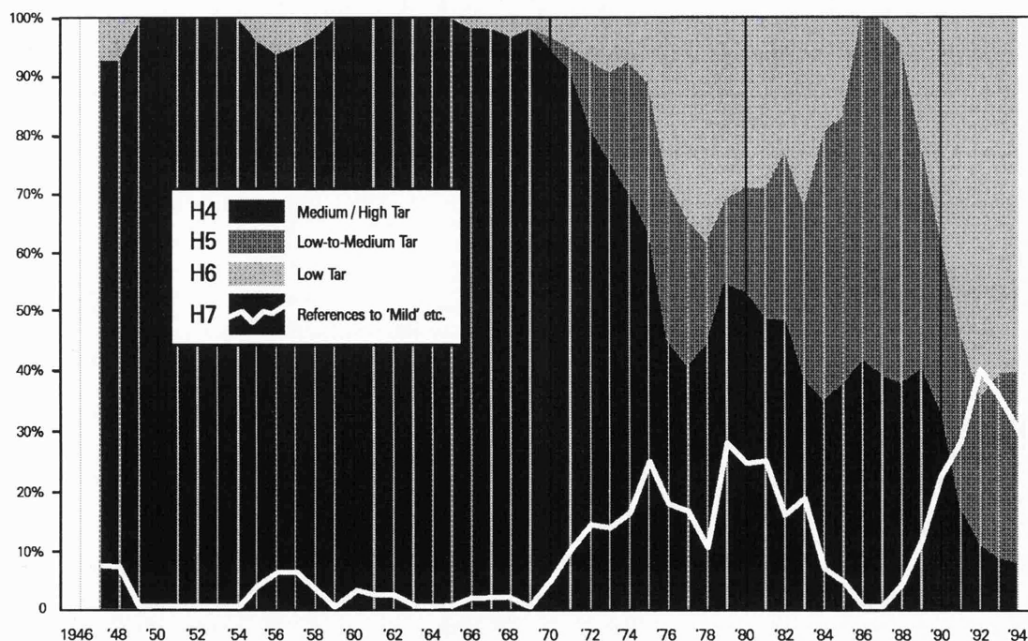
c *Embassy Extra Mild* (1972: 391-303)

The Low Tar Cigarette

The second health-related development to affect cigarette advertising during the 50 years of the study was the low tar cigarette. As with filters, this was addressed through codes relating to the tar category of the brand being advertised (low, low-to-medium and medium/high: H4-6⁴), and a code relating to textual reference to low tar / mild etc (H7, n=76). Graph 6.3 shows the frequency of each of these codes. The first three are plotted cumulatively. All advertisements except five for both low and low-to-medium tar occurred from 1971 onwards - the year in which the first health warnings appeared on advertisements. By the late 1970s, the proportion of advertisements for low and low-to-medium tar had increased to around 50% and by the late 1980s was around 60%, increasing substantially during the early 1990s and averaging over 90% in the last five years of the sample⁵. During this final period, the percentage of low tar advertisements alone was over 60%. The proportion of advertisements coded as referring to 'low tar' (or 'mild' etc) is also shown on Graph 6.3. This graph mirrors that for the proportion of advertisements for low tar cigarettes. The respective drops in the graphs in the late 1980s probably reflects the fact that there was only one advertisement found in 1986 and this was for a middle tar brand.

Graph 6.3

Percentage of advertisements for medium/high (H4), low-to-medium (H5) and low tar (H6) cigarettes (plotted cumulatively), and references to 'mild'/'low tar' etc. (H7) averaged over three years.



⁴ number of advertisements: medium/high tar = 550.7, low-to-medium tar = 101.7, low = 101.7.

⁵ From 1992 the health warning also indicated the tar and nicotine levels in milligrams.

The term 'mild' (mildest, milder) is used in all advertisements before 1976, with the term 'low tar' coming into currency from 1976, the year following the mandatory inclusion of tar categorisation in the health warning. Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, the term 'light' (lights, lightness, lighter) is also used.

In contrast to the advertisements for filter tipped cigarettes, the advertisements referring to low tar cigarettes were remarkably uniform in their claims. 'Mildness', of course, features in most advertisements. The following quotation collects many of the adjectives used throughout the sample: "It has a smoother, milder flavour, a coolness that is particularly satisfying when you want something mellower, something more relaxed" (1967: *Silk Cut*, 272-672). Besides stressing mildness, approximately half of the advertisements stressed 'taste' or 'satisfaction'. One brand reassured smokers by quoting survey research: "Vanguard is unique. It's the first low tar cigarette that claims to match middle tar for taste. And in an extensive research survey, 7 out of 10 middle tar smokers sampled agreed" (1980: 568-38). This 'balancing act' is encapsulated in the claim: "Mild not meek" (1990: *Embassy Mild*, 699-88).

'Mildness' is attributed to mild tobaccos (n=8) and to filters (n=7), or a combination of both, but these explanations are only provided in advertisements before 1977. The assumption that the smoker wants to switch to low tar cigarettes is raised implicitly in several advertisements. Again, the advertisers are silent on the health-related reason. For example: "...the full taste you demand, whilst offering you a real step towards low tar" (1979: *Three Fives Medium Mild*, 554-700). One brand even offered advice on switching: "When you try Silk Cut, try them for two weeks. In our experience that's how long it takes to appreciate the smooth, mild but satisfying taste ..." (1974: 430-296). It is also, presumably, the length of time it takes the smoker's body to adjust to the lower nicotine content, if they are not compensating by increasing the number of cigarettes smoked (Schachter, 1980 p.155).

Tobacco Substitutes

The final major health-related innovation to be discussed here is the failed attempt to market cigarettes containing the tobacco substitutes NSM⁶ and Cytrel. These products were launched in 1977 and account for 60% of all cigarette advertisements in that year's

⁶'New Smoking Material'

sample (H8, n=24). All the advertisements were primarily textual, although they all also included an image of the packet/s. All referred to the novelty of the product and/or mentioned 'introductory offers' and price. All stated that the cigarettes contained 25% tobacco substitute (NSM, Cytrel or unspecified) and made explicit reference to low tar/nicotine, 'mild' or low to middle tar status. 14 made claims about 'flavour' or 'taste' and a further four promoted 'satisfaction'. Five of the advertisements explicitly addressed the "middle tar smoker who couldn't get on with low tar cigarettes" (1977: *President*, 509-492). The assumption here is that the smoker is expected to want to switch to a low tar cigarette as opposed to either quitting or continuing with a middle tar brand, but the health reason for this expectation is never stated explicitly. 16 of the advertisements referred to the 'high quality' of the tobacco mixed with the substitute.

A history of innovation, and specifically the process of research and development of tobacco substitutes was referred to in 14 of the advertisements, often with the assumption of 'progress': "For fourteen years, Silk Cut have led with lower tar cigarettes. Now we're taking another step forward..."(1977: 511-494).

Two further warrants were offered. First, four advertisements claimed that the brand, "has been enjoyed by the Swiss for the last two years" (1977: *Peer*, 508-491); and, second, two advertisements referred to Government "agreement" to the use of tobacco substitutes as "a method of further reducing tar" (1977: *Silk Cut*, 516-499). The nature of the tobacco substitute was only spelled out in a third of the advertisements. In the remainder, it appears that the simple description 'tobacco substitute' is expected to be sufficient to carry positive connotations. When it was spelled out, the natural, tobacco-like character was stressed: "Cytrel ... looks and smokes just like tobacco but is totally nicotine-free" (1977: *Peer*, 508-491); "NSM is a tobacco substitute made from natural plant materials which has been developed jointly by Imperial Tobacco and IC" (1977: *Player's No.6 & No.10 with NSM*, 512-495).

Advertising for tobacco substitutes presents a curious paradox. In advertising filtered and low tar cigarettes, the negative element of the cigarette (usually 'tar') is distinguished from the rest (the 'tobacco') and the quality of tobacco is a common theme throughout the sample. Advertising tobacco substitutes however, suggests that tobacco itself is negative. In which case, the reader may ask, why does the cigarette still contain 75% tobacco? References to the quality of this tobacco sit uneasily with the necessity for a substitute and

may have contributed to the commercial failure of substitutes.

* * * * *

In the above sections on the mandatory health warning, filter tipped and low tar cigarettes and tobacco substitutes I have discussed the key health-related representations in the sample. There were four other advertisements coded as relating to health issues (H9). These all appeared in the 1940s and 1950s and claim that the brand is "kind to your throat" (1956: *Craven 'A'*, 75-98). Besides these direct references to technological 'answers' to the health risks, albeit seldom explicitly stated, the rise of the medical representation has also impacted on other aspects of cigarette advertising, which will be discussed in the remaining sections.

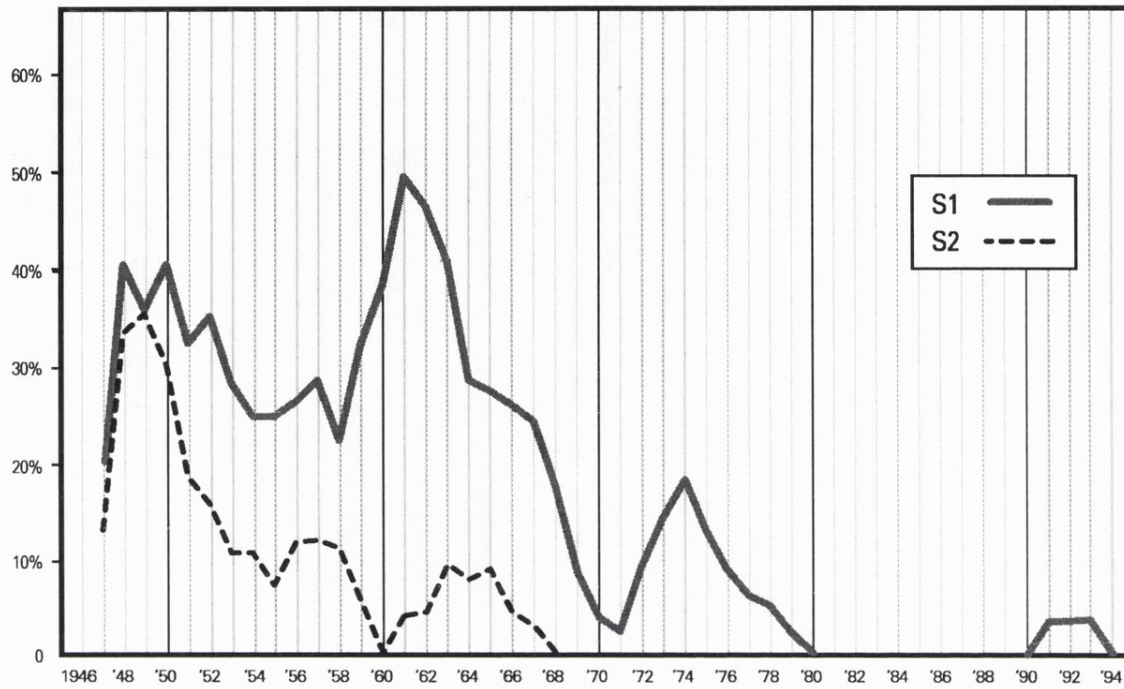
6.7 THE DISAPPEARING ACT

This section relates to representations of the act of smoking and especially to smoking as sociable and the cigarette as a form of social currency. Eleven codes were used here covering lighting up, lit cigarettes and visible smoke, cigarettes held in the hand or mouth, cigarettes extracted from packets and hands offering or accepting cigarettes, cigarettes as gifts and social or romantic currency. The final code relates to an alternative representation of the act of smoking: the relaxed, contemplative smoker.

The first eight codes relate to visual elements in the advertisements and are described graphically. The first two, lit cigarette (S1, n=115) and visible smoke (S2, n=26) are shown in Graph 6.4. A lit cigarette is present in just under a third of all advertisements during the first half of the time period. There is a smaller peak in the mid-1970s, and only a single instance after 1978. Visible smoke is present to a smaller degree, peaking in the late 1940s and dropping to around 10% during the 1950s, and disappearing altogether in the late 1960s. These values may be compared with Warner's (1985) study of advertisements in the US magazine *Time* between 1929-1984. He found lit cigarettes in every year sampled, and visible smoke in most years up to 1975 and none thereafter. In this respect, it appears that the UK advertisers were 'ahead' of their US counterparts in expunging lit cigarettes and especially visible smoke from their advertisements.

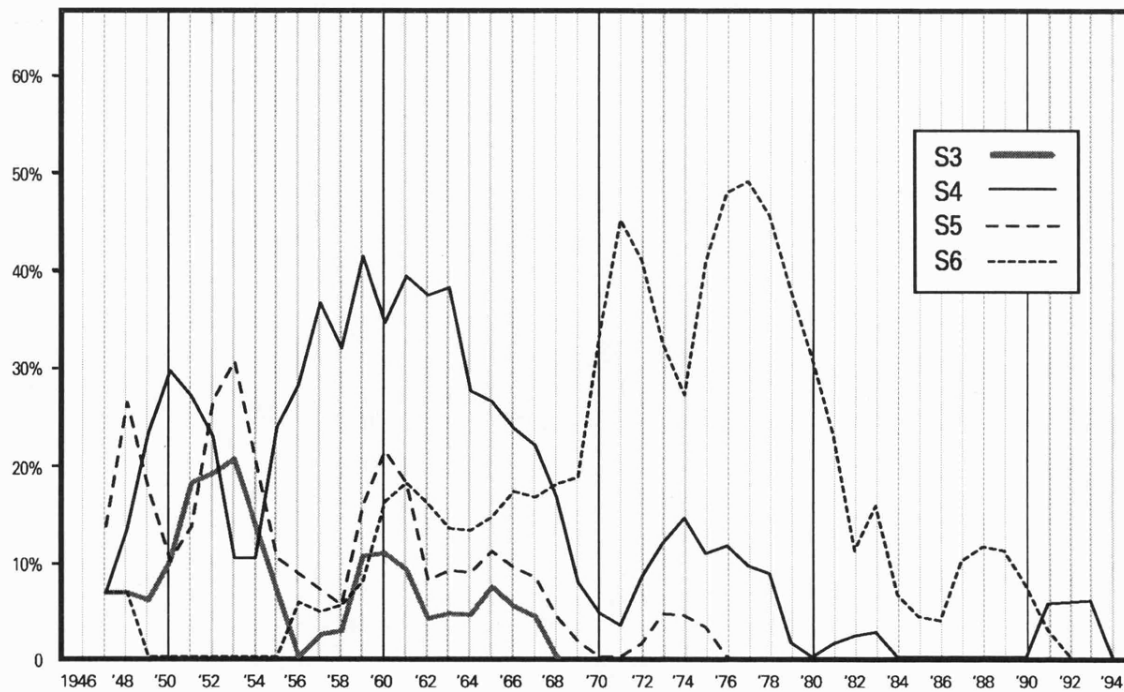
Graph 6.4

Percentage of advertisements with a lit cigarette (S1) and visible smoke (S2) averaged over three years



Graph 6.5

Percentage of advertisements with models lighting up (S3), cigarette held in hand (S4), mouth (S5) and elsewhere (S6) averaged over three years



Graph 6.5 shows the next four codes. The first three concern models depicted smoking. Models lighting up (S3, n=21) appear only in the first half of the time-period, and peak in the early 1950s. Models holding a cigarette in their mouth (S5, n=41) disappear after 1974. The depiction of a cigarette in the mouth is now prohibited by the Cigarette Code, but such representations had declined and all but disappeared before the decade in which the Cigarette Code was first introduced⁷. Models holding a cigarette in their hand (S4, n=111) peak around 1950 and during the late 1950s and 1960s, and decline after 1970, with a smaller peak in the early 1970s, and only two instances after 1978. The fourth code illustrated in this graph records a cigarette depicted elsewhere in the advertisement (S6, n=155). This was usually propped up next to a packet, but also includes eight advertisements in which the cigarette was resting in an ashtray. These eight advertisements all occur before 1970. The code as a whole is present in all decades of the sample, but peaks during the 1970s. These graphs illustrate a successive displacement in the relationship between the smoker and the cigarette over time. The act of smoking becomes less intimate and explicit as the product is increasingly shown divorced from its context of consumption, and itself becoming rarer.

This displacement may be clarified statistically, by comparing the years in which the median instance of each code appears: the year by which half of all instances have occurred. This method is biased by changes in the number of advertisements per year, and is presented in Table 6.3 below in conjunction with a second, standardised, statistic which controls for the number of advertisements in any one year⁸:

Table 6.3 Median Years for Codes S3 to S6

	Lighting up: S3	Cig. in Mouth: S5	Cig. in Hand: S4	Cig. Else- where: S6
'Raw' Median	1960	1960	1964	1974
Standardised Median	1953	1954	1960	1974

⁷There were only three instances during the early 1970s.

⁸i.e. years in which more advertisements occur potentially contribute more instances of a given code, thus biasing the raw median towards the middle of the distribution. The standardised median was calculated as follows: The percentage of advertisements containing the code was calculated for each year (giving each year an equal weighting). These percentages were summed and the year in which the cumulative percentage value included the midpoint of the total cumulative percentage was taken as the 'standardised median'. This value is more appropriate than the raw median, but is susceptible to erratic effects in years, at the start of the time-period, with a small total number of advertisements.

Whilst each method yields different absolute years, the ordering of years remains the same, with lighting up and cigarette in mouth occurring around the same year, followed by cigarette in hand and then, much later, cigarette elsewhere.

The next four codes relate to smoking as a sociable act and cigarettes as social currency. Graph 6.6a shows S7 (n=339) - the percentage of advertisements in which cigarettes are shown half-extracted from a packet and S8 (n=99) - the percentage of advertisements with a hand either holding or offering a packet, or taking / accepting a cigarette from a packet. Both graphs show a marked decline in the second half of the period, averaging between 0-20% in the final decade. Graph 6.6b shows S7 as a percentage of advertisements including a packet: the trend is only marginally a function of the number of advertisements including packets. An example of S8 is shown in Figure 6.2. A similar advertisement was shown to respondents in a previous study, who interpreted it as an invitation to take a cigarette⁹.

Figure 6.2

Hand offering Packet (S8)



King Size Quality

All over the world, in over 160 countries, on over 100 airlines the swing is to Rothmans King Size, Britain's most exported cigarette. There must be a reason why. It's simply this. Rothmans extra length, finer filter and the best tobacco money can buy give you true King Size flavour.

**Rothmans-king size flavour
that really satisfies**

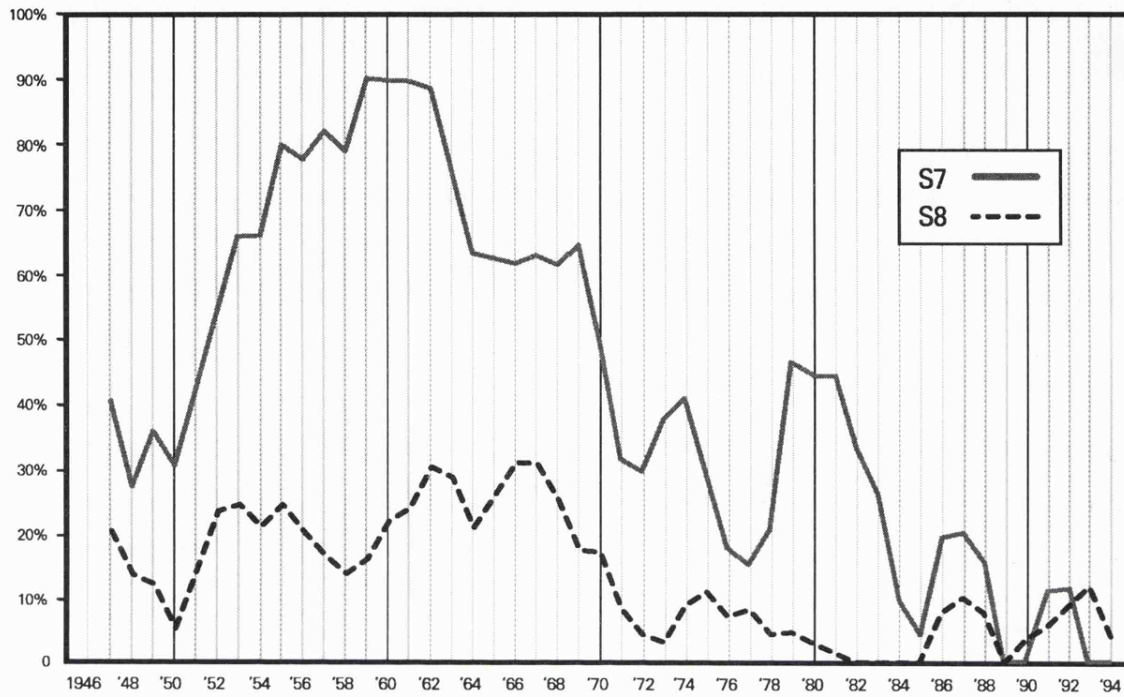
WORLD'S LARGEST SELLING KING SIZE VIRGINIA

Rothmans King Size (1969: 318-688)

⁹Masters Thesis: *Readings of Three Cigarette Advertisements* (1994)

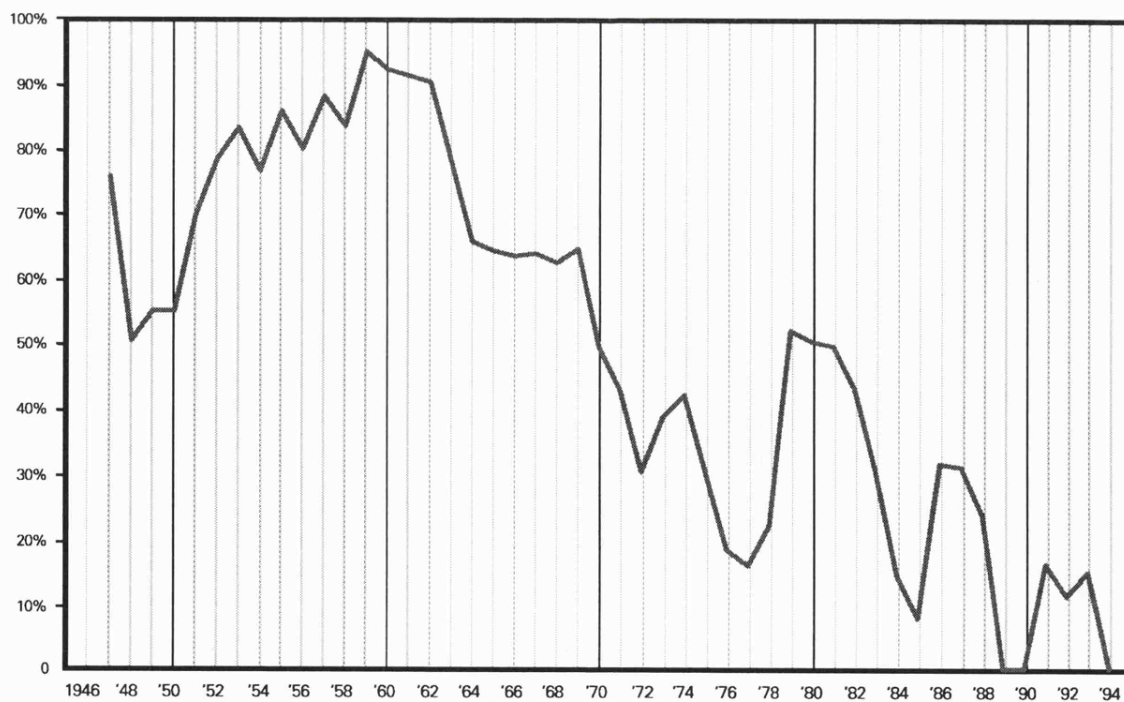
Graph 6.6a

Percentage of advertisements with a cigarette extracted from packet (S7) and with hand offering or accepting a cigarette (S8) averaged over three years



Graph 6.6b

Percentage of advertisements including packets, with packet open and cigarettes extracted, averaged over three years



The next code records advertisements in which a cigarette is depicted in a sociable and/or romantic setting and includes both visual and textual references (S9, n=87). This code appears predominantly in the first half of the time-period, peaking in the early 1950s and 1960s and virtually disappearing after the late 1960s (see Graph 6.7). The cigarette is represented as having social currency in making new friends and cementing existing friendships: "Have a Capstan - made to make friends." (1950: 28-83); "Buckingham is distinctively presented in a crushproof pack making you proud to say to your friends, "Have a Buckingham"." (1963: 221-674).

Similarly, the cigarette helps initiate romance, "When you meet someone for the first time the first thing she looks at is your face. Chances are the second will be your hands; and that pack of Bristol you offer her." (1963: 184-540) and is represented as an integral part of such relationships: "Sunny? No - just wonderful ... We smoked Player's under the bridge. Whenever I see the packet now it reminds me of that day." (1960: 137-28).

Graph 6.7

Percentage of advertisements coded 'Sociable Cigarette' (S9) and 'Relaxed, Contemplative Smoker' (S11) averaged over three years

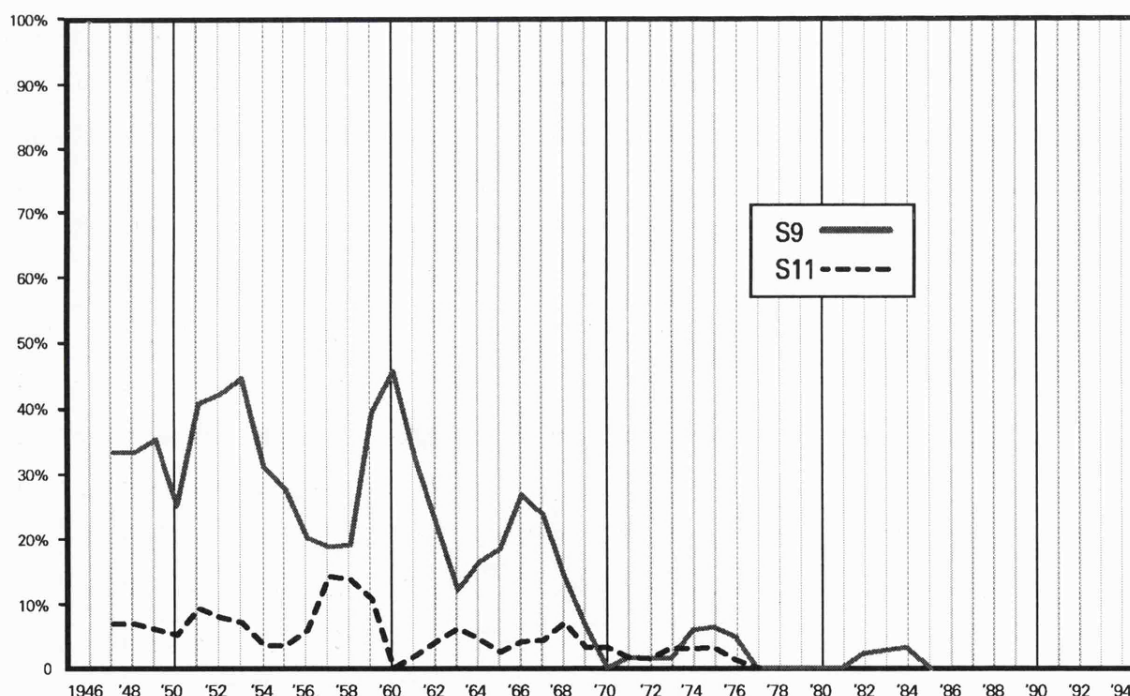


Figure 6.3 (1956: *Bachelor*, 83-110) is atypical of this code in that the models appear in separate pictures. However, this advertisement illustrates the representation of cigarettes as social currency: that a brand may bring a couple together romantically. The identification of the models with each other, through the brand, is presented in several different ways, most of which draw on deliberately ambiguous expressions to complete the equation between the pictured couple, the brand and the reader. The attributed text, "I'm a Bachelor FAN - they're tipped" (woman) and "I'm a Bachelor MAN - they're full size" (man), is nearly identical. The small phonetic difference constitutes one route to 'getting together' and works at two different semantic levels. First, both individuals identify with the brand; and, second, the ambiguous meaning of "Bachelor Man" (unattached male) suggests availability - for the woman, who expresses her interest. The use of the present tense appears conversational, suggesting that they are talking to, and agreeing with, each other. The identical typeface, capitalization and layout also lends to the impression of 'compatibility'. The other textual difference between the man and woman is de-emphasised: they both justify their brand allegiance, but in ways which may have differentiated typical male and female 'concerns' about cigarette brands.

The compatibility of the couple is further signified by the images. Both are shown face-on, cropped at the shoulders, both are smiling, both are well-groomed and smartly dressed, both stand against the same grainy background texture and both are smoking cigarettes, although the woman holds the cigarette in her hand and the man's cigarette is in his mouth. Indeed, it appears that one might easily slide the two pictures together to make a couple.

The text at the bottom unites the two halves of the advertisement (the man and the woman and their respective texts) visually as well as verbally. It uses the same typeface and is placed centrally. Again, the text is ambiguous: "Get together with Player's Bachelor Tipped." The man and woman have already 'got together' with their respective cigarettes. They will, presumably, 'get together' with each other. The reader is invited to 'get together' with the brand, and the suggestion is that he or she may 'get together' with a like-minded partner, with the assistance of the brand. The tag line, "You'll agree - They're good" is written in a different typeface. It is unclear whether these words are to be attributed to the newly-united couple, or the advertiser. However, they continue the ambiguity of the text above: "You'll agree..." presumably refers to the reader, but may be plural: you will 'agree' with each other.

Figure 6.3

The Sociable Cigarette (S9)

I'm a Bachelor FAN!
—they're tipped

I'm a Bachelor MAN!
—they're full size

PLAYER'S BACHELOR TIPPED

10 FOR 1/7½
20 FOR 3/3

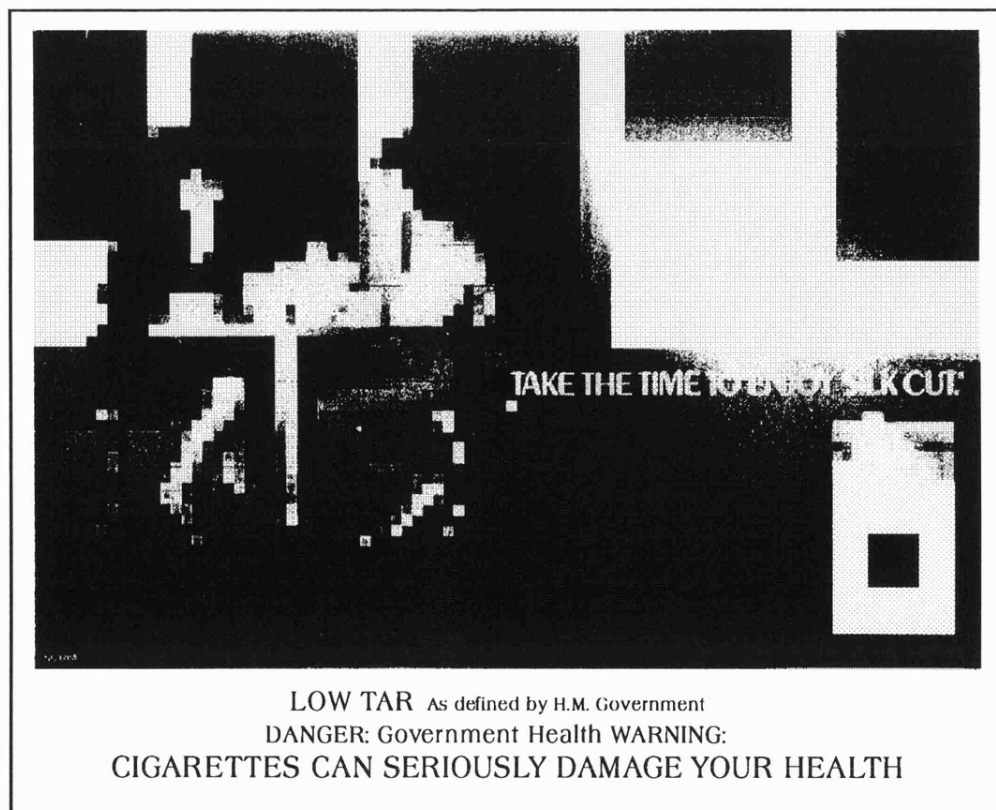
Get together with
PLAYER'S BACHELOR TIPPED
You'll agree—they're good!

Bachelor (1956: 83-110)

There were few blatant sex appeals, but one advertisement included the text, "Robert Nash smokes Perfectos. So does his best friend (see above)", with a picture of an attractive woman's head above (1960: 237-553). The romantic representations appear less frequently towards the end of the coded sample, with later advertisements tending to show social groups or simply make textual references to sociability, for example, "Embassy, the accepted cigarette." (1967: 275-682).

The final advertisement in this code appeared alone eight years after the previous one. It is especially understated, with a coarsely pixelated image of two people sitting opposite each other at a table against a geometrical and otherwise spartan background, with the caption, "Take time to enjoy Silk Cut." (1983: 642-412). This advertisement is reproduced in Figure 6.4. It is unclear whether the two people are meant to be a 'couple', or just friends. The pixelation is reminiscent of the disguising effect used occasionally on television, and suggests that the act - presumably they are smoking - is in some way illicit. The pixelation may be a means of circumventing the Cigarette Code.

Figure 6.4 The Sociable Cigarette (S9)



Silk Cut (1983: 642-412)

20 advertisements were coded as 'cigarettes as gifts' (S9): one in 1954, one in 1960, 13 between 1965-9 and five in 1973. Most relate specifically to Christmas gifts. Many advertise special Christmas boxes of gift-wrapped packs. A variety of potential recipients and gift-types are identified, including business gifts, gifts for friends and tree presents. This section includes the only advertisement in the entire sample which explicitly addresses non-smokers: "Even non-smokers know what to give for Christmas." (1968: *Benson & Hedges*, 301-342)

One potential problem with concluding that the distribution of these advertisements has changed over time, and in particular that the theme has disappeared, is that the results may instead reflect the random sampling procedure i.e. that by chance December was selected more frequently in those years in which the code is present. This alternative explanation may be rejected by inspecting the distribution of Decembers in the sampling frame. This shows that up to 1973, the month was sampled nine times, only five of which yielded 'gift' codes. After 1973, December was sampled a further five times and the code was not present in any of these years. In addition, the code was present in two years (five advertisements) in which December was not sampled. It may be concluded that this particular type of 'sociable cigarette' advertisement has disappeared from the repertoire of advertising themes.

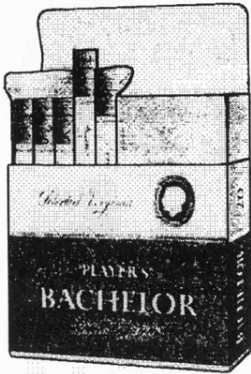
The final code in this section addresses an alternative representation of the act of smoking. Here sociability is exchanged for relaxation and contemplation, and the smoker is usually solitary (S11, n=22). As with the previous two codes, both visual and textual references were included. Whilst this code refers to a minority of advertisements, the representations of cigarettes as "a necessary aid to concentration or relaxation"¹⁰, is now banned by the Cigarette Code and instances of the code disappear after 1975, having appeared in approximately half of the years before then (see Graph 6.7). The advertisements coded here contextualise smoking as relaxation or contemplation in several ways: as a reward for industry, "You earn your leisure. Park Drive for pleasure" (1947: 12-153), at a quiet hour of the day, or as a Connoisseur's pleasure, "to be relished, to be lingered over." (1957: *Abdulla No.7*, 95-460). A prevalent image is the solitary male smoker, depicted in profile, looking into the distance off-camera, for example Figure 6.5 (1963: *Bachelor*, 181-404).

¹⁰Cigarette Code: Sec 3.5, Rule 2.7


Figure 6.5

Relaxed, Contemplative Smoker (S11)

BACHELOR
give you the
full reward of
tipped smoking



NOW IN A FRESH NEW PACK



BACHELOR ARE SPECIALLY MADE BY PLAYER'S TO GIVE YOU
THE **FULL REWARD** OF TIPPED SMOKING

In Bachelor, tip and blend *belong* together. The full-flavoured Virginia tobacco, the clean-drawing tip, are *right* together. Right for the man who appreciates tipped smoking.

And now there's a new pack. Bright, fresh. The perfect pack for fresh-tasting Bachelor. As you'll find when you try them - Bachelor give you the *full reward* of tipped smoking.

Bachelor (1963: 181-404)

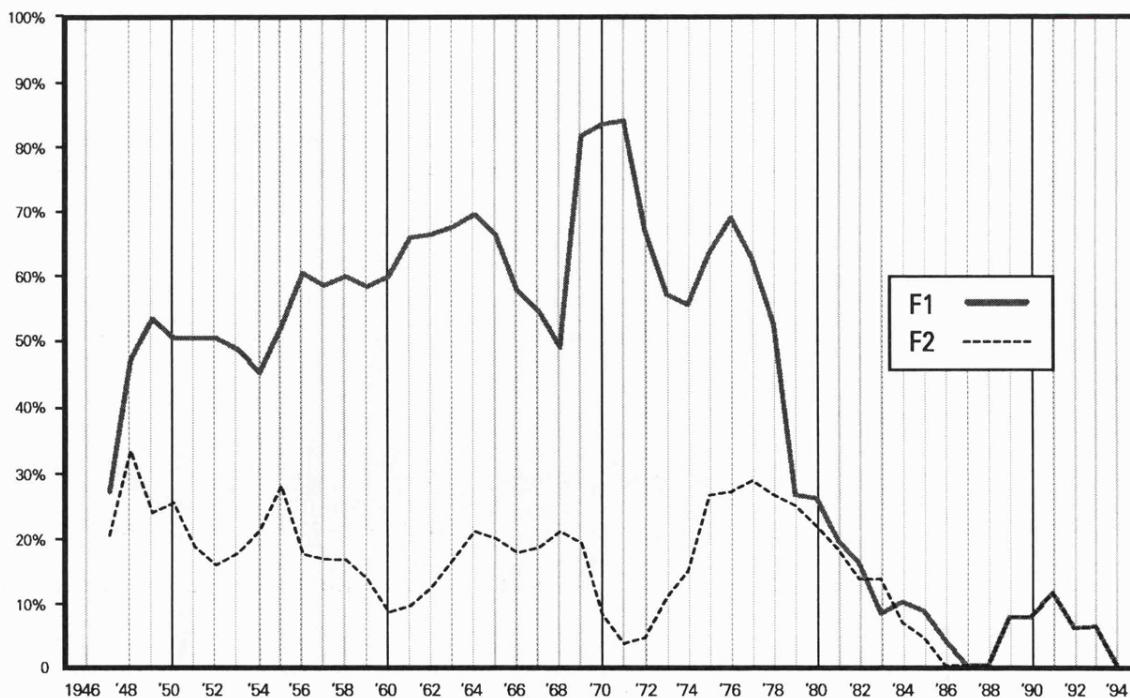
6.8 FISCAL REPRESENTATIONS: Value and Incentives

This section used six codes to address representations of value claims and incentives. The first code (F1) simply charts the proportion of advertisements in which the price is mentioned. The next three codes (F2, F3 and F4) relate to claims of value, including references to budgets and / or taxation. The final two codes are concerned with the use of incentive schemes to 'add value' (F5 and F6).

Just under half of all the advertisements stated the price (F1, $n=364$). The proportion of these advertisements fluctuates over the years, but generally increases from the start of the time period until the late 1970s, dropping sharply thereafter (see Graph 6.8). This drop coincides with the introduction, from 1977 onwards, of budget measures which raised the taxation on cigarettes above the level of inflation. Before this period, "cigarettes had become less expensive relative to overall inflation and especially wage inflation." (Marsh and McKay, 1994 p.8).

Graph 6.8

Percentage of advertisements stating price (F1) and including value claims (F2) averaged over three years



The second code (F2, n=118) coded value claims. These claims have always occurred in a minority of advertisements (under 30% in all but one year - see Graph 6.8) and appeared in four waves, peaking in the mid-1950s, mid-1960s, late 1970s and, less pronouncedly, in the early 1990s. The first wave is characterised by claims of both economy and savings: "Still smoking and saving? Yes! Mine's a Minor" (1948: 15-103) and of quality for the price: "a better cigarette at no extra cost" (1954: *Dunhill*, 64-104). Value claims were usually simply asserted. Occasionally, justifications were made on grounds of size and tax-free tips. Claims of value for the price predominate in the second wave: "You'll never get a better cigarette at the price" (1965: *Cadets*, 222-675). Again, justifications are rare, but include "efficient production techniques" (1965: *Buckingham*, 221-674) and the presence or absence of coupons (see below). Similar claims continue through the third wave, but here a new strategy appears: the money-off packet and the introductory offer, "in special flashed packs ... while stocks last" (1977: *John Player KS*, 497-480). This strategy seems to be a response to the budget measures. The final, smaller wave stressed savings and lack of budget increases.

Explicit references to budget and taxation were also considered in a separate code (F3, n=15). Three advertisements in the 1950s referred to tax-free tips and 12 advertisements in the late 1970s, early 1980s and early 1990s referred to the budget and stressed economy and, in 1980, a tax rebate: "The Low Tar Cigarette with the Low Tax Offer" (1980: *Silk Cut*, 573-44)¹¹.

12 advertisements on the theme 'worth a little extra' (F4) were coded between 1956 and 1971. With one exception, these advertisements appealed to luxury and superior quality: "They're not cheap ... but they have an expensive pedigree" (1969: *High Kings*, 334-571). The exception used the higher price itself as a selling point: "Enrage your friends. Smoke one of the world's most expensive cigarettes..." (1964: *Perfectos Finos*, 191-262).

Just under one fifth of the advertisements made reference, usually verbal, to an incentive (F5, n=138)¹², usually a coupon scheme (n=98). There is one instance in 1957, and the code is present in most years from 1961, especially during the second half of the 1960s

¹¹Figures supplied by the Tobacco Manufacturers' Association show an increase of tax as a percentage of price on one brand from 68.4% in Jan. 1979 to 77.6% in Jan. 1995.

¹²Frequency breakdown in Appendix 6.5

and throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. There was a smaller 'revival' during the early 1990s (see Graph 6.9). Until 1966, all the advertisements were for gift coupon schemes. These advertisements tend to be verbose and prosaic, giving details of gifts and catalogues, whilst assuring smokers of the quality of the cigarettes: "You can enjoy the double pleasure of fine cigarettes and Britain's best gift scheme" (1962: *Kensitas*, 166-232). Many of the advertisements included pictures of gifts presented in a format reminiscent of a catalogue, together with a coupon to send off for a copy of the catalogue (see Figure 6.6). From 1966 there were also advertisements for scheme-related bonuses and for 'double coupons': "Gives you gifts faster" (1969: *Cambridge*, 341-597), "Gifts you can get in half the time" (1968: *Kensitas*, 297-367). Most of the gift scheme advertisements included a picture of the coupons, either tucked inside a packet or underneath a packet. Once the incentive schemes were established, the advertisements were less verbose, for example, simply stating: "Silk Cut. 26p with gifts" (1971: 379-601). In addition, there were 15 advertisements from 1972 onwards in which an image of a coupon is the only reference to the incentive scheme.

Graph 6.9

Percentage of advertisements including incentives (F5) averaged over three years

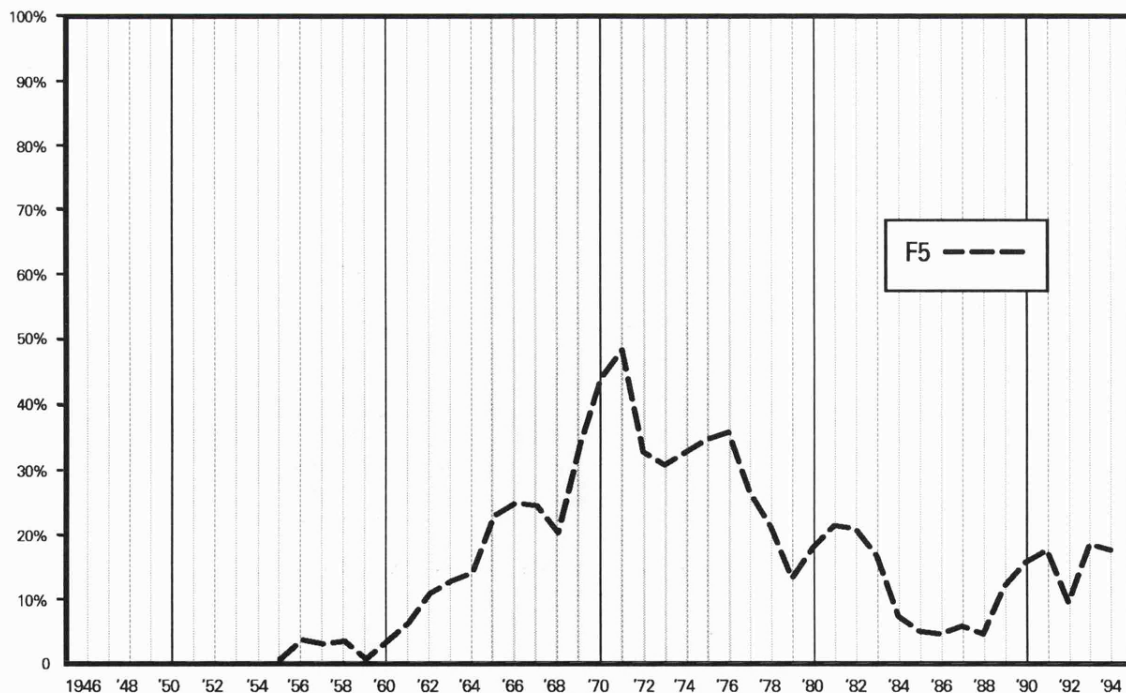


Figure 6.6

Incentives (F5)
'Catalogue-style' coupon
advertisement

Kensitas

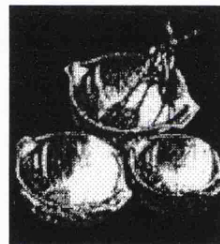
give **twice** the
pleasure with
extra fine cigarettes



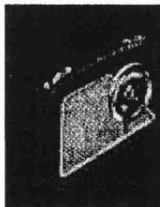
and 'famous name' gifts



The new
Murphy-McCarthy shaver



Pyrex coloured riding boots and Pyrex egg-beater



Denac portable transistor radio



Five watches
by Gammal

KENSITAS EXTRA SIZE 4/6 FOR 20
KENSITAS FILTER TIP 3/10

With five certificates in every packet of 20 Kensitas it's surprising how soon the numbers mount up. In many families the saving of certificates is a mutual affair. Everyone helps mother get her new sheets or hairdryer, and then all help Dad get his electric drill or shaver.

And it's all so easy - all the family enjoy Kensitas because they're such good cigarettes; smooth and well packed with superb quality Virginia tobacco. So why not smoke Kensitas for your double pleasure... the Kensitas book of nearly 300 gifts is yours for the asking!

Post for FREE Book of Gifts

To J. Wix & Sons Ltd., P.O. Box 130, 233 Old Street, London E.C.1

Name _____

Address _____

Town _____ County _____

Block capitals, please

Kensitas (1961: 51-371)

There were also six other advertisements (F6)¹³ which advertised cigarette quality and financial savings instead of coupons: "There are no coupons, no so-called gifts, with Piccadilly. Nor will there ever be! How else could we put all the value into the tobacco?" (1967: 271-671), "... cash savings instead of coupons" (1967: *Conquest*, 273-680).

Besides the coupon schemes, other incentives and offers were made in 42 advertisements. Money-off coupons (n=17) were particularly prevalent during the late 1970s and early 1980s, again coinciding with increased taxation rates; and in 1977 there were 12 'introductory offers' in advertisements for tobacco substitute cigarettes. The remaining offers were for specific 'gifts' or free packets of cigarettes.

6.9 PACKAGING

Many of the themes analysed so far (excepting some of the health themes) have declined over the fifty year period, and some have disappeared altogether, often with the help of the Cigarette Code. Advertising which focuses on packaging, however, remains permissible and, it will be argued, has both increased over the period studied and become more subtle, playful and visual rather than verbal. The role of packaging in an advertisement is obvious: to promote familiarity at the point of sale. As the future of cigarette advertising has been in doubt for some time, packaging is likely to have played an increasingly important part in brand promotion¹⁴. Indeed, already there have been calls for the mandatory use of 'generic' or plain packaging (ASH, 1996 p.22-3) in recognition of this (see also chapter 5.9).

The evolution of textual, visual (and combined) emphases on cigarette packaging was addressed in two different ways. First, the proportion of advertisements containing cigarette packets was plotted (P1). Graph 6.10 shows that for the first five years of the period, cigarette packets were present in between 50-65% of advertisements. From 1952 to 1955 this increased to over 90% and remained above 85% until 1983, after which it fell to below 70% for most of the remaining years, rising to over 70% only in the early 1990s.

¹³Three in 1967, two in 1968 and one in 1977.

¹⁴See chapter seven on packaging for a more detailed discussion of the role of packaging in brand promotion.

Graph 6.10

Percentage of advertisements including image of packet (P1) and other references to packaging (P2) averaged over three years



The early increase is understandable in terms of increasing numbers of brands and in particular, the take-off of the new filter tipped brands (see Section 6.6 above). The more recent decline, however, is less immediately explicable, until one looks at the forms of packaging-related advertising emerging and gaining prominence during the 1980s.

The second approach to packaging was via a general code (P2) relating to all other textual and visual references to packaging (see Graph 6.10). There were six sub-categories¹⁵:

- P2.1 textual references to pack design
- P2.2 textual references to pack livery
- P2.3 textual pun
- P2.4 visual references to elements of pack livery
- P2.5 advertisement parallels pack livery
- P2.6 visual puns.

'Textual reference to pack design' (n=20), was present mainly during the 1960s (15

¹⁵Frequency breakdown in Appendix 6.5

references), with two instances in the 1950s, two in 1976 and one in 1992. Most of these relate to the introduction of the new 'crushproof' or 'flip-top' packets, including claims such as: "No pushing up, no crushing in the packet, this permanently strengthened pack keeps the last cigarette as firm and smooth as the first" (1956: *Churchman's Time*, 81-108); "Flip top pack. Sleek. Smart. Modern. No loose bits in the pocket" (1960: *Strand*, 128-78). The 'crushproof' pack has been the only major innovation in packaging design during the period covered. The recent minor trend towards 'soft packs' was not represented in any of the advertisements sampled. The remaining few references to pack design relate to other designs, such as the 'slide pack' and "the unique slim 10s pack" (1992: *Rothmans KS Lights*, 719-719).

The second sub-category relates to 'textual reference to pack livery' (n=37). This is usually pack colour, but also includes references to other aspects of pack livery. This sub-category was present in all decades, except the 1990s and was especially evident in the early 1960s. In many of the earlier advertisements, textual reference to livery and in particular colour, probably served a primarily denotational role, helping the smoker to identify the brand at the point of sales, as the advertisements were in black and white. For example: "Cork tip in the red box. Plain tip (medium) in the blue box" (1954: *du Maurier*, 56-123). However, from the start of the time period, textual references to pack livery also served connotational roles: "The white spot is the spot of perfection" (1955: *Dunhill*, 65-577); "The distinctive pack with the yellow top is quite at home in luxurious surroundings..." (1963: *State Express Filter Kings*, 182-538); "That clear white pack tells people you're enjoying the best" (1964: *Bristol*, 204-201). In all these examples, an element of pack livery is invested with meaning and, typically, positive associations. This 'meaning' is spelled out, as if the advertiser is teaching the audience to read the advertisement (see Leiss et al, 1990 p.205-6).

The third sub-category, 'textual pun' (n=24), also relates to pack livery, but here the style is more oblique and playful than before. Instances of 'textual pun' were coded between 1964 and 1974 and in the early 1980s. Most of the first set are from a campaign by *Benson and Hedges* around the theme of the brand's gold packet. The text is brief, never more than a short sentence and often simply "gold" or "pure gold", and it works in conjunction with an image containing the packet, for example: the caption, *Pure Gold* to an image of the packet at the end of the rainbow. (1972: *Benson & Hedges*, 389-301). Some advertisements spell out the pun in more detail, for example: the caption, "Gold is

a great asset to any speculator", accompanies an image of a gift-size box, reminiscent of a gold ingot, next to a monopoly board with a stack of property cards (1973: *Benson & Hedges*, 415-637).

The second set, in the early 1980s, are mostly from a campaign for *John Player Special*, and again, play with the pack colour (black). The text here also works in conjunction with images of the packet, for example: the caption, "Short black and sides", appears above an image of four packs: one end-on, one front-view and two side-on (1981: *John Player Special*, 605-713).

There is a subtle shift in the relationship between text and image between the advertisements of the late 1960s and early 1970s and those of the early 1980s. In the earlier advertisements, the text works to anchor the potential polysemie of the image. However, as many of the images draw on familiar lexicons, or myths, relating to gold, the text stands in a relation of redundancy to the image: it spells out a reading of the advertisement which would be readily available to many readers from the image alone. In the later advertisements, however, the text is less redundant. Rather, it acts in 'relay' (Barthes, 1964b p.41) with the image: they refer to each other.

Whereas the text in advertisements coded as 'text livery' plays a largely direct and informative role, or comprises a mixture of denotation and connotation, in the 'textual pun', connotation is more important. In addition, familiarity with the brand livery is assumed to a greater degree and the text-image relationship is more evenly balanced, with each contributing to the overall message. This trend towards the visual is taken up in the remaining three sub-categories, of which the final one, 'visual pun' can be seen as an extension of the present sub-category.

The final three sub-categories are primarily visual. The first relates to elements of pack livery which are reproduced in the advertisement (n=56). This sub-category is present throughout the time period and includes crests and emblems and other distinctive features of livery such as configurations of lines and zigzags. The proportion of the latter type increases over time.

The second visual sub-category is the smallest sub-category (n=13) and represents an extension of the first. Whereas above, an isolated, although key, element of pack livery

is abstracted, in this second sub-category, the entire pack livery is reproduced and forms the structure of the advertisement itself. With the exception of one case in 1963, all of these advertisements appeared between 1973 and 1985. In these advertisements, the pack *is* the advertisement and vice versa. To take a couple of examples: The first (1976: *Marlboro*, 476-283), reproduced in Figure 6.7a is for the brand *Marlboro* and consists of the distinctive (red) inverted chevron across the top, with the brand name written across the middle in the brand typeface, with a small inset image of the pack next to the 'M'. The slogan, "Come to where the flavour is", is positioned directly above the brand name, in the same typeface, but a smaller point size. In the bottom right-hand corner is a bull, standing on a patch of ground. The advertisement portrays the packet or brand as encompassing the contents of the advertisement: the steer, which points metonymically to the 'wild west' of the USA, or, as the advertisers would have it, 'Marlboro country'.

The second advertisement (1985: *Marlboro*, 659-418), reproduced in Figure 6.7b appeared nine years later and is for the same brand. The inverted chevron is made out of a straight road leading towards distant (Rocky) mountains. The parallel with the brand pack no longer needs to be spelled out (the advertisement does not contain an inset pack) and the brand name is reproduced in a much smaller font. The advertisement thus assumes that the pack livery is immediately recognisable. In addition, the presumed location ('Marlboro Country') is not mentioned in the text: it, like the chevron device, is instantly recognisable. The caption, "The best selling cigarette in the world", justifies the advertisers' assumptions.

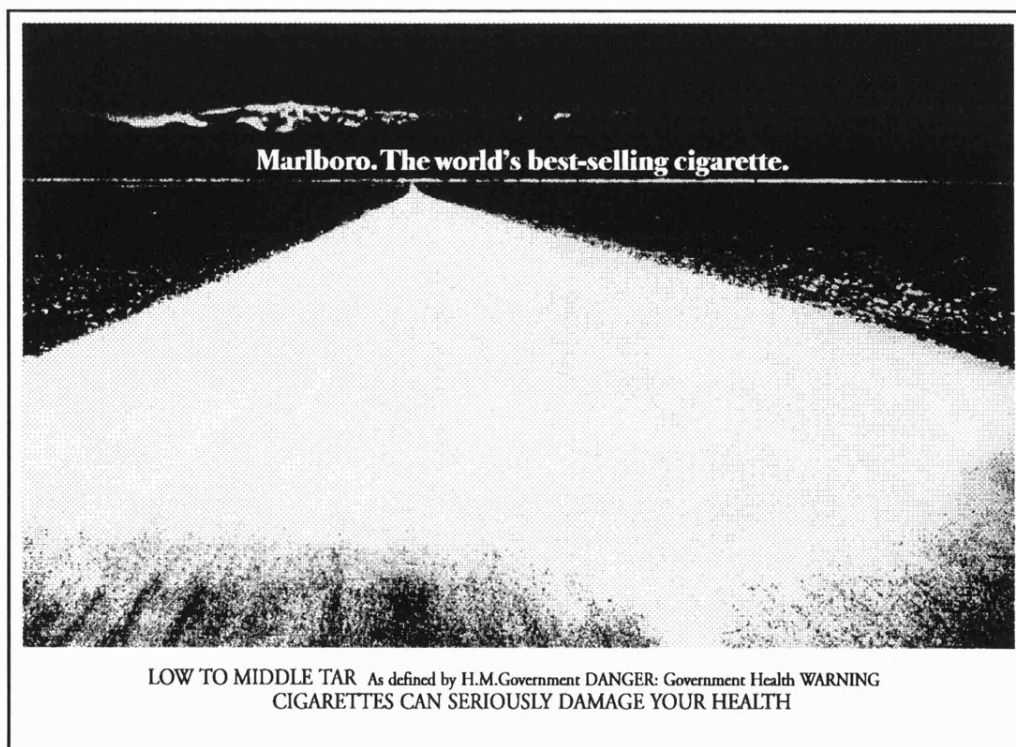
The final visual sub-category, 'visual pun' (n=53) is present in all years from 1977. The advertisements in this final sub-category present the packet or key elements of pack livery in an unusual setting or under some kind of 'surreal' transformation. For example, the packet becomes bait on a mousetrap (1989: *Marlboro*, 694-442) or a Roman-style mosaic (1982, *Benson and Hedges*, 627-173). Many of the advertisements do not contain text, except the health warning, which serves to identify the advertisement as one for cigarettes. The assumption of reader familiarity with the brand livery is seen in its most extreme form here. For example, the sample contains a number of advertisements from the long-running *Silk Cut* campaign. Here, the 'pun' is on both the brand name and livery colour : purple (and white) and features a seemingly endless series of permutations on the visual theme of cut silk. Thus, pieces of (presumably) purple silk are arranged to spell out the morse code for 'cut' (1992: *Silk Cut*, 728-734), or different shades of silk have holes cut in them to reveal three packs, one of each tar level (1993: *Silk Cut*, 739-741).

Figure 6.7 a-b

Advertisement mirrors Pack Livery (P2.5)



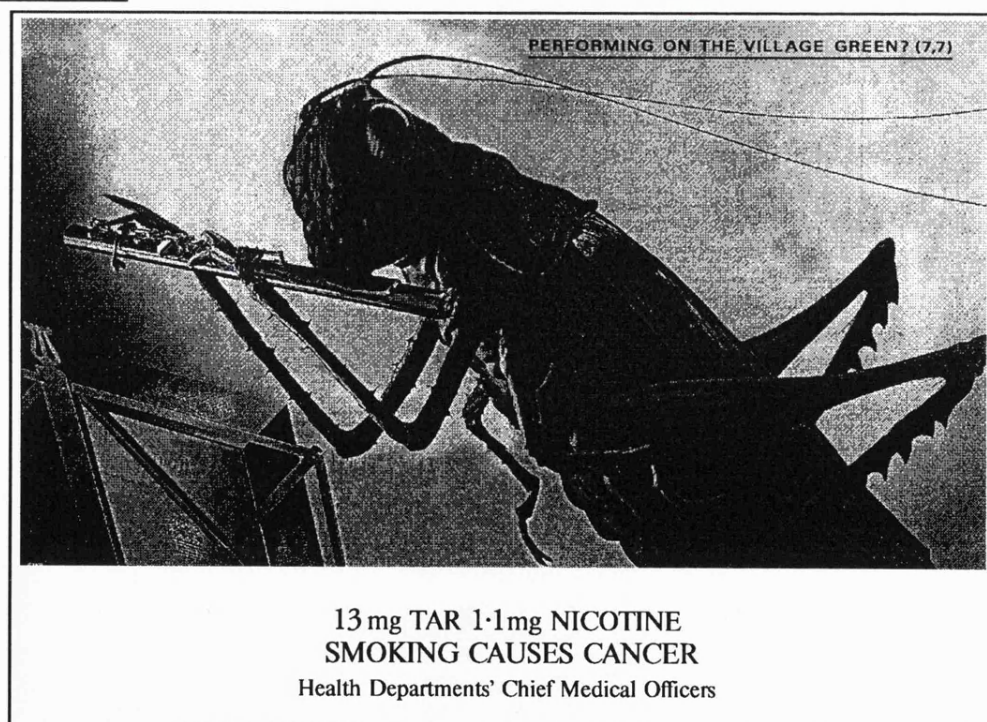
a *Marlboro* (1976: 476-283)



b *Marlboro* (1985: 695-418)

Some, however, do contain text. For example, the sample contained two of the 1993 *Benson and Hedges* 'crossword' campaign. In one, reproduced in Figure 6.8, the pack is placed on a music stand and is being 'read' by a flute-playing cricket, with the caption, "Performing on the village green? (7,7)" (1993: 736-737). The caption does not refer to the packet or the brand. The image certainly looks odd and the partial visual presentation of the 'clue' is a departure from the familiar verbal presentation of crosswords¹⁶. Besides creating a striking visual image, which invites the reader to 'look again', the presentation may be interpreted reflexively as posing the brand, and possibly the act of smoking, as a puzzle. Resolution of the puzzle requires a few moments reflection (the meaning is 'literal' - say what you see) which perhaps marks an interesting rebuff to the semiologist searching for esoteric meaning. However, the caption does not limit connotational polysemie and a variety of 'readings' may be proposed. Resolving the puzzle may place the reader and the brand among an 'intellectual elite', or the surrealist reference may carry connotations of high art and its appreciation (Williamson, 1986a p.67-74). Alternatively, one could read the apparent absence of hidden meaning as a comment on the stringent code regulating cigarette advertising: the form is allowed, but many of the potential messages are not.

Figure 6.8 Visual Pun (P2.6) - A visual clue



Benson and Hedges (1993: 736-737)

¹⁶Although there is a genre of children's puzzle which uses images to 'spell out' words.

6.10 SUMMARY OF ANALYSES

This section summarises the main findings in relation to the predictions made above, and to the major contingencies identified in the Times Index skeleton presented in Table 6.1.

The predictions made before the analyses were carried out have largely been supported. Health-related advertising has generally increased over the period, with filter-tipped cigarettes receiving substantial promotion during the late 1950s and 1960s, until nearly every brand advertised was filter-tipped. The Times Index reports increasing market shares for filter-tipped cigarettes in 1963 and 1970. This was followed by advertisements for reduced tar cigarettes during the 1970s, early 1980s and, especially, the 1990s, where 'ultra-low' cigarettes appeared. The Times Index reports differential taxes in 1978 to persuade smokers to switch to lower tar cigarettes, together with increased market competition among low tar brands in 1984. The first extremely low tar cigarette is reported in 1989 (see Times Index Appendix 4.1 section 9).

Whilst both moves are responses to the expanding health discourse, health representations are not prioritised in the early advertisements for filtered cigarettes, but rather appear alongside aesthetic and fiscal claims. Direct references to health risks are avoided, although there is evidence that the smoker is assumed to be trying, for example, to switch to a lower tar brand: "It's never been easier to switch to low tar..." (1980: *Vanguard*, 585-56); "Are you still a middle tar smoker who couldn't get on with low tar cigarettes?" (1977: *President with NSM*, 509-492). Interestingly, some advertisements recuperated the medical/scientific representations in their use of annotated diagrams of filters, thus presenting a 'scientific' solution to a 'scientific' problem. The failure of tobacco substitutes in 1977 is attributed to poor sales, by the Times Index. Some of the conceptual problems associated with the advertising campaigns may have contributed to this and are discussed above.

Conversely, the act of smoking and the 'sociable cigarette' in its various guises have all but disappeared, with the cigarette being detached first from the smoker's mouth and then from his or her hand. Lighting up, the lit cigarette and especially visible smoke have also disappeared. Whilst many aspects of sociability, including romance, are now prohibited by the Cigarette Code, such representations had begun to disappear well before its institution. This decline mirrors the rise of the debate over smoking in public places. The

Times Index (Appendix 4.1 section 10) includes calls for bans from 1957 and especially during 1967-1971 and after 1987, with no-smoking days reported in 1975 and after 1982. One survey reported in 1972 found smokers were made to feel anti-social. Even the less blatant indices of sociability: the cigarette extracted from the packet and the hand offering or accepting a cigarette have declined through the second half of the time-period. The last year in which 'cigarettes as gifts' was coded was 1973 and the alternative representation of the act of smoking as relaxing and contemplative disappeared in 1975.

Where present, fiscal representations are overwhelmingly consistent: advertisements repeat claims of value. Advertisements for both coupon and non-coupon brands make the same appeal. Even advertisements for higher-priced cigarettes appeal to value on grounds of extra quality, with one exception. Advertisements which mentioned budget taxation did so negatively: "Every Budget has a bright side" (1975: *Player's No.10*, 469-488). Whilst value claims are not restricted by the Cigarette Code, representations of value have dwindled in the second half of the years sampled. Since 1967, cigarette taxation, together with tightening advertising restrictions and the threat of an outright ban, have increasingly become Government policy in the campaign to reduce smoking statistics (see Appendix 4.1 section 12). Higher taxation on coupon brands in 1976 and higher general taxation rates from 1977 initiated a switch from coupon-advertising to other value claims including money-off offers and an overall decline in value claims.

Most references to packaging were to the livery rather than the box design. Early increases in the proportion of advertisements including an image of the packet probably relate to the increase in the number of brands being advertised, especially with the introduction of filtered brands during the 1950s. Textual references to livery colour serve an obvious purpose in the earlier black and white advertisements. At a cursory glance, the recent drop in the proportion of advertisements featuring packets is difficult to explain. However, in many more recent advertisements, references to pack livery have played a key role. Graph 6.6b may now be read in reverse: the proportion of advertisements including packets in which there was *not* a cigarette extracted has generally increased over time, i.e. the packet itself has increased in relative prominence to its contents, and especially to the social act of offering a cigarette to another person. Advertisers increasingly advertise boxes rather than cigarettes.

Packaging was only mentioned in 13 items in the Times Index, none of which referred to

its role in brand promotion, although there were proposals in 1975 to display tar and nicotine levels and in 1975 and 1978 to remove the royal warrant. The types of representation found especially in the latter part of the sample appear to have no counterpart in the press reporting examined. The following chapter explores the nature of these representations further and is especially concerned with how pack liveries are 'read', including both health and finance-related representations.

Finally, it must be noted that most of the advertisements were only available in black and white. This represents a limitation on potential analyses. In general, much modern day advertising uses colour to 'reflect' and frame the product. This limitation will have been especially important in relation to the primarily visual codes of packaging representations. The following section considers wider issues of concern in the kind of research presented in this chapter, together with suggestions for further research.

6.11 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Cigarette advertising today in the UK is a strange, elliptical phenomenon. This stems from the problems inherent in advertising a product which has serious long-term health consequences and has attracted increasing censorship of certain types of representation, principally through the Cigarette Code. For this reason, it was decided that a diachronic analysis was required to chart the evolution of the phenomenon in order to account for present-day advertising more fully. However, such an account is necessarily retrospective and this entails a special problem. The present-day reader is, necessarily, located within the present-day nexus of representations and knowledges concerning cigarettes, and is likely to bring these representations to the readings provided in the analyses, and in particular to the choice of representations to be examined, i.e. it is only with hindsight that a reader is likely to 'pick up on', say, the disappearance of models lighting up, as such representations would not have had the same significance to a contemporary reader of the 1940s and 1950s. Conversely, representations which would have had a higher salience to the original readers may well be missed by the present-day reader.

Whilst the systematic application of a coding frame allows for quantitative comparisons over time, including the charting of representations which have disappeared from present-day advertisements, the construction of the coding frame will be directed by present-day

saliences. The exposition of this problem leads to a clearer account of the nature of the present study. It does not aim to characterise contemporaneous readings of 50 years of cigarette advertising. Rather, it provides a retrospective analysis of the sample from the present-day perspective of the analyst, and thus serves to contextualise present-day advertising.

In characterising contemporary cigarette advertising, a detailed qualitative account of readings of a smaller-scale sample, by a range of people, would supply essential information on the socially-held representations which are brought to the process of interpretation by the reader, and which form an essential part of the 'meaning' of the advertisements. This kind of study is beyond the scope of the present analyses for several reasons. Such an account would require a smaller sample and would be confined to contemporary advertisements. In losing the historical contextualisation provided in the present analysis, it would ignore many of the dimensions of representation important to an account of present-day advertising simply because they are no longer present. These 'significant absences' are just as important as 'presences' for a structuralist account because they help identify the ways in which the cigarette is *not* represented as well as the ways in which it is represented.

This is not to argue that such a study would not be important. It would certainly highlight partialities in the present reader's perspective. In focusing on a few advertisements, it would also inform more comprehensive semiological accounts of those advertisements than there has been space to include in this chapter. The semiological accounts presented here are largely written from the perspective of the code under which they appear. The difference is one of level of abstraction and brings this discussion back to the logistical problem of synthesising classical content analysis with more discursive, qualitative and semiological approaches. At 'higher levels of resolution', more qualitative detail will emerge, but at the expense of the larger-scale picture with which this chapter has been concerned. The final reason for the choice of a larger-scale account is that I have already applied the 'higher-resolution' approach of combining semiology and detailed interview accounts relating to a few contemporary advertisements elsewhere.¹⁷

The present analyses have aimed to place themselves within four distinct, but not

¹⁷Masters Thesis (1994): Readings of three Cigarette Advertisements.

independent representational themes, and to explore the nature of these themes, and especially how they have changed over time, both quantitatively and qualitatively. There are two related issues which require consideration here. First, how the representations which have been discussed relate to each other, and, second, other themes which have not been considered in the present analysis.

The Times Index's account of the increasing prominence of medical representations helps to illuminate the relationship between the four representational themes. This is especially so in relation to the generation of 'new' medical terrain such as passive smoking and smoking in public places, litigation and discrimination, and its encroachment into previously more independent areas, such as taxation and advertising itself. The health-related representations discussed in the above analyses obviously relate directly to the expanding medical representations and promote new types of cigarettes with implicit claims of reduced health-risks.

The act of smoking has become dangerous, first to the smoker, and more recently, to the 'passive smoker' and, correspondingly, its representation in advertising has diminished: smoking is no longer a 'sociable' act. It is, rather, increasingly represented as an anti-social act (see chapter 5.10ii). Likewise, the representation of cigarettes as an aid to relaxation and contemplation has also disappeared, despite medical research to support such claims.

Fiscal representations have increasingly become linked to the health representations through both general and targeted taxation increases. Claims of value have decreased since the 1970s as tax increases have raised the price of cigarettes above the level of inflation.

Representations of packaging have changed from the simple representation of the packet alongside other types of representation, to a playful focus on packaging livery itself. Advertisements have increasingly advertised packets instead of either their contents or the act of smoking. It has been suggested above that such a move may relate to the reduction of other possible representations available to advertisers, and to the possibility of a future ban on advertising leaving the packet as the primary advertising medium. The presence of mandatory health warnings, together with the narrowing of available representations, has increased the scope for primarily visual and elliptical advertising - an

approach exemplified by the recent packaging-related advertisements. More generally, an approach based primarily on images also represents one possible means of circumventing restrictions: the image, especially when it is not 'anchored' by text, is more difficult to legislate upon.

The analyses have focused in detail on four broad themes. These by no means exhaust the data, and a variety of alternative themes might fruitfully be the focus of further research. Some of these themes deserve mention here. First, several researchers have coded themes relating to recreation, including sports and other leisure pursuits, and adventure (Warner, 1985; Chapman, 1986; Altman et al, 1987). These themes are now restricted by the Cigarette Code, but sports-related themes might be expected to peak during the period after the television advertising ban, when sports sponsorship was a newly-exploited alternative.

Gender issues have also received attention (Warner, 1985; Minkler et al, 1987). Again, advertisers are no longer allowed to claim that a brand enhances femininity or masculinity. The decline in the number of models depicted in advertisements apparent in the present sample may confound attempts to address these issues. However, the relationship between gender and certain other codes, for example, the targeting of filter-tipped advertisements at a reluctant male readership, would further contextualise representations of the relationship between cigarette and smoker. The apparent age of models (Chapman, 1986) might also be of interest, as the issue of young people smoking has received a great deal of attention (see the Times Index Appendix 4.1 section 7).

A code relating to the 'tradition of the product' (Minkler et al, 1987) might fruitfully be compared with the theme of 'scientific advancement' (the two are not necessarily opposed). Other codes in the literature include: prestige, wealth, high culture (Chapman, 1986; Minkler et al, 1987), satisfaction and pleasure (Ringold and Calfee, 1989; Minkler et al, 1987) and various types of product endorsements (Chapman, 1986, Ringold and Calfee, 1989). Finally, textual analyses of exhortations and slogans would determine the changes in adjectives used to describe the (ideal) cigarette, and in the prominence of popularity claims and implicit 'social pressure'. Again, a diachronic study would be better placed to identify the further dimensions of significance in cigarette advertising than one based solely on contemporary advertisements.

The present analyses have focused on the advertisements themselves, importing the Times Index analysis findings and references to the Cigarette Code, in relation to the advertisements. This immediately suggests two further perspectives which might form the basis of further research. Both the Times Index and the Cigarette Code could 'take centre stage', and analyses might address questions such as, how has advertising affected the nature of the Cigarette Code? instead of, how has the Cigarette Code affected the nature of advertising?

The analyses reported in this chapter have all been for cigarettes. Other tobacco-related products are listed in section 6.3 above. In general, the excluded advertisements were less numerous than those for cigarettes. In the context of the present study, however, there were several reasons for focusing solely on cigarette advertisements. Firstly, a cross-product study would introduce too many variable for which it is unlikely that the present sampling strategy would have yielded sufficient material across the time-period. Secondly, the consumption of different tobacco forms varies substantially, with cigarettes being by far the most popular form (see section 3.2). The main reason, however, for excluding non-cigarette advertisements is that the medical discourse has impacted differently on the various forms of tobacco, and most of the literature, both academic and lay, has focused on cigarettes and cigarette advertising. However, a comparative study of advertisements for different forms of tobacco would be interesting and might discover product-related differences in visual and textual representations and marketing strategy. It would form an essential part of a full structural analysis of the cigarette, by highlighting further dimensions of similarity and difference within the wider realm of tobacco.

CHAPTER 7

PRETTY BOXES: ANALYSES OF CONTEMPORARY CIGARETTE PACKAGING

7.1 Overview of Chapter

In this chapter I explore the ways in which cigarette packaging communicates. It was argued in chapter three that when cigarette advertising is finally banned, packaging will play an increasingly important role in cigarette promotion, and the findings of the previous chapter show that packaging is already a key feature of contemporary cigarette advertising. The analyses presented here treat cigarette packaging as a sign-system and investigate correspondences between aspects of packaging and their 'meanings', e.g., a specific colour (signifier) may be associated with low tar cigarettes (signified). The chapter is presented in two parts. In the first I analyse a near-complete synchronic set of UK cigarette packaging. This part begins with a discussion of the mandatory health warnings on packet fronts in relation to the issues of attribution and legibility. The remainder of the section explores a series of relationships between the signifieds: filter/non-filter, tar level, menthol/non-menthol and price, and a variety of signifiers: colour, wording, and other aspects of packet livery, shape and size. An essential feature of any sign-system is that it is culturally shared, or understood. In the second part of the chapter I analyse quantitative and qualitative data from 60 participants in relation to a sample of 40 packets. The analyses investigate the types of signifiers which participants used in order to place the packets on five dimensions (signifieds): 'strong'-'mild', 'masculine'-'feminine', 'economical'-'expensive', 'ordinary'-'classy' and 'menthol'-'non-menthol'¹. Whilst the analyses are presented in two parts, the research process itself was less clearly demarcated. Preliminary analyses of the complete set of packets identified key issues for the questionnaire study, and guided the choice of sample packets. Many of the qualitative comments collected in the second study, however, suggested further analyses which were then applied to the complete set of packets.

¹Single quotation marks are used to distinguish ratings of packets by participants from the actual values of packets on factors relating to these dimensions, like tar levels, price and menthol.

PART ONE: THE SYNCHRONIC SET

7.2 Collecting the Synchronic Set

The theoretically ideal method of collecting a synchronic set would be to acquire one instance of each different packet available in the UK at one particular moment in time. This is obviously impossible: many brands are only available in certain stores or geographical areas. In addition, it is not obvious just what constitutes the 'synchronic moment' in this case. If the synchronic is defined in opposition to the diachronic, then 'change in the system', which constitutes the diachronic, should define the boundaries of the synchronic moment. In the sales world, 'change in the system' means the deletion or introduction of different packets. As stock turnover rate varies between retail outlets and across brands, the possibility of arriving at a standard operational procedure recedes rapidly. For these reasons, a more practical collection period was decided upon: Spring-Summer 1995.

The collection process began with the most recent brand-listing available from the Tobacco Manufacturers Association (TMA) (dated 25.8.94). Retail outlets were located through *Yellow Pages* and *A-Z Guides* to London and Manchester. Other retail outlets visited were in Devon, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Middlesex. Additional packets were supplied from elsewhere by friends. All un-located packets were investigated as far as possible through telephone calls to manufacturers, distributors and other retail outlets.

Of the original 282 listed packets, 246 (87.2%) were acquired. 20 were no longer available for a variety of reasons, including the manufacturer going out of business or the brand being discontinued. This yields a coverage statistic of 93.9% of 'available', listed, brands. There was no information available on the remaining 15 listed packets. The collection process also yielded 56 unlisted (mostly new) packets: 26 being new variants of listed brands and 30 being variants of 18 new brands. There were also 18 packets with alternative liveries for listed brands. 32 additional packets are also listed and included in the analyses below. Five of these are more recent UK-available packets of brands included in the above list. Two are of an originally listed brand bought overseas. The rest were acquired overseas or duty-free in the UK, with the help of friends, and are variants of brands already included. Although not strictly part of the synchronic set, these packets were included in the study as they broaden the substrate base, and, in particular, add cases to low frequency categories (especially ultra low tar and menthol). For convenience,

these figures are summarised in Table 7.1. Packets of 10 cigarettes were not included in the collection as they were not listed separately by the TMA, and because they are usually very similar in livery to their equivalent 20-cigarette pack.

Table 7.1 Sources of Cigarette Packets

Packets listed by Tobacco Manufacturers Association (of 282)	246
New variations of listed brands	26
New brands	30
Alternative liveries of listed packets	18
ADDITIONS: More recent variants (UK)	5
Listed packets bought overseas	2
New variants of listed brands bought overseas / duty-free	26
TOTAL	353

It should be noted that the statistical analyses presented in part one are purely descriptive. This is because the material constitutes a (near-)complete population and not a sample requiring inferences to be made concerning its representativeness. That is, any differences or associations are real, and not due to sampling error, and are of the precise magnitude stated. However some small category sizes necessitate cautious interpretation.

7.3 ANALYSES OF THE SYNCHRONIC SET

Health Warnings

As with cigarette advertising, packaging has also been 'colonised' explicitly by the medical discourse, in the form of the health warning. Before December 1991, the warning was based on the voluntary agreement (as for cigarette advertising). Since then it has been under the control of the EU Tobacco Products Labelling (Safety) Regulations (1991, and 1993 amendment). Warnings are present on the front and back of the packet and should cover six percent of the surface area on which they appear (ASH, 1995). As the present study focuses on packet fronts, only these warnings will be discussed below². The health warning should read, "Tobacco seriously damages health." The set of UK-collected packets included various permutations on this basic message (see Table 7.2).

²The warning on packet backs should be one of the following: Smoking kills, Smoking causes cancer, Smoking causes heart disease, Smoking causes fatal diseases, Smoking when pregnant harms your baby, Protect children: don't make them breathe your smoke (ASH, 1995).

Nearly two thirds of packets included an unattributed warning, with most of the remainder attributing the warning to EC Health Ministers or to the EEC Council Directive. The four packets without a health warning, whilst being illegal, were probably old stock. The choice of whether or not to include an attribution may depend upon the wider sales distribution of a particular brand, although it is interesting to speculate, for a moment, on the role of attribution. As with cigarette advertisements, the health warning represents a second, contradictory, voice to that of the packet. Whilst most people are probably aware this is the case, the absence of an attribution may serve to 'naturalise' the warning. Alternatively, it becomes, by default, the manufacturer's warning, giving them security against possible legal claims on the grounds of a lack of knowledge of health risks. However, the inclusion of the EEC-attribution may, for the 'euro-sceptic', devalue the health warning.

Table 7.2 Frequencies of Health Warnings in UK-Collected Packets (Total = 325)

Un-Attributed Health Warning:

TOBACCO SERIOUSLY DAMAGES HEALTH	213
Tobacco Seriously Damages Health	1

Attributed Health Warning:

EC-Ministers of Health: TOBACCO SERIOUSLY DAMAGES HEALTH	49
THE EC-MINISTERS OF HEALTH: TOBACCO SERIOUSLY DAMAGES HEALTH	2
EC Health Ministers TOBACCO SERIOUSLY DAMAGES HEALTH	1
EEC Council Directive (89/622/EEC) TOBACCO SERIOUSLY DAMAGES HEALTH	42
Source: EEC Council Directive 89/622/EEC Tobacco seriously damages health	1
TOBACCO SERIOUSLY DAMAGES HEALTH. Source: EC Council Directive 89/622/EEC . .	1
TOBACCO SERIOUSLY DAMAGES HEALTH.	
SOURCE: EC COUNCIL DIRECTIVE 89/622/EEC	1
Min. of Public Health TOBACCO SERIOUSLY DAMAGES HEALTH	4
The Health Authorities warn that Tobacco seriously damages health	2
TOBACCO SERIOUSLY DAMAGES HEALTH Irish Government Warning	4
No Health Warning	4

One of the main concerns voiced in the press about health warnings on packets is that they may be presented illegibly (e.g. Erlichman, 1994). There are three obvious ways of reducing legibility suggested by the present set of packets. The first is through the use of gold or silver ink, which becomes less visible in certain lights and from certain angles.

216 health warnings (66.5%) were printed in silver or gold ink, including 78 against a white background, six against a grey background and 10 against a cream background. In addition, four other warnings were printed in white on gold. The second is the absolute contrast between the ink and the background colour. This is more difficult to assess with any certainty without experimentation. The third is the use of a highly condensed typeface. The judgment of legibility here, of course, will be relative to the size and style of typeface. Again, without precision measuring and experimentation, any assessment can only be intuitive. In all but four of the packets which included a warning, the warning was printed in capital letters. Interestingly, in highly condensed typefaces, full capitalisation appears less legible than an initial capital followed by lowercase letters.

A further point of relevance is any effect which may be characterised as an attempt to 'disguise' the message by presenting it in a typographical style similar to that of the brand name and of other writing on the packet. This is especially difficult to assess, as many factors contribute to the impression of similarity or difference, for example: size, weight, compression, serif/sans serif and orientation. Also, the health warnings are uniformly positioned towards the bottom of the packet, and so are not the first thing to be noticed by the eye. From the regulator's perspective, attempts to control some of the factors affecting legibility are likely to meet with greater resistance from tobacco manufacturers than others. One argument used by manufacturers against health warnings is expressed by Turner³ (in Erlichman, 1994): "We have spent years building up pack designs and to have them devalued is an immoral disgrace, amounting to the theft of valuable property." A mandatory specification of colours (for example, white out of black) would be more visually intrusive on some packs than on others, depending on the existing livery, as would changes in the position of the health warning.

Filters

Analyses of the advertising of filter-tipped cigarettes reported in chapter six established that advertisements for untipped cigarettes disappeared by the 1980s and that the last filter-related advertisement appeared in 1982. This suggests that the presence or absence of a filter-tip is no longer a major distinguishing feature of cigarettes. Partly for this reason, and partly because only 14 of the collected set of packets for which information was available contained unfiltered cigarettes, no systematic analyses of differences between

³Executive Director of the Tobacco Manufacturers' Association.

'filtered' and 'unfiltered' packets was undertaken. However, it may be noted that there were two distinguishing features of 'unfiltered' packets: first, they included the six oldest brands in the collection, ranging from Woodbine (first introduced in December 1888) to Senior Service (first introduced in January 1925), with five others being European imports and one a European-bought variant of a UK-available brand, and second, none were of the 'flip-top' design, with 11 in slide packets, two in soft packets and one in a hinge-box; and 10 of the slide packets, together with the hinge-box, were wide rather than long.

Tar Levels

All cigarette packets are required to carry information about tar and nicotine yields in milligrams (ASH, 1995). As this information is displayed on the packet side, it is less relevant to the present analysis, although it may be noted that four UK-collected packets did not specify tar and nicotine yield (the same as the packets without health warnings). The following analyses investigate two other ways in which relative tar and nicotine levels are signified: words and colour. Table 7.3 lists the frequencies of different types of low-tar related wording for five sub-categories of cigarette:

Table 7.3 Low-Tar Wording for Different Categories of Cigarette

Tar Level:	Non-Menthol			Menthol	
	Standard (10-15mg)	Low (5-9.99mg)	Very Low (<5mg)	Standard (10-15mg)	Low (<10mg)
Lights	3	63	-	-	5
Lights + Special Mild Virginia	-	2	-	-	-
Extra Lights	-	1	-	-	-
Superlights / Super Lights	-	2	-	-	-
Ultra Lights	-	2	4	-	-
Infinite Lights	-	-	1	-	-
Ultimate Lights	-	-	1	-	-
Legères	-	2	-	-	-
Light blend	-	1	-	-	-
Mild	1	13	-	-	-
Special Mild	-	5	-	-	2
Extra Mild	-	6	2	-	-
Deluxe Mild	-	3	-	-	-
Low Tar	-	1	-	-	1
Super Low	-	-	1	-	-
Ultra Low	-	-	2	-	-
Ultra	-	-	1	-	-
No Mention	196	9	-	11	12

The wording is generally in line with the tar yield, although four standard tar packets claimed to be 'lights' or 'mild'. 'Lights' is more popular than 'mild', perhaps because 'mild' retains connotations of weak 'flavour'. Very low tar cigarettes are denoted with adjectives such as 'ultra' and 'extra' before 'lights' or 'mild', although the distinction between low and very low tar categories is less clear. Approximately half of the menthol low tar packets do not refer to tar level, compared with only eight percent of non-menthol packets. One possible explanation is that 'menthol' carries low tar connotations. Alternatively, packet designers may not have wanted to 'clutter' packets with too many words.

Tar-level colour comparison are made graphically using category-based comparisons of three different types of colour profile: dominant pack colour (the highest percentage of pack-front area), the presence or absence of specific colour and, the precise percentage of all colours on packets. The raw data for Graphs 7.1-3 may be found in Appendix 7.2. White is treated as a colour in its own right.

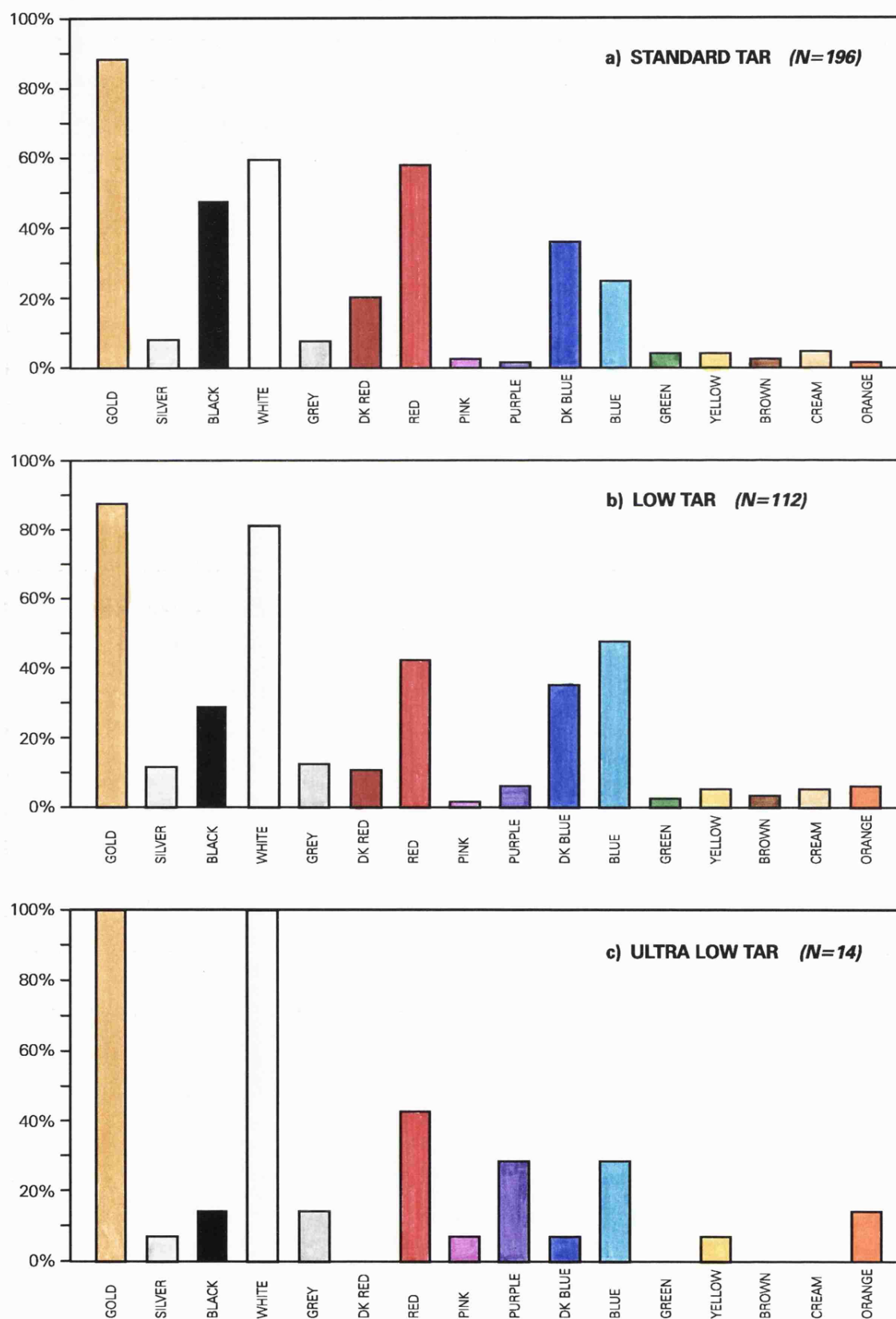
Graphs 7.1 a-e shows the percentage of packets with each colour in each of the five categories (as designated on packets). For the non-menthol packets, gold is the most popular colour and is present on above 85% of all packets, compared with silver, which is present on under 15% of packets. Decreasing tar level is associated with decreased presence of black, red, dark red, and dark blue and increased presence of white, grey, yellow and orange. Dark red, green, brown and cream are only present in the two higher tar categories. Blue is most prevalent in the low tar category, followed by the very low category. Green appears on all menthol packets, with gold, white and silver next in popularity. Black is less popular among low tar menthol packets than it is in the standard menthol pack.

In contrast to the very low tar non-menthol category, which has fewer colours represented than the higher tar categories, for menthol, the low tar category includes several colours not present on the higher tar menthol packets. This may be explained by the small number of packets in these categories. The relatively high percentage of low and very low non-menthol and low tar menthol packets with red, together with the all-round high values for gold must be seen in the context of the other analyses, where their relative importance is much reduced: although they appear on many packets, they do so as embellishments to enhance crests and other livery devices, and not as the primary colour.

Graph 7.1 (a-c)

PRESENCE / ABSENCE OF COLOUR

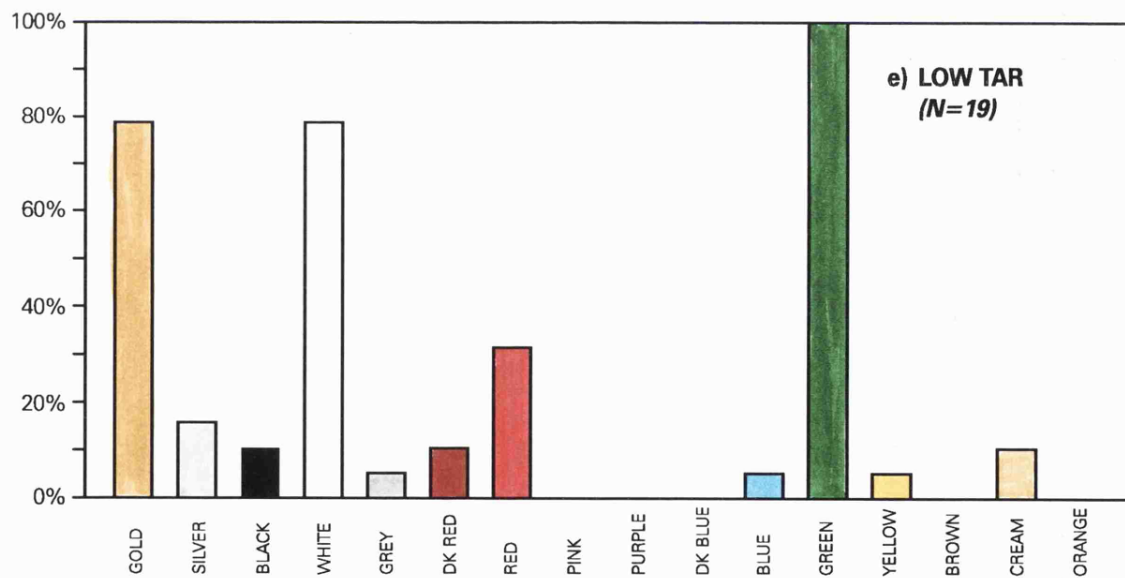
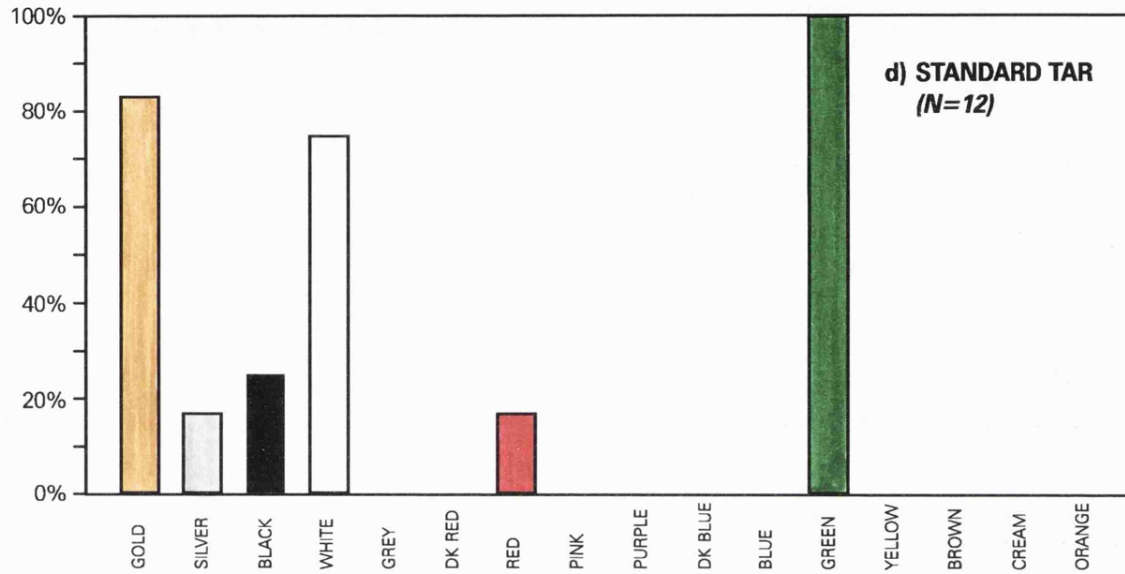
(% of packets in category) NON-MENTHOL



Graph 7.1 (d,e)

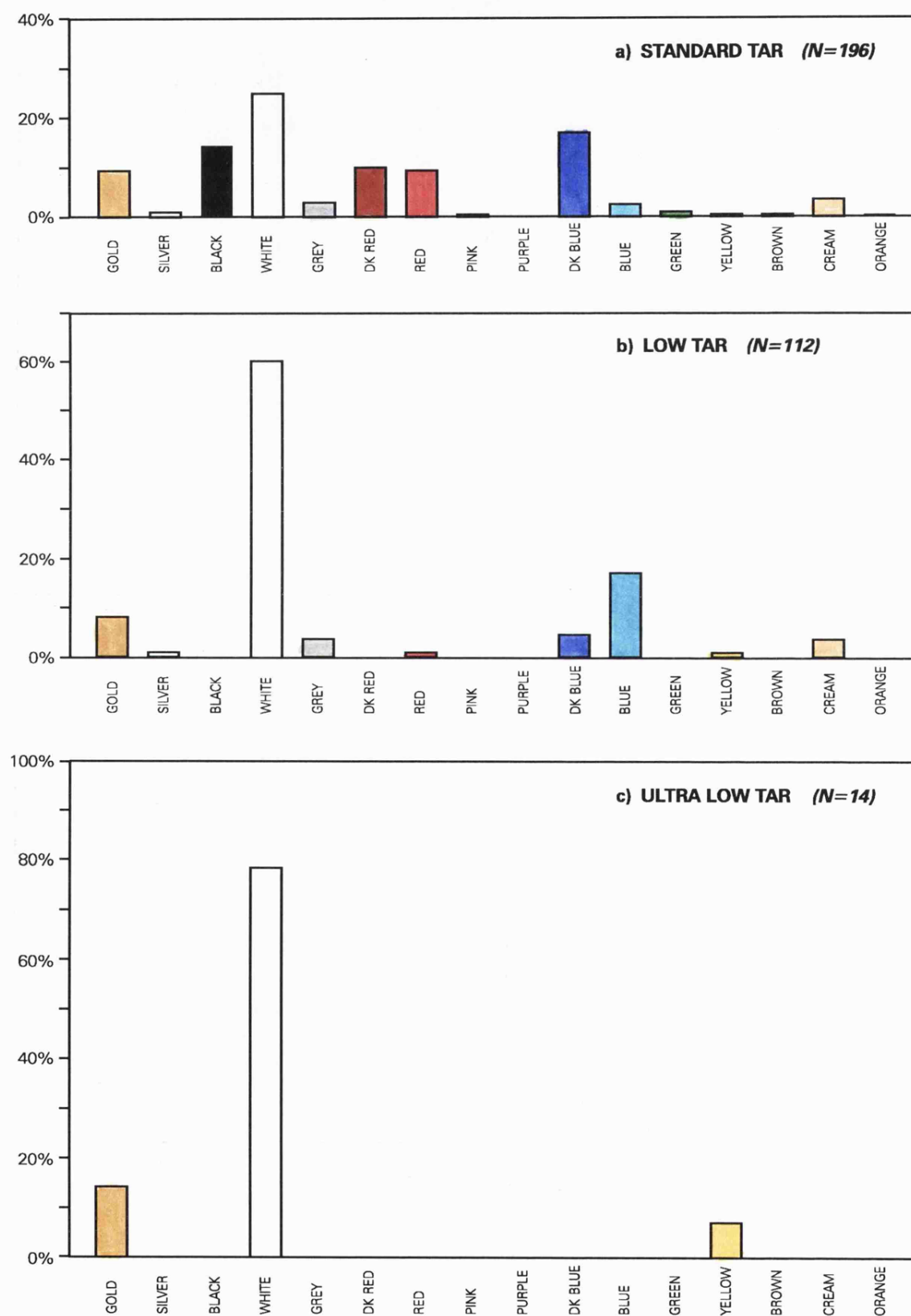
PRESENCE / ABSENCE OF COLOUR

(% of packets in category) MENTHOL



Graph 7.2 (a-c)

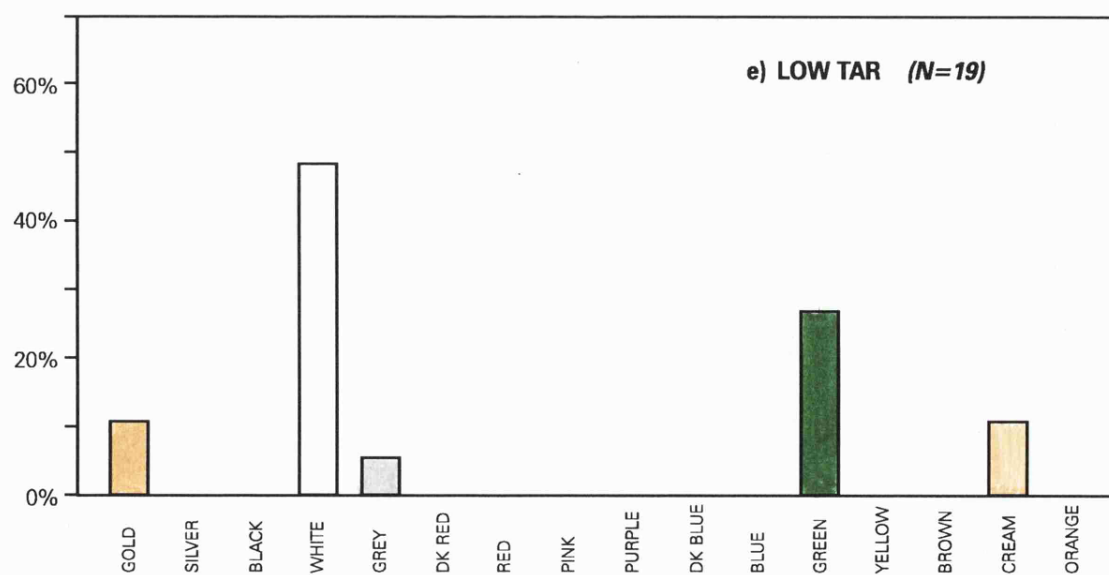
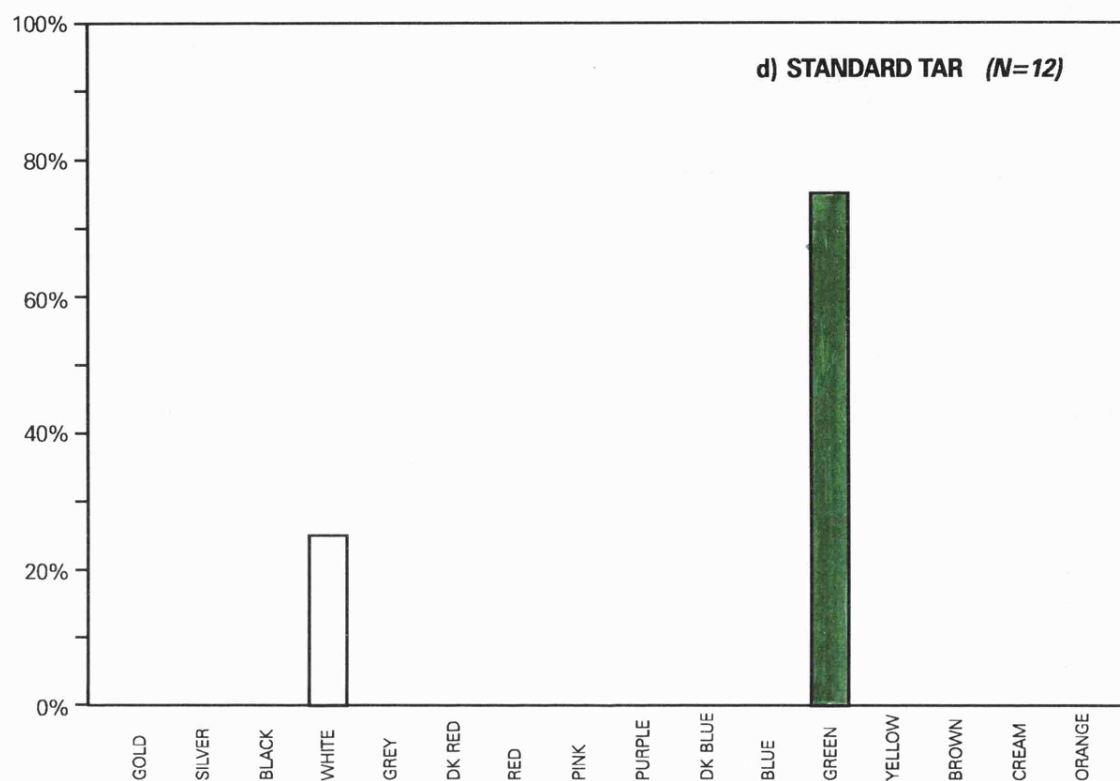
PRIMARY PACK COLOUR
(% of packets in category) NON-MENTHOL



Graph 7.2 (d,e)

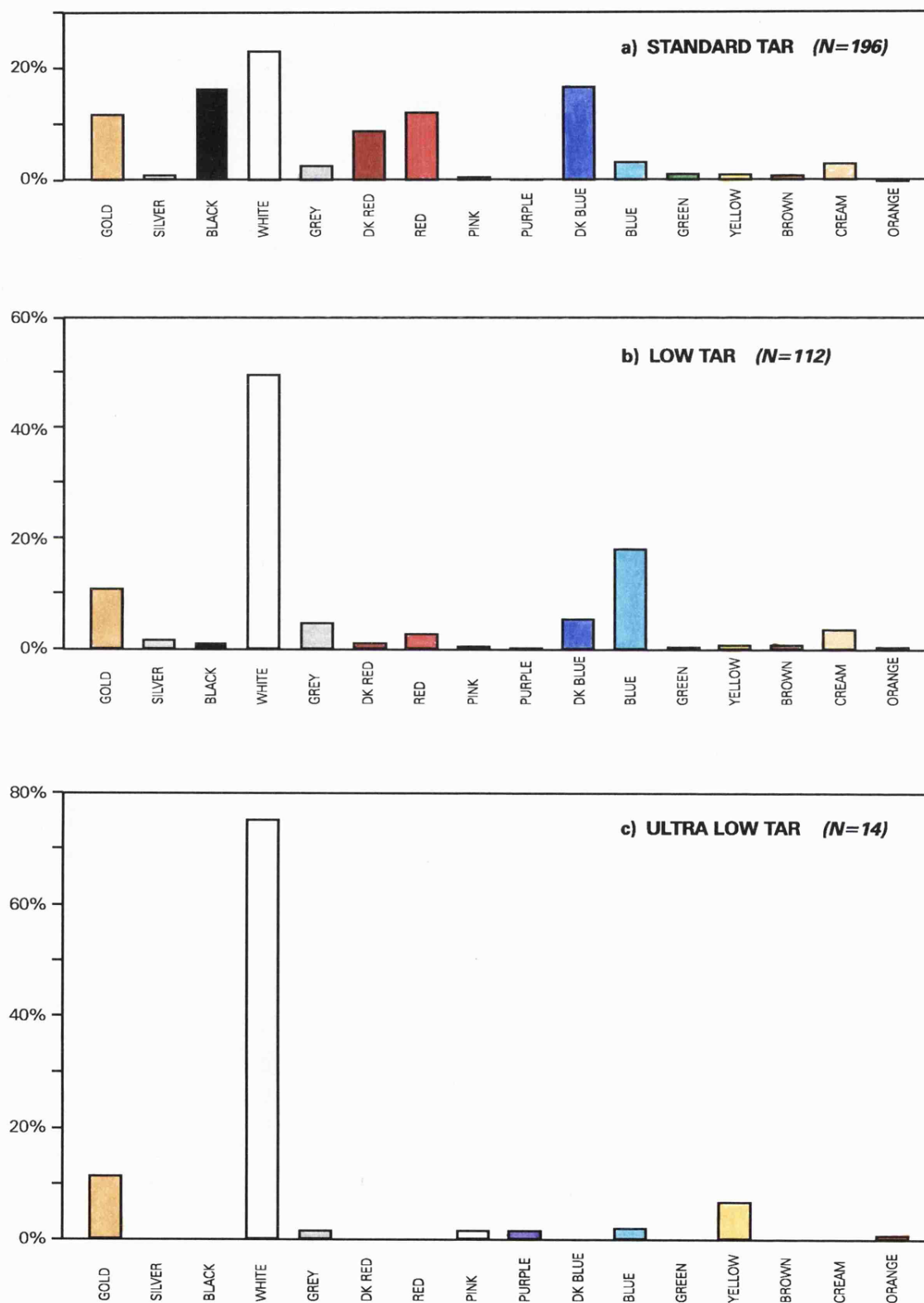
PRIMARY PACK COLOUR

(% of packets in category) MENTHOL



Graph 7.3 (a-c)

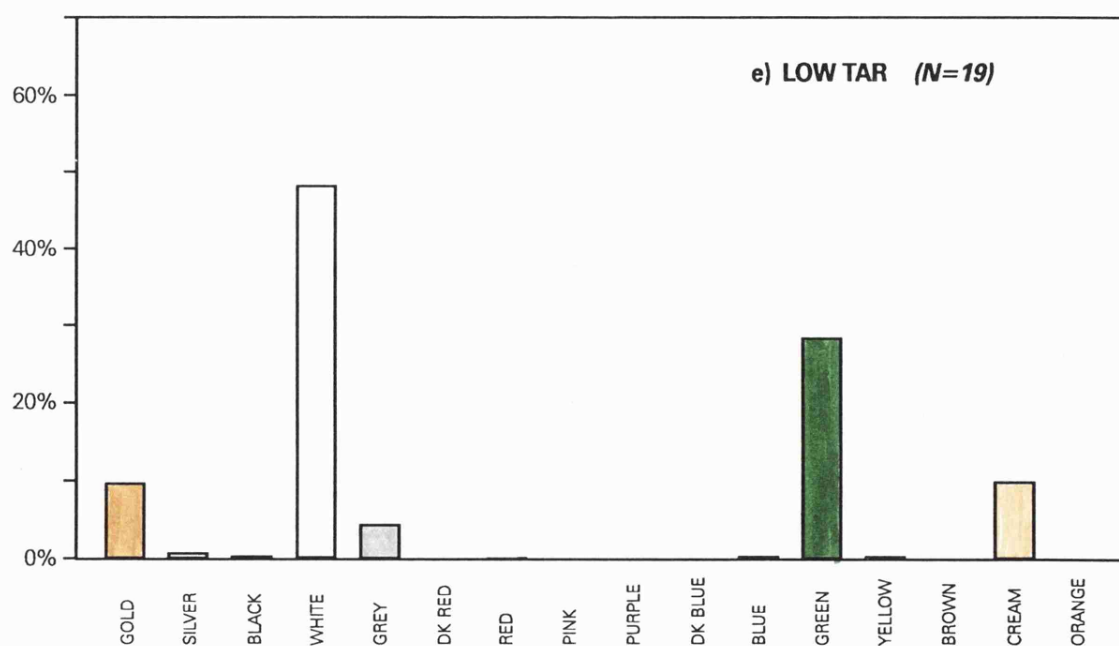
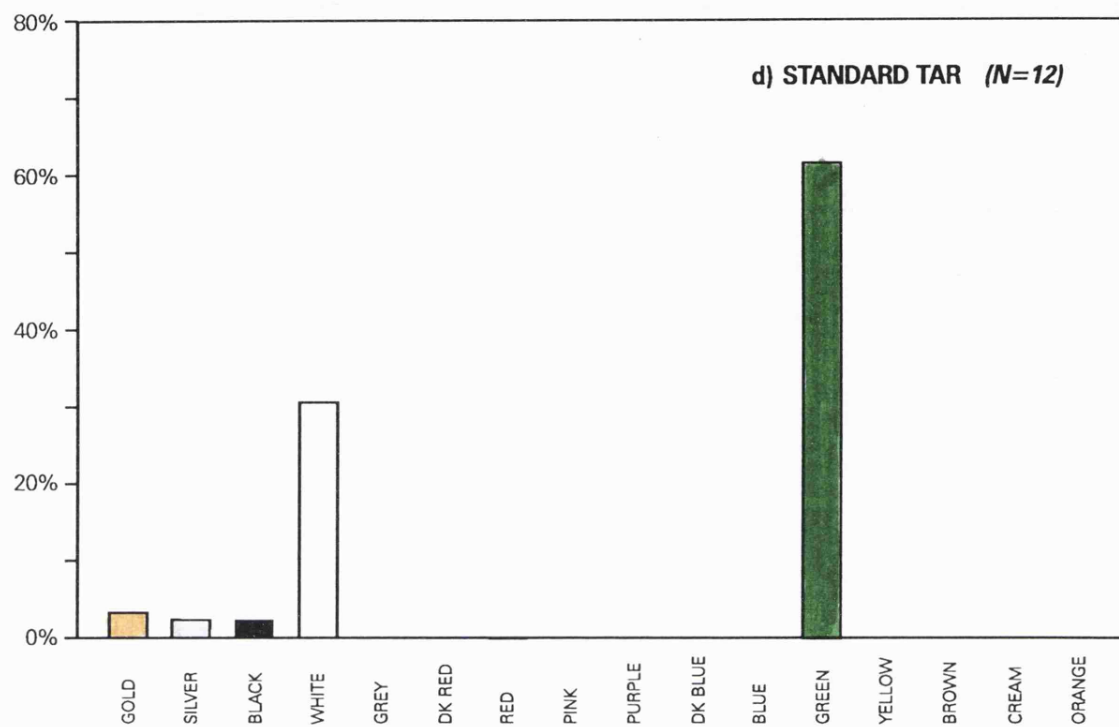
PERCENTAGE OF COLOUR
(% of packets in category) NON-MENTHOL



Graph 7.3 (d,e)

PERCENTAGE OF COLOUR

(% of packets in category) MENTHOL



Graph 7.2 a-e shows the distributions of primary pack colours for different tar categories. For the non-menthol brands, white is the primary colour in all tar categories and the respective proportion of white to all other colours increases substantially with decreasing tar level. Overall, the standard tar category shows the widest range of colours. This may be due to the respective number of packets in each category. However, several colours show marked contrasts between categories. Red and dark red together account for nearly a fifth (19.8%) of standard tar packets, compared with less than 1% of low, and 0% of very low tar packets. Similarly, 14.7% of standard tar packets are primarily black, compared with no packets in the low and very low categories. The relative proportions of blue and dark blue are reversed as between standard and low tar, with dark blue predominant in the standard category, and blue in the low tar category. Neither is present in the very low category. The other colour of interest in the non-menthol categories is yellow, which accounts for a relatively greater, although still small percentage of the very low category.

For the menthol brands, white is again the primary colour in the low tar category, but in the standard category, green accounts for three-quarters of packets. As with the very low tar category above, a key feature of all menthol packaging is uniformity of colour, although, again, this may be a function of the small number of brands in the population.

Graph 7.3a-e shows the percentage of colours on packets within each category. These values were obtained for each packet using a series of 10x10 acetate grids (one for each shape and size of packet), which were laid over the packet fronts. The main colour in each square of the grid was noted and contributed 1% to the overall packet. Compared with Graph 7.1, this method does not register some packet colours, but it does capture the relative emphasis on each colour. The results are, however, very similar to those for the analyses of primary packet colour and will not be discussed.

Green Aesthetics: Menthol

Graphs 7.1-7.3 also enable a comparison of menthol with non-menthol packets. Besides the overwhelming increase in the use of the colour green in all three sets of graphs, it can be noted that several other colours are completely absent. In particular, graphs 7.2 and 7.3 show an absence of blues and reds, and a reduced presence of black. However, as the number of menthol packets is relatively small, these other colour differences may be due to the smaller variety of contributing packets.

Signifiers of Value

The signifiers of price⁴ explored here relate mainly to other aspects of packet livery apart from colour, and to packet size and shape. One colour-related measure investigated was the number of colours per pack. This yielded a Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.0628, and explained only 0.39% of the variance in price.

Other aspects of livery investigated are listed in Table 7.4, together with their descriptive statistics (Box plots of each comparison may be found in Appendix 7.3). The H-spread for stripes and no stripes are similar, although the means and medians suggest that striped packets tend to be slightly cheaper than non-striped packets. There is no substantial difference between embossed and non-embossed packets in measures of central tendency. Packets with gold or silver foil are substantially more expensive than those without, and a similar pattern is shown for packets with 'by royal appointment' crests, although this association does not hold for crests in general. The use of other logotypes was associated with higher price, although the respective H-spreads were nearly identical.

Table 7.4 Price and Other Aspects of Livery

	N	Mean	Median	s.d.	Range	Min	Max
Stripes	89	2.39	2.30	.30	1.19	1.81	3.00
No Stripes	226	2.49	2.53	.37	3.11	1.89	5.00
Emboss	175	2.47	2.49	.38	3.19	1.81	5.00
No emboss	140	2.46	2.42	.32	1.11	1.89	3.00
Foil	33	2.85	2.80	.51	2.87	2.13	5.00
No foil	282	2.42	2.37	.30	1.57	1.81	3.38
By appt.	25	2.75	2.74	.28	1.47	2.53	4.00
Not by appt	290	2.44	2.37	.35	3.19	1.81	5.00
All Crest	180	2.44	2.42	.34	2.19	1.81	4.00
No Crest	135	2.49	2.46	.38	2.95	2.05	5.00
Other logo	106	2.51	2.68	.32	0.95	2.05	3.00
No other logo	209	2.44	2.37	.37	3.19	1.81	5.00

Table 7.5 shows the Pearson correlation coefficients for price and five different measures of packet size and shape, together with the amount of variance in price accounted for by

⁴Price is standardised as price for 20 cigarettes. It is expressed in terms of pounds sterling at the time of the original purchase i.e. Spring / Summer 1995.

each measure (See Appendix 7.4 for related scatterplots). Pack area was calculated by multiplying pack length and width. Length/width ratio was calculated by dividing pack length by packet width, with long, thin packets having higher length/width ratios than short, 'squat' packets. The adjusted length/width ratio, was a measure of deviation (in either direction) from the 'usual' length/width proportions and was calculated using the following formula⁵:

$$\text{Adjusted L/W Ratio} = \sqrt{(\text{L/W Ratio} - \text{Mean L/W Ratio})^2}$$

Whilst none of the measures account for especially high percentages of the variance in price, the two variables more closely associated with price are packet width, with wider packets being more expensive, and the adjusted length/width ratio, with unusual proportions being associated with more expensive packets. This latter measure accounted for between four and five times the variance in price compared with the unadjusted ratio. Larger packets were also associated with higher price.

Table 7.5 Price and Packet Dimensions

Length	$r = -.0335$	$r^2 \times 100 = 0.11\%$
Width	$r = .3142$	$r^2 \times 100 = 9.87\%$
Pack Area	$r = .2467$	$r^2 \times 100 = 6.09\%$
Length/Width Ratio	$r = -.1551$	$r^2 \times 100 = 2.41\%$
Adjusted Length/Width Ratio	$r = .3261$	$r^2 \times 100 = 10.63\%$

Price was also compared for store brands and all other packets. Table 7.6 shows the descriptive statistics (see Appendix 7.5 for graph). Store brands were substantially cheaper than other brands, with the exception of two packets (from Harrods).

Table 7.6 Price and Store Brands

	N	Mean	Median	s.d.	Range	Min	Max
Store	111	2.139	2.130	0.10	0.790	1.99	2.78
Non-Store	204	2.640	2.720	0.32	3.19	1.81	5.00

⁵Mean L/W Ratio = 1.54. Squaring and then taking the square root of a value is the usual statistical method for obtaining an 'absolute' from a bi-directional (negative or positive) value. This measure was suggested in the qualitative data for part two in relation to the 'economical'-'expensive' and 'classy'-'ordinary' dimensions.

7.4 SUMMARY OF PART ONE

This section began with a discussion of the mandatory health warnings on pack fronts in relation to both attribution and legibility. The rest of the section explored a series of relationships between the signifieds: filtered/non-filtered, tar level, menthol/non-menthol and price, and various signifiers, such as wording, colour and other aspects of packet livery, and the shape and size of the packet. Non-filtered cigarettes tended to be older brands, and to have wider boxes compared to filtered cigarettes. High tar levels were associated with the colours black, dark red and red. Lower levels of tar were associated with higher proportions of white and blue. Menthol was associated with green and with the absence of both blues and reds. Higher prices were associated with 'by royal appointment' crests and gold or silver foil (instead of ink) and, slightly, with other kinds of logo. Lower prices were slightly associated with stripes. Higher prices were also associated with wider, larger or more unusual packet shapes, and lower prices with store brands.

PART TWO - "40 PACKETS"

7.5 Dimensions of Signification

Four of the five dimensions chosen were originally proposed by Martineau in 1957 (p.60). They are: strong-mild, masculine-feminine, economical-expensive and ordinary-classy. Although some of Martineau's justifications now appear dated, the dimensions themselves have continuing relevance. Martineau justified the 'strong-mild' dimension in the following way, "Smokers want to strike a balance between being too unhealthy and evil (the strongest cigarette) and being too innocuous and prudish (the mildest)." This may have changed since 1957, with the rise of the low- and more recently, the very low-tar sectors, and the abolition of the high tar sector, although the analyses of advertising for lower-tar cigarettes suggested that they may be perceived as lacking 'flavour' (see section 6.6).

Martineau noted that the branding of many cigarettes included gender appeals. Cigarette manufacturers are no longer allowed to make such appeals, and gender-related analyses of the cigarette advertisements proved difficult as models virtually disappeared from advertisements. However, recollection of certain campaigns, such as the Marlboro Man are still prevalent. In addition, the analyses of cigarette advertisements for lower tar

brands found a number of advertisements specifically addressed to males and stressing 'full-flavour', which suggests that lower-tar cigarettes may be perceived as 'feminine'.

Martineau noted the following in relation to the dimension economical-expensive: "A cheap cigarette may actually cost less, or it may be rated as cheap because it is considered inferior ... Cost doesn't stop the average smoker. People can think of more reasons why they shouldn't smoke than why they should. So there is no point in making matters worse by smoking a cheap cigarette. But, of course, a cigarette may be economical without being cheap, as are long cigarettes." (Martineau, 1957 p.60) It was noted in the previous chapter that increasing the price of cigarettes has become a key government anti-smoking strategy, and so it would be expected that packaging would seek to convey 'value'. Martineau is somewhat vague about his final dimension, ordinary-classy, but, intuitively, this dimension would be expected to correlate, to some degree, with economic-expensive.

An additional dimension, menthol / non-menthol, was included, as the analyses of the whole population showed a clear association between menthol and the colour green, and it was considered interesting to see whether this dimension was related to the first two of Martineau's dimensions.

7.6 The Chosen 40

It was judged that 40 would be an appropriate number of packets. On the one hand it would allow a fair coverage of cigarette brands and types (tar levels, price, menthol/non-menthol). On the other hand, it was anticipated that the task for raters, especially non-smokers, would not be too arduous (repetitive, time-consuming). The collection of qualitative data was also an integral part of the design, and this limited the number of packets which could be shown. The sample chosen is listed in Appendix 7.6, together with information on tar level, price, menthol/non-menthol, store's own brand/general availability and size. While the purpose of the study was to gather participants' ratings of packets, rather than to judge the accuracy of such ratings, it was important that the sample afforded adequate coverage of a range of key categories. For these reasons, a random sample of packets was considered unsuitable.

Small patches were used to cover any information on the packets which would have helped participants rate packets as low tar or menthol. The patches were matched in colour as closely as possible to their background. This was important as some of the

judgments were essentially aesthetic and might be compromised by an incongruent block of colour. In addition, patches of similar size and appropriate colour were also placed in the same position on all packs of the same brand to ensure that the patches themselves did not become 'clues'. This was necessary as middle tar packets rarely say so, whilst low and ultra low tar packets usually do.

The 40 packet fronts were mounted on black card and presented in A5-size plastic sleeves numbered from 1 to 40, in an A5 binder. Packet order was randomised for each participant to control for order effects (tiring, practise and juxtapositions).

7.7 Questionnaire Design and Administration

An abridged copy of the questionnaire may be found in Appendix 7.7. The instructions on the front cover assured participants of anonymity and explained that the rating task was about their own impressions. The rating task was presented first. The questions were simple and few in number, with clearly set-out five point scales for each of Martineau's dimensions, a yes/no format for 'menthol', and a three-point familiarity rating. They were presented in the same order and format for each packet, to encourage participants to become familiar with the task and settle into a 'working rhythm'. Each packet was represented on the questionnaire by a separate page and participants were asked not to refer back to previous packets and ratings. This would make the task harder, as some of the contrasts within brands (between tar levels and menthol/non-menthol) become especially apparent when the packets are viewed side by side. The qualitative section came next. The instructions, here, provided a range of examples of the kinds of cues to help participants understand what was meant by the question. After administering a few questionnaires, it became apparent that the question was ambiguous and for subsequent participants, an extra verbal request was made that they should try to be specific.

The final page of the questionnaire requested some biographical details to ensure that participants were at least 16 years old (the minimum legal age for buying cigarettes in the UK), that they were not employed in tobacco marketing or retailing etc; that they had been resident in the UK for a sufficient period of time to be familiar with UK-available cigarette brands, and to ensure that there was a reasonable balance of males to females (on account of any possible relationship between sex and the 'masculine'-'feminine' dimension). Smoking status was assessed through self-report, with a follow-up question for ex-smokers asking how long ago they gave up.

Each participant was asked to read the instructions before beginning, and any questions were answered by the researcher. The rationale for the patches was explained. Participants were left to complete the questionnaire by themselves. This took between 15-40 minutes; depending, in part, on the amount of qualitative data they chose to provide. Participants were thanked for their time and, if they were interested, the purpose of the study was discussed more fully.

7.8 The Participants

60 questionnaires were administered using the 'snowballing' technique for contacting participants. Information on sex, age, number of years in the UK, smoking status and occupation are listed for each participant in Appendix 7.8. For the few analyses relating to 'accuracy', participants were divided into two equal-size groups of 'smokers' and 'non-smokers'. All regular and social or occasional smokers were grouped as 'smokers' and all non-smokers were grouped as 'non-smokers'. As the criterion of interest was whether the person had bought packets of cigarettes recently, ex-smokers were grouped as 'smokers' if they had given up within the previous five years, and as 'non-smokers' if they had given up longer ago than five years. Three participants who noted that they were ex-social smokers were included as 'non-smokers', although one of their number had given up only three years previously.

7.9 FIVE DIMENSIONS OF QUALITATIVE DATA

The analyses are presented under headings relating to the five main 'dimensions' used in the questionnaire. Most of the comments provided by respondents were in the form of lists of attributes, many of which were unspecific (e.g. 'colour'), and repetitive. The first stage of analysis was to produce a comprehensive list of all the different comments. Similar comments were then amalgamated (e.g. 'pale colours' and 'light colours'). Comments were then grouped by the types of signifiers mentioned: colour, other aspects of pack livery, and the shape and size of packs. Other comments were placed in a fourth category. These relate to a variety of other associations, including brand names, advertising, personal experience of brands and other people's brand choices and associations with other dimensions. Tables of frequencies (each 'count' representing a single participant) for each comment are presented in Appendix 7.9.

The analyses presented below summarise the data in the form of structural oppositions of the most frequently mentioned signifiers, and, where participants provided more detailed accounts, these are quoted, together with an identification code⁶. Specific packets mentioned as examples of each dimension are discussed in relation to participants' comments. The section concludes with a comparison of the frequencies of signifier types across the five dimensions.

'STRONG' - 'MILD'

Three non-smokers did not comment on 'strong', with a further two non-smokers commenting that the question was difficult, or that they had been guessing. One smoker and four non-smokers did not comment on the 'mild' question, with a further one non-smoker 'unsure'. The qualitative data provided by participants may be abstracted into the following pairs of oppositions (figures in parentheses are frequencies):

	'Strong'	'Mild'
<i>Colour:</i>	Strong (16), Dark (21) Black (11) Reds (14)	Pale, Light (36) White (19) Blues (14), green (7) (pink:1, purple:1, cream:1)
<i>Other aspects of pack livery:</i>	Bold design (6) Wording stands out (1) Bold lettering (6) Angular design (1)	Gentle / soft design (4) nothing stands out etc (7) Delicate lettering (2) Not angular (2), swirling (1)
<i>Pack shape/size:</i>	Smaller (3)	Long, thin (2)

Colour was the most frequently mentioned type of signifier for both 'strong' and 'mild' questions, accounting for 55% and 62% of comments respectively⁷. Darker colours were associated with 'strong': "The darker the packet, the stronger the tobacco, and conversely. Strong colour = strong flavour" (45.4S); and lighter, cooler colours with 'mild': "Green and blue and white makes one think of coolness" (15.2N). One smoker spelled out the

⁶ This code comprises participant number, self-rated smoking status (1=non-smoker, 2=ex-smoker, 3=occasional/social smoker, 4=regular smoker), and 'S' or 'N' to indicate the binary division smoker/non-smoker.

⁷see Table 7.12 below for raw frequencies for all types of signifier in all dimensions. Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number, with .5 rounded up.

following contrast rule: "All packs which had two shades ie dark blue / light blue - lighter colour = mild" (26.3S). The second most common association, besides colour, was with 'masculine'-'feminine', with 'strong' associated with 'masculine': "Black, adventurous and masculine invariably meant strong for me" (6.3S). One smoker commented, "Difficult to decide - can only resort to experience. Perhaps manufacturers (other than those with a long history) do not want to advertise their 'strength' and therefore 'masculinity' to a market where more women are smokers" (50.4S). Finally, one non-smoker observed that, "To a non-smoker they all have prominent health warnings" (3.1N). Table 7.7 shows the specific brands associated with 'mild' and 'strong' by the participants.

Marlboro was associated with the branding of the 'Marlboro Man' and bold lettering. The Players sailor was mentioned and one participant commented: "I know that 'Capstan' and 'Players' are untipped therefore they must be stronger" (50.4S). The simplicity of the Benson and Hedges (B&H) pack was noted; Raffles was considered 'masculine' "through literary associations" (10.2N) and, "The name "Death" suggests strong tobacco, but then again it might just be a gimmick to appeal to youthful smokers who would choose them as an act of bravado" (3.1N). The only pack associated with 'mild' was Silk Cut, which was the participant's own choice of brand.

Table 7.7 Specific Packs Associated with 'Mild' - 'Strong'

'STRONG'	'MILD'
Marlboro 3	Silk Cut 1
Players 3	
Capstan 1	
B&H 1	
Death 1	
Raffles (literary association) 1	

'MASCULINE' - 'FEMININE'

One smoker and four non-smokers failed to comment on 'masculine' and one smoker and five non-smokers did not comment on 'feminine'. One smoker mentioned that the 'feminine' question was difficult to answer. The qualitative data provided by participants may be abstracted into the following pairs of oppositions (figures in parentheses are frequencies):

	'Masculine'	'Feminine'
<i>Colour:</i>	Dark (16), strong, bold (16)	Pale, pastel, soft (31)
	Red (17)	Blue/light blue (9) Green (9)
	Black (14)	White (12)
<i>Other aspects of pack livery:</i>	Plain, not complex (9)	Delicate, less bold (7)
	Bold/geometrical shapes (7)	Rounded, swirling patterns (3)
	Bold/rectangular lettering (6)	Ornate(5), curvy(3), delicate(1) lettering
<i>Pack shape/size:</i>	Short, squat, wide (9)	Long / slim (15)
	Not thin / long (3)	

As for 'strong'-'mild', colour-related comments were the most common association for both 'masculine' and 'feminine', accounting for 45% of all comments, in both cases, with similar colour contrasts to those mentioned in relation to 'strong'-'mild'. Comments relating to pack shape were also common, with participants making the following associations: Short, squat or wide packets (9 references) were associated with 'masculine': "...as if a little slim box would slip out of a man's rugged hands" (6.3S), and "White, long, slim packets I definitely associate with femininity - probably because it describes the stereotype of the ideal Western woman - long, white and slim. A man smoking 100s cigarettes would almost seem camp" (6.3S). In addition, there were two comments for both 'masculine' and 'feminine' in which the participant 'tried to imagine' how a brand would look with either a man or a woman, e.g., "My test for a masculine packet was literally if I could picture a man taking out the packet" (9.3S); "A woman buying and smoking a packet of these [Capstan] would have to be bold indeed" (3.1N). 'Masculine' was also associated with traditionally male occupations (especially naval imagery) and connotations (12 references), and one participant noted that cigarettes are "inherently masculine" (39.1N). Table 7.8 shows the specific brands associated with 'masculine' and 'feminine' by the participants.

Specific packets were often justified as 'masculine' or 'feminine' simply by reference to the "name" or, "it just looks masculine / feminine". More specific accounts given for packets identified as 'masculine' were: the black colour of John Player Special, the shorter packs and geometrical design or motifs on Capstan and Players, the Players' sailor and the larger print on the Capstan packet. The 'cowboy' image of Marlboro was also mentioned, together with the packet's strong lines and shapes: "Oddly enough, the red of the traditional Marlboro packet I seem to have associated with "male" as a consequence of the Marlboro man ads" (6.3S); The 'no-nonsense' name 'Death' was also considered

'masculine'. Sobranie was identified as 'feminine' by its 'pretty box' and More by its long, slim box. Silk Cut was described as 'familiar' and the names 'Raffles' and 'Sobranie' were considered neutral, and 'Sky' feminine.

Table 7.8 Specific Packs Associated with 'Masculine' - 'Feminine'

'MASCULINE'		'FEMININE'	
Marlboro	6	More	6
Players	6	Sobranie 'cocktail'	6
Capstan	5	Raffles	3
King George	3	St Moritz	1
Death	2	Sky	1
JPS	1	Dorchester	1
Raffles	1	Berkeley	1
Oscar	1	Silk Cut.	1
Dunhill	1	NOT Capstan	2
Superkings	1	NOT Players	1

'MENTHOL' - 'NON-MENTHOL'

One smoker and five non-smokers did not comment on 'menthol', with a further four non-smokers commenting that the question was difficult, or that they had been guessing. Two smokers and seven non-smokers did not comment on the 'non-menthol' question, with a further three non-smokers 'unsure'. The qualitative data provided by participants may be abstracted into the following pairs of oppositions (figures in parentheses are frequencies):

	'Menthol'	'Non-Menthol'
<i>Colour:</i>	Green and light green (43)	Not green (26)
	Blue (8) pale/ice blue (5)	
	White (7)	Black (1)
	Cool colours (3)	Dark (3) Strong (2) colours
<i>Other aspects of pack livery:</i>		
	Plain (1)	Strong (1), good (1) design
<i>Pack shape and size:</i>	(no specified references)	

The primary criterion used in identifying a pack as menthol or non-menthol was colour, with 83% of references for menthol, and 76% for non-menthol. Interestingly, absence of

specific colours (for example, 'no red'), was not mentioned at all. Green was associated with menthol or mint by five participants: "Green is for minty" (6.3S), and three participants associated pale colours or blue with mildness or low tar. By contrast, non-menthol was primarily identified by absences of colours, with references to 'not green' (26), 'not green or blue' (8), 'not green, blue or white' (2), 'not green and white' (1) and 'not (much) white' (2). The emphasis on green as signifying menthol is in line with the findings reported in the first part of this chapter. References to blue are more puzzling. The only menthol packet in the population study to include the colour blue in its livery was an overseas 'addition', which was not included in the questionnaire sample. There were 15 references by participants to blue in relation to menthol and two in relation to non-menthol, together with a further 10 references to 'not blue' (and other colours) for non-menthol. One possible explanation is the similarity between green and blue, especially as five of the references qualified 'blue' with adjectives like 'cool' and 'ice'. This relates to a perception of menthol as a 'cool' flavour - a recurring theme in advertisements for menthol cigarettes. Blue was related to milder cigarettes in the previous analyses. Another possible explanation is that participants are generalising from other familiar sign-systems, such as that for mint and menthol confectionary, where the signifying colours include blue. It can be noted that three participants expressed doubt about blue signifying menthol, for example: "green I associate with menthol and to a lesser extent blue (both cool colours)" (4.3S).

Menthol was also associated with mildness by two respondents, with one noting the following: "Tend to be more feminine - perhaps? I remember my female friends smoking them. Plus, some guys seemed to regard them as "weaker" cigs. Not nec. the case any longer" (45.4S). Masculinity and femininity were mentioned five times, with menthol being associated with femininity twice and masculinity once, and non-menthol with both masculinity and femininity once. This relatively low, and contradictory, association with masculinity or femininity is surprising in the context of the previous analyses. Several explanations are possible. The association may not have been salient to most respondents, or, the overwhelming use of colour-cues may have eclipsed any other types of association. Finally, participants may simply have been tired: this was the last question and received fewer comments in comparison to the other questions. Table 7.9 shows the specific brands associated with 'menthol' and 'non-menthol' by the participants.

Personal knowledge was cited with reference to More and Consulate. Participants also commented: "Because 1st menthol cigs were (I think) - 'more'" (45.4S), and, "...Consulate

which are described as pure white filter tipped or even St. Moritz the name being associated with cold, clean air" (3.1N). Players, Capstan and Death were identified as non-menthol by one participant, as their packets, "unashamedly proclaim strong maleness or fearlessness" (3.1N). Another participant noted that the blue type on one B&H packet was an exception to the 'menthol=predominantly green or blue' rule (4.3S).

Table 7.9 Specific Packs Associated with 'Menthol' - 'Non-Menthol'

'MENTHOL'		'NON-MENTHOL'	
More	3	Death	2
Consulate	2	Capstan	2
Berkeley	1	Players	1
St Moritz	1	B&H	1

'ECONOMICAL' - 'EXPENSIVE'

One smoker and five non-smokers failed to comment on 'economical' and one smoker and four non-smokers did not comment on 'expensive'. The qualitative data provided by participants may be abstracted into the following pairs of oppositions:

	'Economical'	'Expensive'
<i>Colour:</i>	Fewer colours (7) no gold/gilding (2)	Lots of colours (7) (lots of) gold (15) gold/silver trim (8)
	Bold, indelicate colours (2) Awful (1), ordinary (1)	Luxurious, rich, muted (5) Unusual, complicated (3)
<i>Other aspects of pack livery:</i>	tacky, poor quality (13)	aesthetically good/smart (5) Upmarket/sophisticated (6)
	unimpressive/boring (7) bold, simple lettering (2)	unusual, striking (5) Elaborate, swirly script (3)
	No 'by appt./gold crest (2) No embossed letters (1)	'by appt' crest (7) Embossing (1)
<i>Pack shape/size:</i>	Smaller (7) Boring (1) standard/KS (2) 100s / superkings (4)	Large / square (9) Unusual size (7)

Colour and other aspects of livery were the most frequently mentioned 'cues' to 'economical' and 'expensive', with colour accounting for 17% of 'economical' and 33% of 'expensive', and other aspects of livery accounting for 48% of 'economical' and 31% of 'expensive'. Colour references tended to be less specific than for the previous dimensions. Participants appeared to have difficulty identifying precise attributes of livery and resorted to vague expressions like "cheap-looking". The same feature also had different connotations for different participants, for example, one non-smoker commented, "the packs that seemed to be plain and simple seemed to suggest they were mass-produced and relatively inexpensive" (57.2N), whereas, one smoker commented that "busy, cluttered design denotes cheapness ... paradoxically, the more 'work' that goes into design, the cheaper it looks" (45.4S). Pack and cigarette type accounted for 14% of comments in relation to 'economical' and 15% for 'expensive'. 'Economical' was usually associated with smaller packs, although four participants mentioned '100s' or 'superkings': "... (sounds like good value) extra long length" (48.4S). 'Expensive' was associated with large, square packs (9): "Square as opposed to rectangle. The ones that look as though they could contain cigars" (51.1N).

Finally, in relation to 'economical', three participants commented, reflexively, on deceptive appearances: "failed attempt to look sophisticated" (39.1N), "a pack can look very smart but is clearly out to deceive" (29.1), and on the concepts 'economical' and 'cheap': "I think the manufacturers would be horrified if 'cheap' were incorporated anywhere into the design. Perhaps branded or supermarket cigarettes have 'less' of a design quality and can be then thought of as cheap, in respect, or in competition with others. (Maybe cheap is not the same as economical)" (50.4S). Table 7.10 below shows the specific brands associated with 'economical' and 'expensive' by the participants.

The names Raffles and Sky were considered 'naïf', More too simplistic and Oscar downmarket. Dorchester was 'scummy looking' and the King George livery was criticised as '70s-style' with wide stripes in primary colours. One participant recalled that Craven A were usually cheaper, and Superkings suggested good value to another participant. Brands identified as 'expensive' were justified in several ways. The B&H gold pack was mentioned and the name was described as prestigious, as was 'Dunhill'. 'St Moritz' was described as impressive and 'Dorchester', 'Consulate' and 'Dunhill' as expensive. 'Dunhill' was described as a 'designer name'. Word associations with the names Berkeley, King George, Raffles, Consulate, Dunhill and Dorchester were mentioned but not specified. The

advertising for Silk Cut was mentioned twice: "Silk Cut is a heavily advertised brand in glossy magazines which even a non-smoker would recognise as being presented as something which costs a great deal and is luxurious (like silk)" (3.1N). Quality of product was mentioned in relation to Dunhill and St Moritz, and large or odd-sized packets in relation to Capstan, Sobranie and Dunhill International. The colourful and 'impressive' Sobranie livery was mentioned, and the association with 'cocktails'. 'Classy' design, rich colours and gold trim were mentioned in relation to the most frequently cited brand.

Table 7.10 Specific Packs Associated with 'Economical'-'Expensive'

'ECONOMICAL'	'EXPENSIVE'
Craven A 1	Dunhill 10
Raffles 1	Sobranie 5
Sky (Clouds) 1	Dorchester 3
Dorchester 1	Silk Cut 2
King George 1	Consulate 2
More 1	B&H 2
Oscar 1	St Moritz 2
Superkings 1	Berkeley 1
	King George 1
	Capstan 1
	Raffles 1

'ORDINARY' - 'CLASSY'

Four smokers and five non-smokers did not comment on 'ordinary' and three smoker and four non-smokers failed to comment on 'classy'. The qualitative data may be abstracted into the following pairs of oppositions (figures in parentheses are frequencies):

	'Ordinary'	'Classy'
<i>Colour:</i>	White/lack of colour (5)	Bright / rich colours (5)
	Poor (1)	Good (4)
	Standard (1)	Unusual (5)
		Gold (+edging etc) (9)
	Brash(1),contrasting(2)	Subtle, delicate (3)
<i>Other aspects of</i>	Boring, standard (11)	Distinctive, different (4)
<i>pack livery:</i>	Crude, tacky, poor etc (9)	Elegant, good etc (9), not tacky (2)

	Plain, less detail (7)	Intricate, decorative (6)
	Gimmick, fuss (5)	Simple (6)
	Ordinary symbols (1)	Crests, royal warrants (7)
	Bold (1) standard (1) type	good (3) unusual, fancy lettering (4)
<i>Pack shape/size:</i>	Usual, boring (1)	Distinctive, unusual (7)
	Small (1)	Long (3), square (4)

References to other aspects of livery accounted for the largest percentage of comments for both 'ordinary' and 'classy' (47% and 37% respectively). The comments here, and in relation to colour, tended to be simply lists of attributes, many of which were poorly specified. In addition, 'ordinary' was associated with 'cheap' by 10 participants, for example: "Economical tends to mean "for the masses" which tends to mean ordinary" (6.3S). Two participants noted that few packets were 'classy' and one participant commented that smoking was not sociable. Table 7.11 shows the specific brands associated with 'ordinary' and 'classy' by the participants.

The following 'justifications' for packets identified as 'ordinary' were made by participants: The names More, Sky and Oscar were considered 'ordinary'. Advertising was mentioned, but unspecified, in relation to Silk Cut, B&H and Marlboro. The small amount of silver (not gold) lettering on one More packet was noted, as was the bold lettering for Marlboro and the simple design of Silk Cut, and one participant commented on the combination of curly and symmetrical design for Beaumont. The most usual justification, however, was simply that the brand was commonly seen (B&H, Silk Cut, Marlboro and Dunhill). Raffles was not considered ordinary as the name was associated with the grand hotel.

Packets were identified as 'classy' for several reasons. 'Dorchester' and 'Berkeley' were associated with 'classy places', and the wording "London, Paris, New York" on the Dunhill International packets was associated with 'jet-setting'. 'Dunhill' was mentioned as a designer name. 'Sobranie' was associated with Russian Imperialism, and the wording 'cocktail' was mentioned: "intended to be associated with an upper class type of drinks party" (3.1N). References to (presumably, good) design and colour were made in relation to Dunhill and St Moritz. More specifically, the rich colour and simple pattern of Dunhill, the 'restrained elegance' of Dunhill Ultra, the diagonal stripes of Dorchester and the all-gold B&H pack ("looks very expensive but discreet" (3.1N)) were all mentioned. The elaborate gold crest on the Sobranie packet was noted and the packet was described as "classy in a tacky way" (24.1N) and one participant commented, "Kitsch is art (ie

Sobranie)" (45.4S). Raffles was "associated with 'gentleman' detective (fictional)" for one participant (24.1N). Marketing and advertising were mentioned in relation to B&H and Silk Cut. Finally, Death was not considered classy as the packet livery was 'boring'.

Table 7.11 Specific Packs Associated with 'Ordinary'-'Classy'

'ORDINARY'		'CLASSY'	
Silk Cut	5	Dunhill	6
Marlboro	4	Sobranie	4
B&H	3	St Moritz	2
More	2	Dorchester	2
Sky	1	Raffles	2
Oscar	1	Silk Cut	2
Dunhill	1	B&H	2
Craven 'A'	1	Berkeley	1
Beaumont	1		
Not Raffles	1	Not Death	1

7.10 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN DIMENSIONS AND TYPES OF SIGNIFIER

Table 7.12 shows frequencies and percentages of types of signifier for each dimension. For the first three dimensions, and especially for 'menthol'-'non-menthol', colour is the most important type of signifier. For the remaining two dimensions, with the exception of 'expensive', other aspects of pack livery are more important. In addition, the type of colour references are different, with specific colours, together with 'dark' or 'light' emphasised in the first three dimensions and other colour-related comments (e.g. 'cheap-looking', 'unusual', 'elegant') mentioned in relation to the final two dimensions. This difference between the two sets of dimensions is also evident in relation to other aspects of pack livery, with a wider range of less precise signifiers being noted more frequently (e.g. 'tacky', 'boring', 'sophisticated'). The distribution of comments relating to packet shape or size, however, does not conform to this pattern. This type of signifier was mentioned more frequently in relation to the 'masculine'-'feminine' and 'economical'-'expensive' dimensions, and 'classy', although the final two dimensions again included less precise signifiers (e.g. 'unusual', 'distinctive'). The relative emphasis on packet shape and size for 'masculine'-'feminine' compared with 'strong'-'mild' and 'menthol'-'non-menthol', may contribute to the

anomalous correlation between 'masculine'-'feminine' and 'classy'-'ordinary' noted below.

Table 7.12 Percentages (and Frequencies) of Comment Types

	Colour		Other aspects of Livery		Shape of Packet / Cigarette		Other Comments / Associations		Total
Strong	57.4	(81)	16.9	(25)	4.7	(7)	23.6	(35)	148
Mild	61.8	(89)	16.0	(23)	3.5	(5)	18.8	(27)	144
Total	58.2	(170)	16.4	(48)	4.1	(11)	21.2	(62)	292
Masculine	44.6	(86)	18.7	(36)	10.4	(20)	26.4	(51)	193
Feminine	44.8	(81)	16.0	(29)	14.4	(26)	24.9	(45)	181
Total	44.7	(167)	17.4	(65)	12.3	(46)	25.7	(96)	374
Menthol	83	(83)	1	(1)	1	(1)	15	(15)	100
Non-Menthol	76.4	(55)	4.2	(3)	1.4	(1)	18.1	(13)	72
Total	80.2	(138)	2.2	(4)	1.2	(2)	16.3	(28)	172
Economic	17.1	(20)	47.9	(56)	13.7	(16)	21.4	(25)	117
Expensive	33.1	(52)	30.6	(48)	15.3	(24)	21.0	(33)	157
Total	26.3	(72)	38.0	(104)	14.6	(40)	21.2	(58)	274
Ordinary	28.7	(31)	47.2	(51)	4.6	(5)	19.4	(21)	108
Classy	31.5	(45)	36.4	(52)	14.7	(21)	17.5	(25)	143
Total	30.3	(76)	41.0	(103)	10.4	(26)	18.3	(46)	251

7.11 '40 PACKETS': THE QUALITATIVE MEETS THE QUANTITATIVE

This section discusses a series of analyses of the quantitative questionnaire data, in relation to the qualitative analyses of the type of signifiers associated with each dimension. The pack rankings for each of the five dimensions, and 'familiarity' were based on averages of all participants' ratings. This controlled for biases due to missing values. For ease of reference, the coding used for each dimension, together with the abbreviations used in the tables are listed below:

- 'Strong' (STR; 1) - 'Mild' (MILD; 5)
i.e. higher values indicate 'less strong' and 'more mild'.
- 'Masculine' (MASC; 1) - 'Feminine' (FEM; 5)
i.e. higher values indicate 'less masculine' / 'more feminine'.
- 'Menthol' (MEN; 1) - 'Non-Menthol' (NON; 2)
i.e. higher values indicate 'more non-menthol'.
- 'Economical' (ECON; 1) - 'Expensive' (EXP; 5)

- i.e. higher values indicate 'more expensive' / 'less economical'.
 'Classy' (CLAS; 1) - 'Ordinary' (ORD; 5)
 i.e. higher values indicate 'more ordinary' / 'less classy'.
 'Familiarity' (1 = 'Yes', 2 = 'Maybe', 3 = 'No')
 i.e. higher values indicate 'less familiarity'.

The raw data for the analyses presented in this section are in Appendix 7.10. The quantitative data are analysed non-parametrically (Spearman's Rho and Wilcoxon Rank Sum), as many of the variables do not meet all the requirements for parametric analysis. This is especially true of some of the colour percentages. However, in order to produce a single score for each packet on each dimension, the rankings supplied by participants were averaged. This was considered the most appropriate means of aggregation, as a total score would have been biased by missing values. All analyses are two-tailed and evaluated at the conventional 5% level of significance. Whilst the qualitative data furnish a number of directional hypotheses, any statistically significant findings in the opposite direction would be of interest, and a one-tailed analysis would have ruled these out *a priori*. The first analysis compares the frequencies of cross-references in the qualitative data with the correlations between the dimensions in the quantitative data. The remaining analyses presented in three parts, relate to the three different types of signifier (colour, other aspects of packet livery and pack size and shape) and compare or correlate specific instances of these signifiers with the average ranks for each packet on each dimension.

7.12 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN DIMENSIONS

Table 7.13 Frequencies of Cross-References in Qualitative Data

SOURCE ↓	STR MILD	MASC FEM	MEN NON	ECON EXP	ORD CLAS
STR MILD	*	16 7	5	2 4	1 1
MASC FEM	5 9	*	7	3	1 3
MEN NON	3 1	1 1	*		
ECON EXP				*	1 1
ORD CLAS				10 7	*

Table 7.13 shows the frequencies of cross-references in the qualitative data collected for

each dimension (e.g. there were 16 references under 'strong' to 'masculine', and none to 'feminine', and seven references under 'mild' to 'feminine' and none to 'masculine'). Table 7.14 shows these frequencies combined for each pair of dimensions and adjusted for the direction of association, so that references in one direction (e.g. 'mild' = 'masculine' and 'strong' = 'feminine') are subtracted from references in the opposite direction (e.g. 'strong' = 'masculine' and 'mild' = 'feminine').

Table 7.14 Adjusted Frequencies of Cross-References in Qualitative Data

	STR/MILD	MASC/FEM	MEN/NON	ECON/EXP	CLAS/ORD
Str/Mild	*	37	8	3	1
Mas/Fem		*	8	3	3
Men/Non			*	-	-
Econ/Exp				*	17
Clas/Ord					*

Table 7.14 shows that the most frequently cross-referenced dimensions were 'strong'-'mild' and 'masculine'-'feminine', with both of these dimensions also cross-referenced with 'menthol'-'non-menthol'. The other frequently cross-referenced pair of dimensions was 'economical'-'expensive' and 'ordinary'-'classy'. These qualitative references may be compared with the correlations between the average ranks for the packets in the quantitative data, shown in Table 7.15 (correlations with $p \leq 0.05$ are shown in bold).

Table 7.15 Correlations between Dimensions (Spearman's Rho)

	STR/MILD	MASC/FEM	MEN/NON	ECON/EXP	ORD/CLAS
STR/MILD	*	.8660 <i>p<.001</i>	-.7577 <i>p<.001</i>	.0260 <i>p=.873</i>	-.2500 <i>p=.120</i>
MASC/FEM		*	-.6314 <i>p<.001</i>	.1732 <i>p=.285</i>	-.3596 <i>p=.023</i>
MEN/NON			*	-.0091 <i>p=.956</i>	.1356 <i>p=.404</i>
ECON/EXP				*	-.9010 <i>p<.001</i>
ORD/CLAS					*

The quantitative data show a similar pattern of associations to the qualitative data, with the

dimensions 'strong'-'mild', 'masculine'-'feminine' and 'menthol'-'non-menthol' being highly correlated with each other, and with 'economical'-'expensive' and 'ordinary'-'classy' also being highly correlated with each other. The only anomaly is the significant correlation between 'masculine'-'feminine' and 'ordinary'-'classy'. One possible explanation for this was suggested in relation to the analysis of the distribution of signifier-types across the five dimensions presented above, which noted that 'masculine'-'feminine' and 'classy' were both associated with a relatively large number of comments relating to packet shape and size.

7.13 FOUR TYPES OF SIGNIFIER

PACKET COLOUR

Table 7.16 shows the correlations between the average packet ranks on each of the five dimensions and the percentage of each colour on the packet (see section 7.3 above for method of colour data collection). This method of colour analysis was preferred to the binary presence or absence of specific colours as the latter fails to capture the overall impression of packet colour, as many otherwise pale packets, for example, will have red, gold or black lettering or logos. However, the colour analyses are problematical on account of the distribution of the raw data as many of the colours are present only on a few packets. This was compounded by the method of packet selection for the questionnaire study, which did not focus primarily on packet colour, although it should be noted that many of the colours were present in the population as a whole in low frequencies.

Bearing in mind these caveats, the table shows that neither gold nor silver are correlated with any dimension. This may be because most packets included one or other colour as an 'embellishment'. Black is correlated with 'strong', 'masculine' and 'non-menthol', but white is only slightly associated with 'mild'. This is probably because many brands have white backgrounds which remain constant across different varieties, which are distinguished by a second, less prominent, colour. Dark red was correlated with 'masculine' and 'non-menthol', and red with 'strong' and 'non-menthol'. These findings are in line with the qualitative data. However, neither blue nor dark blue are correlated with any dimension, which is in contrast to the qualitative data, which showed an association of blue with 'mild', 'feminine' and, to a lesser extent, with 'menthol'. However, many of these qualitative comments made specific reference to pale blue, which was not categorised separately. Green was significantly correlated with 'mild', 'feminine' and

especially 'menthol', which, again, is in agreement with the qualitative data collected for these three dimensions.

Table 7.16 Correlations between Dimensions and Colours (Spearman's Rho)

	STR/MILD	MASC/FEM	MEN/NON	ECON/EXP	CLAS/ORD
%GOLD	-.2856 <i>P</i> =.074	-.2431 <i>P</i> =.131	.2265 <i>P</i> =.160	.2544 <i>P</i> =.113	-.2196 <i>P</i> =.173
%SILVER	.2013 <i>P</i> =.213	.2752 <i>P</i> =.086	-.2199 <i>P</i> =.173	.2783 <i>P</i> =.082	-.2413 <i>P</i> =.134
%BLACK	-.4372 <i>P</i>=.005	-.5015 <i>P</i>=.001*	.3460 <i>P</i>=.029	.0746 <i>P</i> =.648	.0096 <i>P</i> =.953
%WHITE	.2827 <i>P</i> =.077	.1153 <i>P</i> =.479	-.0304 <i>P</i> =.853	-.2500 <i>P</i> =.120	.1687 <i>P</i> =.298
%DARK RED	-.3061 <i>P</i> =.055	-.3147 <i>P</i>=.048	.3250 <i>P</i>=.041	-.2507 <i>P</i> =.119	.2940 <i>P</i> =.066
%RED	-.3991 <i>P</i>=.011	-.2969 <i>P</i> =.063	.3753 <i>P</i>=.017	.0163 <i>P</i> =.920	.0906 <i>P</i> =.578
%DARK BLUE	-.0707 <i>P</i> =.665	-.0842 <i>P</i> =.605	.0269 <i>P</i> =.869	-.2758 <i>P</i> =.085	.3067 <i>P</i> =.054
%BLUE	.1034 <i>P</i> =.525	-.0285 <i>P</i> =.862	-.1606 <i>P</i> =.322	-.3076 <i>P</i> =.054	.2604 <i>P</i> =.105
%GREEN	.3537 <i>P</i>=.025	.3409 <i>P</i>=.031	-.7116 <i>P</i><.001*	.1288 <i>P</i> =.428	-.1287 <i>P</i> =.429
%CREAM	.3335 <i>P</i>=.035	.3472 <i>P</i>=.028	-.1828 <i>P</i> =.259	.2475 <i>P</i> =.124	-.1605 <i>P</i> =.323
%ORANGE	-.3681 <i>P</i>=.019	-.3778 <i>P</i>=.016	.3018 <i>P</i> =.058	.0089 <i>P</i> =.956	.2210 <i>P</i> =.171
Number of COLOURS	.0410 <i>P</i> =.802	-.0253 <i>P</i> =.877	.0938 <i>P</i> =.565	.1515 <i>P</i> =.351	-.0470 <i>P</i> =.773

Bold = $P \leq 0.05$; * = $P \leq 0.001$ (2-tailed)

The final two colours, cream and orange, were both associated with the first two dimensions, with cream being correlated with 'mild' and 'feminine', and orange with 'strong' and 'masculine'. Although these two colours were not mentioned very much in the qualitative data, it can be suggested that orange is a 'bright', 'bold' colour and cream a

'pale' colour and that this accounts for the significant findings. However, these two colours were especially sparsely represented in the sample of packets, and it is possible that other aspects of the packets they relate to were responsible for the significant correlations. Four further colours (pink, purple, grey and yellow) were analysed using the same technique and were not significantly correlated with any of the dimensions (the statistics are presented in appendix 7.11, although, again, these colours were only present on a few of the packets). The final colour-related signifier to be investigated was the number of colours on the packet. This was mentioned in the qualitative study, in relation to 'masculine', 'economical'-'expensive' and 'ordinary'-'classy', but none of the correlations were statistically significant.

The final noticeable thing about this table is that all the statistically significant correlations (shown in bold) relate to the first three dimensions listed: 'strong'-'mild', 'masculine'-'feminine' and 'menthol'-'non-menthol'. This parallels the findings of the qualitative analyses, where these dimensions were associated primarily with (specific) colours and the remaining two dimensions were also associated with less precise colour-related signifiers. It is therefore inappropriate to conclude that colour-related signifiers in general are unrelated to the remaining dimensions. Unfortunately, these other types of colour-related signifiers were difficult to quantify: some were essentially aesthetic judgments of colour combinations or print quality, and others, quite simply, were too vague to operationalise. One commonly mentioned opposition deserves more discussion here: 'dark' - 'light'. Initially, I had hoped to measure this with the aid of computerised scanning. However, it became apparent that this technique was unsuitable for two reasons. First, highly-reflective metallic colours are difficult to scan and result in a variety of dark shades (a mirror, for example, scans as black), and, second, computerised brightness assessments do not correlate well with subjective judgments because of the differences between the human perceptual system and mechanical measurements (e.g. green is perceived as relatively bright by the human eye). In addition, the 'finish' of packets varies from dull to shiny and, for the human observer, this interacts with the angle of pack presentation and lighting, making judgments of darkness or brightness more variable and, hence, difficult to measure.

One final colour-related analysis was carried out on pack ratings in relation to 'strong'-'mild'. Appendix 7.12 shows the differences between the average scores on this dimension for all within-brand tar level comparisons, together with the primary colour

contrasts. The largest differences are found for the two black-white contrasts included, and the Marlboro brand. There is only one negative difference: Beaumont. This brand was included in the sample because it inverts the red-blue contrast rule by using red for the lower tar packet. This single test case provides further evidence for the rule as part of a consensual sign-system.

OTHER ASPECTS OF PACK LIVERY

Table 7.18 shows the results of Wilcoxon Rank Sum analyses and associated z-conversions for differences in the average rankings of packets on the five dimensions for nine variables relating to other aspects of packet livery. In contrast to the colour-related analyses, the analyses relating to other aspects of packet livery were primarily associated with the final two variables ('economical'-'expensive' and 'classy'-'ordinary'). This is in line with the findings of the qualitative analyses above.

Table 7.18 Differences between Other Aspects of Livery on each Dimension. (Wilcoxon Rank Sum)

	STR/MILD	MASC/FEM	MEN/NON	ECON/EXP	CLAS/ORD
EMBOSSSED?					
YES (n:28)	20.52	20.75	21.27	20.55	19.89
NO (n:12)	20.46	19.92	18.71	20.38	21.92
W	245.5	239	224.5	244.5	263
z	-.0148	-.2066	-.6355	-.0443	-.5022
	<i>P</i> =.9882	<i>P</i> =.8363	<i>P</i> =.5251	<i>P</i> =.9647	<i>P</i> =.6155
GOLD FOIL?					
YES (n:7)	27.64	28.64	19.64	31.07	6.57
NO (n:33)	18.98	18.77	20.68	18.26	23.45
W	193.5	200.5	137.5	217.5	46
z	-1.7800	-2.0292	-.2139	-2.6358	-3.4738
	<i>P</i> =.0751	<i>P</i> =.0424	<i>P</i> =.8306	<i>P</i> =.0084	<i>P</i> =.0005*
'BY APPOINTMENT' CREST?					
YES (n:6)	24.83	27.17	19.33	28.42	8.67
NO (n:34)	19.74	19.32	20.71	19.10	22.59
W	149	163	116	170.5	52
z	-.9850	-1.5153	-.2655	-1.8004	-2.6918
	<i>P</i> =.3246	<i>P</i> =.1297	<i>P</i> =.7906	<i>P</i> =.0718	<i>P</i> =.0071

Table 7.** cont'd

	STR/MILD	MASC/FEM	MEN/NON	ECON/EXP	CLAS/ORD
ANY CREST?					
YES (n:29)	20.5	19.52	21.90	21.86	18.16
NO (n:11)	20.5	23.09	16.82	16.91	26.68
W	225.5	254	185	186	293.5
z	.0000	-.8634	-1.2285	-1.1973	-2.0617
	<i>P=1.000</i>	<i>P=.3879</i>	<i>P=.2192</i>	<i>P=.2312</i>	<i>P=.0392</i>
OTHER LOGO/DEVICE?					
YES (n:8)	17.63	18.25	20.06	15.75	30.13
NO (n:32)	21.22	21.06	20.61	21.69	18.09
W	141	146	160.5	126	241
z	-.7778	-.6087	-.1185	-1.2857	-2.6060
	<i>P=.4367</i>	<i>P=.5427</i>	<i>P=.9057</i>	<i>P=.1985</i>	<i>P=.0092</i>
ORNATE LETTERING?					
YES (n:11)	21.64	25.23	18.05	31.18	11.32
NO (n:29)	20.07	18.71	21.43	16.45	23.98
W	238	277.5	198.5	343	124.5
z	-.3787	-1.5753	-.8190	-3.5614	-3.0622
	<i>P=.7049</i>	<i>P=.1152</i>	<i>P=.4128</i>	<i>P=.0004</i>	<i>P=.0022</i>
STRIPES?					
YES (n:14)	18.79	19.21	19.64	17.14	25.21
NO (n:26)	21.42	21.19	20.96	22.31	17.96
W	263	269	275	240	353
z	-.6806	-.5105	-.3408	-1.3336	-1.8733
	<i>P=.4961</i>	<i>P=.6097</i>	<i>P=.7333</i>	<i>P=.1823</i>	<i>P=.0610</i>
ANGULAR LIVERY?					
YES (n:20)	19.55	17.45	20.92	15.23	26.55
NO (n:20)	21.45	23.55	20.08	25.77	14.45
W	391	349	418.5	304.5	531
z	-.5140	-1.6503	-.2303	-2.8557	-3.2761
	<i>P=.6072</i>	<i>P=.0989</i>	<i>P=.8179</i>	<i>P=.0043</i>	<i>P=.0011</i>
CURVES in DESIGN? (same as CURVES and ANGULAR Livery)					
YES (n:5)	23.00	22.80	17.50	6.20	34.00
NO (n:35)	20.14	20.17	20.93	22.54	18.57
W	115	114	87.5	31	170
z	-.5113	-.4704	-.6143	-2.9260	-2.7631
	<i>p=.6092</i>	<i>p=.6381</i>	<i>p=.5390</i>	<i>p=.0034</i>	<i>p=.0057</i>

Bold = $P \leq 0.05$; * = $P \leq 0.001$ (2-tailed)

Packs were 'embossed' if any part of the design was raised with respect to the rest of the

packet. Embossing usually 'enhanced' a crest or brand-name. Embossing was not associated with any difference in mean ranks on any dimension. Gold or silver foil (not ink) was associated with 'feminine', 'expensive' and 'classy'. 'By appointment' crests and 'any crests' were associated with 'classy'. The use of any other picture logo besides crests was associated with 'ordinary'. Ornate lettering (defined as italicised serif typefaces) was associated with 'expensive' and 'classy', but not with 'feminine'. Stripes (defined as at least four parallel lines of alternate colour) were not associated with any differences in mean ranks on any dimension. Angular livery (defined as contrasting colours in angular shapes: chevrons, squares, rectangles etc) was associated with 'economical' and 'ordinary', as was the use of 'curvy' designs (and 'curvy' and angular design features together).

PACK SIZE AND SHAPE

Table 7.19 shows the correlations between the average packet ranks on each of the five dimensions and five different measures of packet size and shape. Pack area was calculated by multiplying pack length and width. Length/width ratio was calculated by dividing pack length by packet width, with long, thin packets having higher length/width ratios than short, 'squat' packets. The adjusted length/width ratio, was a measure of deviation (in either direction) from the 'usual' length/width proportions and was calculated in the same way as for part one, above. This measure was suggested in the qualitative data for the 'economical'-'expensive' and 'classy'-'ordinary' dimensions.

Table 7.19 Correlations between Dimensions and Pack Size and Shape (Spearman's Rho)

	STR/MILD	MASC/FEM	MEN/NON	ECON/EXP	CLAS/ORD
LENGTH	.1101 <i>P</i> =.499	.2792 <i>P</i> =.081	-.1297 <i>P</i> =.425	.2641 <i>P</i> =.100	-.2405 <i>P</i> =.135
WIDTH	-.2717 <i>P</i> =.090	-.2122 <i>P</i> =.189	.2334 <i>P</i> =.147	.2836 <i>P</i> =.076	-.2376 <i>P</i> =.140
PACK AREA	-.1891 <i>P</i> =.242	.0364 <i>P</i> =.824	.0625 <i>P</i> =.702	.5098 <i>P</i>=.001*	-.3255 <i>P</i>=.040
L/W RATIO	.1732 <i>P</i> =.285	.1673 <i>P</i> =.302	-.1224 <i>P</i> =.452	-.1566 <i>P</i> =.334	.1458 <i>P</i> =.369
ADJUSTED L/W RATIO	-.1622 <i>P</i> =.317	.0402 <i>P</i> =.805	.0262 <i>P</i> =.873	.4683 <i>P</i>=.002	-.2584 <i>P</i> =.107

Bold = $P \leq 0.05$; * = $P \leq 0.001$ (2-tailed)

The only statistically significant correlations were for pack area and the adjusted length/width ratio with 'economical'-'expensive', and pack area with 'classy'-'ordinary', with large and unusually proportioned packets associated with 'expensive' and large packets being associated with 'classy'. These findings are generally in line with the qualitative data, although the clear association between pack shape and size and the dimension 'masculine'-'feminine' in the qualitative data, has not been duplicated in these quantitative analyses. This may reflect the relative unimportance of this type of signifier generally.

OTHER KNOWLEDGES

Besides the cross-references to other dimensions, there were only two other quantitatively testable associations mentioned. These were 'familiarity', which was mentioned in relation to 'masculine'-'feminine', 'economical'-'expensive' and 'classy'-'ordinary' (although the data were contradictory); and, whether the packet was a supermarket, or store's own brand, mentioned in relation to 'masculine' and 'ordinary'. Table 7.20 shows the correlation between 'familiarity' (ranks of average score for each packet, from quantitative section of questionnaire), and the average ranks for each packet on the five dimensions.

Table 7.20 Correlations between Dimensions and 'Familiarity' (Spearman's Rho)

	STR/MILD	MASC/FEM	MEN/NON	ECON/EXP	CLAS/ORD
FAMILIARITY	.1819	.1799	-.2136	-.5861	.5068
	<i>P</i> = .261	<i>P</i> = .267	<i>P</i> = .186	<i>P</i> < .001*	<i>P</i> < .001*

Bold = $P \leq 0.05$; * = $P \leq 0.001$ (2-tailed)

The table shows a statistically significant correlation between familiarity and both 'expensive' and 'classy'.

Table 7.21 shows the results of Wilcoxon Rank Sum analyses and associated z-conversions for differences in the average rankings of packets on the five dimensions between 'Store's own' and other brands (top two lines show average ranks for the two categories of packet). The table shows a statistically significant difference between store packets and others on the final two variables, with store brands associated with 'economical' and 'ordinary'.

Table 7.21 Differences between 'Store' and Other Packs on each Dimension. (Wilcoxon Rank Sum)

	STR/MILD	MASC/FEM	MEN/NON	ECON/EXP	CLAS/ORD
STORE (n:8)	18.81	17.50	21.69	7.13	31.94
OTHER(n:32)	20.92	21.25	20.20	23.84	17.64
W	150.5	140	173.5	57	255.5
Z	-.4565	-.8116	-.3217	-3.6203	-3.0968
	<i>P</i> =.6480	<i>P</i> =.4170	<i>P</i> =.7477	<i>P</i>=.0003*	<i>P</i>=.0020

Bold = $P \leq 0.05$; * = $P \leq 0.001$ (2-tailed)

7.14 THE 'REAL' AND THE 'CONSENSUAL' SIGN-SYSTEMS

The analyses presented in this chapter have used several different methods to explore the sign-system of cigarette packaging. The 'real' sign-system was explored in part one where several characteristics of cigarettes (including tar, menthol and price) were related to a range of signifiers. The 'consensual' refers to the analyses of questionnaire data in part two. The relationships between the quantitative and qualitative data provided by participants were discussed at a macro-level in relation to the types of signifiers associated with each dimension, and at a micro-level throughout the analyses of packet colour, other aspects of livery, packet shape and size and other knowledges. This section addresses the relationship between the quantitative data of the 'consensual' sign-system and the 'real' values of each packet on the three characteristics: tar, menthol and price. Whilst semiological approaches in general are confined to an exploration of consensual systems, it is important, from the perspectives of the communicator (tobacco marketers) and the smoker, to assess the correspondence between the two. Tables 7.22 and 7.23 show the associations between tar, price and menthol and the five dimensions.

Table 7.22 Correlations between Dimensions and Actual Tar levels and Price (Spearman's Rho)

	STR/MILD	MASC/FEM	MEN/NON	ECON/EXP	CLAS/ORD
TAR	-.6907 <i>P</i><.001*	-.6122 <i>P</i><.001*	.5169 <i>P</i>=.001*	-.1376 <i>P</i>=.397	.3177 <i>P</i>=.046
PRICE	-.0231 <i>P</i>=.887	.0945 <i>P</i>=.562	-.0269 <i>P</i>=.869	.7703 <i>P</i><.001*	-.5994 <i>P</i><.001*

Bold = $P \leq 0.05$; * = $P \leq 0.001$ (2-tailed)

Table 7.23 Differences between Menthol and Non-Menthol Packs on each Dimension (Wilcoxon Rank Sum).

	STR/MILD	MASC/FEM	MEN/NON	ECON/EXP	CLAS/ORD
MEN (n:9)	29.06	28.17	5	23.06	17.94
NON(n:31)	18.02	18.27	25	19.76	21.24
W	261.5	253.5	45	207.5	161.5
z	-2.4943	-2.2352	-4.5248	-.7454	-.7456
	<i>P</i> =.0126	<i>P</i> =.0254	<i>P</i> <.0001*	<i>P</i> =.4560	<i>P</i> =.4559

Bold = $P \leq 0.05$; * = $P \leq 0.001$ (2-tailed)

The statistically significant relationships conform to the findings above, with actual tar yield and menthol-non-menthol associated with the first three dimensions, and price with the last two. Standard tar is also associated with 'ordinary', although this correlation is less pronounced than the others.

7.15 CONCLUSIONS

This section briefly summarises the findings and considers possible alternative analyses. The relationship between language and other visual signifiers is considered in the light of Barthes' claim that structural analyses may be reduced to linguistic analyses. The chapter closes with a discussion of the political context of packaging in relation to cigarette promotion and campaigns for its restriction.

Reduced tar levels are signified by words like 'lights' and 'mild', with additional adjectives ('ultra', 'extra') signifying very low tar. The population colour graphs showed that standard tar packets had more black, red, dark red and dark blue and that lower tar packs had more white and blue in their livery. Participants placed most emphasis on colour-related signifiers for the related 'strong'-'mild' dimension, associating strong, dark colours (especially reds, black and dark blue) with 'strong', and pale, light colours (especially white, blues and greens) with 'mild'. In the quantitative questionnaire study 'strong' was associated with black, red and orange, and 'mild' with green and cream. Neither blue nor dark blue were mapped onto the 'strong'-'mild' dimension. The qualitative data for the 'masculine'-'feminine' dimension was also primarily associated with colour-related signifiers, with nearly identical specific signifiers and a high number of cross-references to the

'strong'-'mild' dimension. The quantitative analyses established a similar pattern of associations with specific colours and a high correlation between the two dimensions (with 'masculine' being associated with 'strong' and 'feminine' with 'mild').

The population colour graphs showed a clear relationship between menthol and green, together with an absence of reds and blues. Green/Not Green was overwhelmingly identified by participants, with blue also identified as 'menthol' and red, together with black, as 'non-menthol'. The quantitative analyses established significant associations between 'non-menthol' and black, dark red and red, and also between 'menthol' and green. The inclusion of blue in the qualitative data may relate to familiarity with menthol confectionary where blue frequently appears on packaging. Menthol was significantly correlated with the previous two dimensions, and this may explain why green was considered to signify mildness, and possibly also why many low tar menthol packets do not feature 'low tar' wording.

The population study of price-related signifiers found an association between higher price and 'by royal appointment' crests, foil and other logos, but not crests in general, or embossing, and only a slight association between lower prices and stripes. The qualitative data for the two dimensions correlated with price ('economical'-'expensive' and 'ordinary'-'classy') focused more on other aspects of livery besides colour. Colour-related comments tended to be less precise, and those investigated quantitatively (gold and number of colours) were not significantly correlated with either dimension. Specific signifiers mentioned included 'by royal appointment' crests, crests, embossing as well as elaborate, swirly scripts for 'expensive' and 'classy' brands, stripes and other logos for 'ordinary', lack of embossing and crests, 'by royal appointment' crests for 'economical' and bold, simple type for both 'economical' and 'ordinary'. The quantitative data established associations between 'classy' and 'by appointment' crests, crests and between both 'classy' and 'expensive' and ornate lettering and gold foil. 'Ordinary' was associated with other livery devices and both 'ordinary' and 'economical' with angular and curvy designs. Stripes and embossing were not significantly associated with either 'ordinary' or 'economical'. In addition, the population study found an association between higher price and wider, larger and unusual packet shape and size. In the qualitative data these signifiers were mentioned. In the quantitative analyses there was evidence of significant correlations for packet area and the adjusted length/width ratio only. Finally, store brands were cheaper than other brands in the population. Participants associated store brands with 'masculine'

and 'ordinary' in the qualitative data, and there were significant differences in the quantitative data between store and other brands on the dimensions 'economical' and 'ordinary'.

In general, there was a high degree of concordance between the three different types of analysis. The associations between the signifiers identified and their signifieds, both at the macro-level of type of signifier and at the micro-level of specific signifiers were similar. This strongly suggests that cigarette packaging constitutes a sign-system which may be described through systematic analyses, and that this sign-system is consensually shared.

The analyses have focused on a small number of potential signifieds and a narrow range of more readily identifiable or measurable signifiers. There is obviously plenty of scope for future research. In particular, the quantitative data set from the questionnaire would afford more detailed study, such as more systematic analyses of any differences between smokers and non-smokers, or more detailed case-studies of specific packets. It might be feasible to use participants' ratings of specific packets on some of the vaguer signifiers to expand the present set of associations. Alternatively, experimental manipulation of specific elements of packet design in conjunction with participants' ratings might clarify some of the more elusive signifiers. An experimental approach would also remove any extrinsic associations with brand names and other sources of brand image, leaving intrinsic aspects of livery to communicate by themselves.

The present studies have focused on contemporary cigarette packaging. A diachronic approach was not possible because of the difficulty of acquiring packaging which is no longer available. However, should such a study be possible, it could explore changes over time in relation to medicalization. In the present study it was noted in the brief discussion of filtered and non-filtered brands that packets for non-filtered brands tended to be wider rather than longer. One participant in the questionnaire study associated shorter packets with 'stronger', unfiltered cigarettes, and it may be argued that, over time, longer packets have become associated with milder, as well as with more economical cigarettes. The synchronic analysis was unable to test such a relationship systematically as the majority of packets included were either 'kingsize' or 'superking' size, and because many brands have identically-sized standard and low tar variants. A diachronic analysis, however, would be restricted to the first kind of analysis presented in this chapter, as present-day participants' ratings of packets would be influenced by contemporary issues and knowledge.

Barthes (1964a p.10) argues that sign-systems are reducible to the linguistic. One key finding of this chapter has been the problem in making this translation between linguistic and other types of signifiers. Colour labels were applied to disparate groups of colours, for convenience of analysis; 'green', for example, is usually identifiable, but at what point does green become blue? and what is a 'cold' or a 'pale' green? The present analyses have not begun to address these issues. Colour analyses 'pale' into proverbial insignificance compared with other aspects of packet livery. Many participants were clearly struggling to put their reactions into words, and their comments were often vague. These problems also applied to my own attempt to classify packets in relation to participants' comments, with the result that only the more specific signifiers were used. In addition, the signifieds used, whilst being more readily expressed in language ('tar yield', 'price', 'menthol' etc) are, arguably, primarily non-linguistic.

The analyses presented here must be placed in the wider political context of cigarette promotion and calls for its restriction. The chapter started from the assumption that a cigarette packet communicates more than "I am a cigarette packet". In addressing the issue of what cigarette packets communicate, one is exploring the representational space of branding and of packet differentiation. It is interesting to note, in the context of the present chapter, a proposal made by anti-smoking campaigners in relation to cigarette packaging: that it should be generic, i.e. standardised and non-attractive⁸. The representational space of cigarette packaging should be closed, or subjugated, permitting only the communication, "I am a cigarette packet". The argument for standardisation directly parallels the arguments for banning cigarette advertising: that brand differentiation shifts the focus from, 'should one smoke?' to 'which brand should one smoke?' thereby sidestepping the medical imperative not to smoke. This is a criticism of any attempt to explore the representational space of cigarette advertising or packaging as this legitimates these alternative representations.

From the perspective of the medicalization thesis, it has been important to establish whether cigarette packaging communicates anything health-related, as this may be construed as a form of medicalization in the same way in which the previous chapter found substantial evidence for the medicalization of cigarette advertisements. The analyses presented here found evidence that cigarette packaging does communicate tar levels (as well as other signifieds). In parallel with cigarette advertising, and with the exception of

⁸see Chapter five for a discussion of the article in which this was mentioned: Klein (1995) *Smokeless Zones*.

the mandatory health warning, these forms of medical representation attempt to recuperate the medical imperative by proposing that some cigarettes are safer than others, i.e., whilst recognising that cigarettes have associated health risks, this fact is used to sell cigarettes which may be perceived to have lower health risks. This argument has been used by tobacco companies against proposed bans on cigarette advertising, and I would predict that it may be used again in relation to any future calls for generic packaging.

The tobacco company argument quoted in section 7.3 against the encroachment of mandatory health warnings on the "valuable property" of packet design appears to be grounded in the non-medical. However, the evidence for clear within-brand differentiation according to tar level suggests that this argument may also be seen in the context of medicalization. The lower tar variants are contrasted with their "more unhealthy" standard tar variants, and provide the smoker of lower tar cigarettes with a 'greater evil' against which their own packet may be favourably compared.

The implications of the various medical representations of smoking for smokers and non-smokers, and for smoking-related policy are discussed in more detail in the final chapter, together with the implications of the issue of smoking for the medicalization thesis.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

The research reported in this thesis has explored some of the ways in which smoking is represented in public discourse and images. The studies have been contextualised by the 'medicalization thesis', a literature which is broadly critical of the process of medicalization, or the redefinition of social problems and life events as medical issues. The opening chapter provided a brief review of the diverse concerns of this literature, followed by a more detailed account of its application to smoking. Besides arguing that a narrow medical conceptualization of smoking is inadequate, this literature points to a range of negative implications of constructing smoking within a narrow medical framework, such as victim-blaming, neglect of other political and economic factors in the ontogeny of disease, social and cultural factors in the decision to start smoking, and the role of the addiction model in dissuading people from attempting to give up smoking. In addition, it may be argued that medicalization has created the conditions for discrimination against a newly-created 'out-group', generated inter-personal problems of negotiating 'smokeless zones', or engendered a militant backlash among smokers (see chapter five). Two critical approaches to the medicalization of smoking were discussed: the political economy perspective and the social constructionist perspective. The studies in this thesis fall broadly within the second perspective as they focus on representations. This perspective questions the self-appointed authority of medicine to define the words and images used in smoking-related representations, and argues that other voices should also be heard.

The medicalization thesis provides a substantive context. The theoretical context employed has drawn on the work of Saussure, Barthes and Eco to provide an account of the nature of representational space which encompasses both discourse and images. Representational space is seen as the site of conflict between alternative constructions of smoking. This thesis has investigated not only the nature of these representations, but also the relationships among them. In particular, using Foucault's terminology, it has been

argued that medical representations of smoking have shown 'globalising tendencies'. That is, medical representations have become the dominant representations of smoking. The thesis has discussed evidence which suggests that other representations have been subjugated or recuperated by the medical, and have attempted to recuperate the medical. In addition, the literature review of the 'tobacco advertising dollar', presented in chapter 1.7, argued that smoking is the site of conflict over access to representational space itself.

This chapter has two aims. First, to explore the implications of the medicalization thesis for smoking in the light of the empirical studies reported, and second, to explore the implications of smoking for the medicalization thesis, and in particular, for the characteristic negativity of the medicalization literature towards the process of medicalization.

8.2 The Medicalization of Smoking: Historical Perspectives

The definition of medicalization implies an historical perspective: a former social problem or life event is redefined in exclusively medical terms. The historical literature review and empirical studies reported in this thesis address this historical claim. Certainly medical authorities have voiced opinions on tobacco since its arrival in Europe. In addition, these opinions have changed over time - medical evidence has been used both to support and to condemn the use of tobacco. However, from a structuralist point of view, it is not possible to decide whether smoking has been medicalized by looking at the history of the medical representations alone. The medical discourse, as a globalising discourse, implies that there have been other discourses in circulation concerning smoking, and that these discourses have been, to some degree, subjugated by the medical. It is also to these alternative discourses, and especially to medical responses to attempts to maintain their currency, that one must look for evidence of the globalising nature of the medical discourse on smoking.

What is the evidence? The history of tobacco shows that smoking has been constructed as a social problem in various ways and at various periods throughout its history in Europe. Amongst the historical persecutors of tobacco there have been medics and medical arguments. However, the major persecutors have been religious and state authorities, and the arguments have been religious, patriotic and aesthetic. The medical discourse held no supreme position. Rather, it was used in support of these other

arguments. The application to smoking of degeneration theory in the latter part of the nineteenth century, provides a good illustration of this point. The Reverend Henry's (1906) diatribe, discussed in chapter 4.3, was grounded in religious and patriotic concerns: the degenerate smoker was defined as a member of a moral out-group, akin to the drunk, the criminal and the lunatic, and as a threat to industrial productivity and the defence of the Empire. 'Scientific' medicine provided the evidence, but not the primary moral imperative. Degeneration theory marks an important turning point in the medicalization of everyday life, but it is not the contemporary medical discourse. Smokers are still castigated for their intemperance, in the form of their alleged lack of will-power, or self-discipline. The moral imperative, however, is not religious or patriotic, but medical: smokers do not comply with the medical duty to foster and maintain their own health. In addition, the medical discourse provides a physiological account of the smoker's intemperance: addiction.

The analysis of the Times Index presented in the second half of chapter four, reviewed 50 years of tobacco-related reporting in one UK national paper. In the immediate post-war period, the articles were dominated by manufacturing, distribution and supplies, and taxation and theft. During the 1950s and early 1960s, a series of articles reported scientific research on the link between smoking and lung cancer. A range of other medical consequences of smoking appeared throughout the rest of the time period. Reports on the health risks of passive smoking appeared in the mid-1970s, with dense coverage from the mid-1980s onwards. Other non-medical problems associated with smoking were also mentioned in the Times Index, including aggression and poor academic performance, together with behavioural problems and school absence for children of smokers. From the mid-1950s, a number of other health-related themes appeared, including health campaigns and measures, non- and anti-smoking groups, together with concerns over children smoking. Reports on smoking in public places and at work, and on tobacco advertising and sponsorship, which had appeared sporadically in the first decade (1946-1955), received increased coverage, and were linked to the health dangers of smoking, and later, of passive smoking. Tobacco companies responded by developing 'safer' cigarettes: filters, reduced tar and tobacco substitutes. This aspect of medicalization was a key focus of the empirical studies on cigarette advertising and packaging, and will be discussed in section 8.3 below. In the final decade of the study, articles on litigation by and on behalf of smokers (and passive smokers) for compensation for smoking-related illnesses appeared. These were premised on the medical discourse. Taxation was also linked to the medical discourse as a means of dissuading smokers.

The medical discourse on smoking has thus expanded in three different ways. First, it has expanded internally, by increasing the range of direct medical consequences of smoking: new smoking-related illnesses are reported, and, from the late-1970s onwards, the health risks have encompassed passive smoking as well. Second, the medical discourse has generated further smoking-related themes, such as preventive measures, smoking statistics and government health campaigns. Third, existing issues, such as advertising, sponsorship and taxation have been re-cast in the context of the health risks. Alternative tobacco-related issues which have not been medicalized have diminished in relative importance: the immediate post-war concerns over production, distribution and supplies have dwindled, and smuggling, rather than theft, has become the primary focus of crime-related reporting. Smuggling itself has been linked to the medical discourse as a consequence of medically-sponsored government taxation increases. In addition, the medical discourse has colonised pro-tobacco propaganda in the form of increasingly explicit health warnings on cigarette advertising and packaging, and there has been concern to ensure the legibility of these warnings.

A key aspect of the theoretical framework employed in this thesis has been that the process of medicalization is actively contested: pro-tobacco representations do not simply 'turn their toes up' at the sight of the encroaching medical authorities. This resistance is illustrated in several articles in the Times Index which questioned, first, the health risks of smoking and, more recently, the health risks of passive smoking. In general, however, the Times Index is not an especially good source material for examining the rhetorical interplay of representations in detail. This issue was addressed in the remaining three empirical studies, which explored the relationship between medical and alternative representations of smoking in three types of public discourse and images. The findings of these studies, and their implications for the relationship between smoking and the medical discourse, are discussed below.

8.3 The Political Economy and Rhetoric of the 'Safe' Cigarette

The medical discourse has characterised the cigarette as dangerous: to smoke is to risk one's health. At first sight, then, it appears odd that cigarette promoters would use the medical discourse to sell cigarettes. However, the empirical analyses reported in this thesis have yielded a number of such uses within cigarette advertising and packaging, as

well as references to such practices in press reporting. These have taken the form of proposing the "safe" cigarette. The empirical evidence will be reviewed first, followed by a discussion, from both a political economy and a social constructionist perspective, of the implications of this opening up of the representational space of risk .

The Times Index study and the study of cigarette advertising focused on three types of 'safer' cigarette: filter tipped, reduced tar and tobacco substitutes. Tipped cigarettes were present throughout the 50 year period studied, but, in advertising, came to prominence during the late 1950s and early 1960s. By the 1970s, nearly all advertisements were for filtered cigarettes. Early tipped brands, however, were not marketed using the health discourse. They were promoted on aesthetic and financial (lower tax) grounds. Later advertisements focused on the filter as a scientific solution to an (unstated) scientific-medical problem.

Reduced tar cigarettes came to prominence during the 1970s, following the publication of tar and nicotine contents tables in the consumer magazine *Which?* in 1971. By the late 1970s, around 50% of advertisements were for low-to-middle tar and low tar cigarettes, rising to over 90% in the first half of the 1990s. Smokers were encouraged to switch from high tar cigarettes by differential taxation in 1978, and high tar cigarettes disappeared by 1980. New tar-level classifications were introduced in 1985 to further reduce tar yields, and cigarette manufacturers continue to develop even lower tar cigarettes. The analysis of contemporary cigarette packaging also found a clear colour-coding of tar categories.

Advertisements for both filtered and reduced tar cigarettes were implicitly premised upon the medical discourse, but did not usually refer to it explicitly. Government-sponsored voluntary agreements to restrict the nature of cigarette advertising outlawed explicit references to health risks, and especially to 'safe' cigarettes, except in mandatory health warnings. Ironically, this created the conditions for the evolution of more subtle, elliptical and visual forms of advertising.

Tobacco substitutes were mentioned in the Times Index throughout the 1970s, with early reports on legislation to lift the ban on substitutes, and, in 1976, to require a government licence. The failure of the launch of a number of brands including licensed substitutes in 1977 received substantial coverage in the Times. While the advertisements for these brands were criticised by ASH and health authorities as misleading, it was suggested that

the advertisements sampled failed to negotiate the problem of advertising only 25% substitute and 75% of the tobacco which the substitute was required to replace. This problem was noted in Times Index articles in 1988 and 1994 which reported that the tobacco industry was abandoning research into 'safer' cigarettes because such products would imply that earlier cigarettes were 'unsafe' - a proposition which the tobacco companies were anxious to deny.

To summarise: 'safe' cigarettes in the form of filtered and lower tar cigarettes and cigarettes containing tobacco substitutes have received substantial advertising attention. In addition, cigarette packaging is strongly colour-coded to distinguish between middle, low and very low tar cigarettes. In other words, the primarily visual representations of tobacco manufacturers have been notable for their exploration of the risk dimension, whereas official tobacco company statements have denied the existence of this dimension.

What are the implications of this apparent subversion of the medical discourse? First, it may be noted that medically-oriented anti-tobacco voices have been similarly divided, with some arguing that there is not (and never will be) such a thing as a 'safe' cigarette, and others (e.g. Viscusi, 1992 p.3) arguing that governments should have applied pressure to the tobacco industry to develop 'safer' cigarettes earlier, for example, by making filters obligatory. This division is paralleled by contrary arguments about the nature of anti-smoking propaganda: should it simply advise smokers of the health-risks attached to smoking (Viscusi 1992 p.144)?, should it encourage smokers to stop smoking? or should it advise those who can't or won't give up to switch to lower tar cigarettes, cut down the number of cigarettes smoked, leave longer butts etc? Is this last option based upon a benign realism, or might it have the effect of enhancing the perceived difficulty of giving up and thus discourage smokers from trying?

Encouraging smokers to switch to lower tar brands (if they refuse to give up entirely) is not without its problems. Schachter's (1980) study suggests that reduced nicotine in cigarettes is associated with increased cigarette consumption, and, as tar and nicotine are highly correlated, this exposes the smoker to more tar. The option of artificially boosting nicotine levels in low tar cigarettes is, of course, open to the criticism that tobacco companies are keen to keep their customers addicted. In addition, low tar cigarettes may 'help' the potential smoker take up smoking, as the first cigarette will not produce such a potentially unpleasant reaction (Warner, 1986 p.14). It has also been suggested that products

marketed as giving up 'treatments' which include nicotine (patches and gum) might also engender addiction (see Times Index study Appendix 4.1, section 12).

The political economy approach to medicalization has argued that governments should have reacted more promptly to the early medical findings on the health risks of smoking, either to influence tobacco companies' activities (such as requiring them to develop 'safer' products), to restrict their propaganda (e.g. advertising and sponsorship bans), or to institute legislation on smoking in public places, sale of cigarettes to children, etc. The slow response of governments has provided tobacco companies with a substantial 'window' of opportunity in which to devise strategies for maintaining their markets, such as the development of 'safer' products and the related sophistication of advertising.

The social constructionist approach is more concerned with the rhetorical implications of the 'safe' cigarette. Advertising, together with packaging, serves to open up representational space, shifting the focus away from the medical question: to smoke or not to smoke? to the question: which type of cigarette - menthol? tar level? length? etc, or which brand? The limitations imposed by the Cigarette Code and the ban on certain types of advertising (TV, radio, shop-front etc), and proposed bans on others (print, billboard, sponsorship of sport etc) are evidence of the success of the medical discourse in closing down this representational space. One argument used by tobacco advertisers against such bans is especially telling: cigarette advertising is medically useful precisely because it promotes knowledge of 'safer' cigarettes i.e. the argument subverts the medical representation to the cause of selling cigarettes.

This expansion of the medical representational space within tobacco advertising and packaging is one way in which tobacco marketers have recuperated, or subverted, the medical discourse of risk. Risk is represented as a matter of degree and smokers are offered a variety of subject-positions. In 1957, Martineau argued, "Smokers want to strike a balance between being too unhealthy and evil (the strongest cigarette) and being too innocuous and prudish (the mildest)" (Martineau, 1957 p.60). Whilst 'safer' cigarettes are less likely to be considered 'prudish' in the 1990s, the related association of 'mild' cigarettes with 'femininity' is still a problem for anti-smoking health campaigners - especially in the light of the association of 'masculinity' with adventurous risk-taking. Advertising for filtered and low tar cigarettes has countered the image of the 'emasculated' cigarette in several ways (see section 6.6), but packets of low tar cigarettes are still

considered 'feminine' (see section 7.12).

In parallel to Crawford's (1994) argument that the 'low-risk', healthy self needs the presence of the 'high-risk' unhealthy other, these representations of relative risk allow the smoker of filtered, low tar cigarettes to compare him or herself favourably with smokers who are more at risk through their choice of unfiltered or higher tar cigarettes. That is, in this respect, the existence of unfiltered and higher tar cigarettes helps to sell lower tar and filtered brands. This is one reason why anti-smokers might endorse a policy of banning higher tar and unfiltered cigarettes, even though they might otherwise argue that there is no such thing as a 'safe' cigarette.

That the medical discourse is prominent among pro-tobacco representations is interesting in the light of the medicalization thesis' construction of the medical discourse as a globalising discourse: even sources which might be expected to minimise the medical discourse have been obliged to address it. In one respect, such representations are an attempt to recuperate the medical discourse, or subvert it into selling cigarettes. In another respect, however, they represent the power of the medical discourse to set the representational agenda of its political opponents. The alternative discourse has not been able to either dismiss or ignore the medical discourse (two alternative critical options suggested by Foucault, 1980 p.86), despite industry pronouncements of the time.

8.4 Alternative Medical Representations of Smoking

The orthodox medical representations of smoking and of tobacco are purely negative, and the 'safe' cigarette simply attempts to minimise these negative representations, or open up a representational space of relative 'risk'. In this thesis I have also looked at two other more radical reconstructions of the medicalized cigarette: the positive medical representation and the subverted negative representation. In his article *Smokeless zones*, discussed in chapter five, Klein argued that the relationship between tobacco and human physiology and psychology is more complex than the uniformly negative medical account. He argued for a recognition of the 'dual nature' of tobacco. The alternative medical representations stress the positive effects of smoking.

The Times Index reported the occasional piece of positive medical evidence, including the

use of tobacco to control mental arousal and in preventing Alzheimer's disease. The study of cigarette advertising found that one form of advertising premised on such alternative medical representations: the relaxed, contemplative smoker, had disappeared. In addition, the Cigarette Code explicitly proscribes direct or indirect claims that "the cigarette is a necessary aid to concentration or relaxation" (Section 3.5). Klein's article, which draws, in part, on historical medical accounts, presents a substantial list of positive health-related consequences, such as protection against Parkinson's disease and control of fear and anxiety. These positive medical findings, however, rarely achieve substantial media coverage. This criticism has its counterpart in the political economy perspective, which argues that financial resources to follow up medical studies on the positive effects of tobacco are often unavailable, whereas those for 'orthodox' medical research on the negative health effects of smoking are abundant (Mundell, 1993). That is, not only has this alternative medical discourse been specifically censored in cigarette advertising etc, the means of enlarging and substantiating this knowledge through scientific research has also been curtailed.

One function of Klein's use of historical accounts of medicine is to highlight the changeability of medical opinion. Klein himself, somewhat whimsically, suggests this conclusion in his reference to Woody Allen's film *Sleeper* as an hypothetical future. One of the letters in response to Klein's article supported the claim that smoking provides "therapeutic release from stress and misery". The other two letters which referred to this alternative medical representation were critical. One was simply dismissive and the other highlighted the problems of relying on medical authority for validation. While medics may be reluctant to endorse positive health findings in the first place, it becomes more difficult to criticise the orthodox medical representations if one is appealing to the same authority for validation of the alternative representations. The letter writer criticises the implicit assumption that the positive findings balance out the negative. This point is calculated by Brown (1994): "...because Parkinson's is rare and heart disease and cancer are common, smoking causes a hundred times more deaths than it prevents".

The second alternative medical discourse constructed by Klein is the subversion of the orthodox medical account through the glamourising or romanticising of 'death'. Klein cites the popularity of *Death* cigarettes among young smokers. This approach is potentially far more damaging to the medical discourse than the positive medical discourse. As well as legitimating a different vocabulary of danger, this construction of the negative health risks

of smoking works in synergy with positive constructions of risk and risk-taking as rebellious and adventurous. It is not surprising that such representations are banned in the Cigarette Code (sections 3.7 and 3.8). A similar argument was mentioned in the literature review of medicalization in relation to the subversion of the medical term addiction (Krogh, 1991 p.140) which is normalised: it is human and everyone is entitled to their vice.

The failure to appreciate the possibility of counter-cultural readings of medical representations was illustrated by the failure of the 1984-1986 government-sponsored anti-heroin campaign, *Heroin screws you up*. Davidson (1992 p.157) describes one poster which, "featured the wasted and ravaged features of a junkie, under the strap-line 'Skin-care by heroin'. With sallow, blemished skin, lank, matted hair, hollow eyes and gaunt cheeks, the visual of the boy was clearly meant to reflect ironically on the copy, styled as it was in the idiom of a cosmetics ad." The campaign apparently succeeded in glamourising heroin addiction and the lifestyle of the junkie: "It was discovered that in some parts of the country the posters were being pinched off their hoardings and turned into pin-ups..." (Davidson, 1992 p.158).

This cautionary tale illustrates well the process of subversion, or the recuperation of medical representations by alternative representations. In this case, the alternative representation is a direct inversion of the medical (and 'consumerist' ideals). The remaining part of this review of the thesis focuses on the alternative representations of smoking which have featured in the empirical analyses which do not take the medical discourse as their starting point.

8.5 Alternative Representations

This section will consider three alternative representations of smoking and discuss how they have been related to the medical discourse.

The Libertarian Discourse

The libertarian representation of smoking appears in Klein's article. This discourse challenges the absolute moral imperative of the medical representation with an alternative absolute moral imperative: smoking is a right and a freedom to be defended. For Klein, this discourse has a second object of freedom: the 'culture of cigarettes', which includes

cigarette advertising. He uses a familiar libertarian argument: if it's legal, why censure its publicity? For this discourse, 'censorship' and 'surveillance' have acquired the negative connotations of 'Big Brother', and the banning of smoking is constructed as 'the thin end of the wedge'. Klein supports the discourse with a deterministic reading of history: the smoking ban is a reliable index of the loss of other freedoms. Whilst these other freedoms remain unnamed, extreme historical figures of repression are cited. This is illustrated in the poster reproduced in Figure 8.1.

Drawing on popular representations of the Second World War, the poster uses irony to create the equation between anti-smoking and Nazism¹. The quotation attributed to Hitler provides the warrant for the equation, and the co-incidence of the 50 year 'anniversary' justifies the choice of the images of Hitler and his supporters. Hitler is superimposed on the crowd scene facing in the same direction as the crowd. This renders him a part of the crowd (although 'larger than life' and thus emblematic of the crowd), and also aids an alternative reading of his own salute. When seen facing the crowd, the gesture is an acceptance of adulation. In the poster, however, the gesture becomes an admission of guilt. Churchill, the smoker, stands in solitary (but ultimately victorious) opposition to Hitler and the Nazis. The reader, of course, is invited to identify with Churchill, as the champion of freedom. One of Klein's critics recuperates the libertarian discourse to the medical by referring to J.S. Mill's analysis of freedom and its limits. In the case of smoking, the medical discourse fulfils the conditions for limiting freedom: the smoker's behaviour impinges prejudicially on others.


The Sociable Cigarette?

A second alternative representation of smoking which I explored in this thesis is the 'sociable cigarette'. This representation has a long history: tobacco was among the gifts presented to the early European visitors to Central America by the natives, and tobacco was used in Amerindian culture to facilitate communication with both gods and men. Kiernan comments: "...the curling wreaths of smoke above a pair of heads might seem allegorical of an intertwining of thought and feeling. Tobacco could bring strangers into harmony, loosen tongues - less erratically than alcohol - and provide a social emollient" (Kiernan, 1992 p.117). Smokers have used the offer of a cigarette or the request for a light to strike up conversation and even romance.

¹The equation of anti-smoking and Nazism is also reproduced in the appellation 'health fascists'.

Figure 8.1

FOREST Poster



***HANDS UP THE
ANTI-SMOKERS!***

PIONEERS OF THE ANTI-SMOKING MOVEMENT
NATIONAL NO SMOKING DAY - 11th MARCH 1992
ADOLF HITLER SPEAKING 50 YEARS AGO - 11th MARCH 1942

"I made the acquaintance in Bayreuth of a businessman ...
There was a notice above his door: Smokers Not Admitted.
For my part, I have no notice above my door, but smokers aren't admitted."

Hitler's Table Talk: 1941-1944, Oxford University Press, 1988

Printed by FOREST, 2 Grosvenor Gardens, London, SW1W 0DT

This representation of smoking was addressed in the study of cigarette advertising. A variety of indices of sociability were identified, including offering and accepting cigarettes, the cigarette as currency in social or romantic situations and the cigarette as a gift. These representations all but disappeared in the second half of the fifty years studied, and, moreover, had declined substantially well before the introduction of the Cigarette Code. The cigarette packet itself has been represented as social currency and the metonymic image of the open box with protruding cigarettes survived in the repertoire of cigarette advertising longer than the models who had been seen offering and accepting them. This, perhaps, is one explanation of the current emphasis on packaging in cigarette advertising.

The 'sociable cigarette' has been challenged by the medical discourse on passive smoking, and is now, together with the smoker, anti-social. This construction is not new. James I's *Counterblast* describes smoking as anti-social. However, such early objections were as much aesthetic as they were medical. An interesting subversion of this alternative representation is the anti-smoking use of 'no-smoking days'. The smoker is offered an alternative vision of solidarity: social support in giving up. The FOREST poster (Figure 8.1) is interesting in this respect: the smoker is a solitary point of resistance. Klein offers an alternative recuperation of this medical subversion in his reference to "smokeasies". This dialectic of sociability is also illustrated in the debate over smoking in public places. Klein and his correspondents offer parallel representations of victimisation and militancy on the part of smokers, passive smokers and anti-smokers.

Financial Representations

The final non-medical representation of smoking addressed in this thesis relates to finance. This discourse is closely related to the political economy criticisms of medicalization discussed in chapter 1.3, and many points in the analyses reported illustrate an increasing interdependence of the medical and financial discourses throughout the fifty year period covered. For example, the taxation revenue from tobacco is often cited as a major disincentive to governments to institute anti-smoking measures. One of Klein's correspondents cites the historic example of James I's collusion with tobacco importers, and Klein himself argues that the Canadian government's tax rises led to increased smuggling, and hardship for small tobacconists. The Times Index included substantial coverage of tobacco pricing and taxation issues. The issue was also linked with smuggling and threatened job losses in the tobacco industry, and tax increases were framed within a medical context: as a disincentive to smokers, and to fund medical

research and treatment of smoking-related illness. The discovery of unwitting investment in tobacco shares by medical organisations prompted the foundation of a tobacco-free investment trust.

The study of cigarette packaging found a significant correlation between packets judged as expensive and as classy, and identified a range of signifiers associated with these judgments, including wide packets, royal crests and the use of gold. The study of cigarette advertising identified substantial value-related advertising in the first half of the study, including gift schemes and money-off coupons. In the second half of the study, financial advertising decreased, in response to increased taxation, first introduced in 1967 as an anti-smoking measure, and to curb 'sales wars'. Coupon-brands were specifically targeted in 1976, leading to a move from coupon advertising to other value-claims and money-off offers, and a general decrease in value-related advertising as cigarettes became relatively more expensive. The medical and financial representations were also related through the differential taxation of higher tar cigarettes in 1978.

Martineau argued: "People can think of more reasons why they shouldn't smoke than why they should. So there is no point in making matters worse by smoking a cheap cigarette" (Martineau, 1957 p.60) There is no such thing as a really cheap cigarette now and this, some critics of medicalization have noted, tends to hit the poor hardest.

8.6 Methodology Revisited

One issue of concern in the methods chapter was the relationship between quantitative and qualitative forms of analysis. It was argued that the main impediment to an integration of two such contrasting methods related to the sheer volume of material to be analysed, with, for example, quantitative, classical content analysis better suited to larger volumes and semiological accounts to smaller volumes. The empirical studies have attempted to negotiate this distinction. The Times Index study and the analysis of Klein's article etc, provide two perspectives on press-reporting. The relationship between the two studies may be seen as dialectical. The broad-brush view of the Times Index provides a contextualising review of (the history of) the issues which are unpacked and examined in detail, and rhetorically, in the second study. Alternatively, the detailed discursive account of chapter five provides the rhetorical context for at least some of the issues coded in the

Times Index analysis. The study of cigarette advertising also attempted to integrate broad-brush quantitative content analysis with detailed semiological and discursive accounts of the material.

In both these cases, the choices of material for the higher-resolution studies (Klein's article, the advertisements described semiologically) are open to the criticism that they are biased towards telling the story I wish to tell. This may be countered by the explicit justifications given. In addition, the quantitative indices given in the Times Index and the cigarette advertising studies provide one yardstick to representativeness.

Another problem with the attempted synthesis of different scales is aesthetic. It may upset the reader's expectation that the analyses are about one level of a phenomenon. For example, is the chapter on cigarette advertising about the whole population from which the sample had been drawn, certain subsets of the sample which are described in detail, or about the few advertisements singled out for semiological analysis? The problem is that a conclusion necessarily reviews the whole body of the analyses, and thus tends to be situated at the broader end of the continuum, which subjugates the claims of the semiological to uniqueness. Moreover, this problem is not simply a function of an artificial academic convention: summary is an integral part of everyday conversation.

A related criticism, which is especially pertinent to the final empirical analysis is that the structuralist approach stresses consensus. Whilst all the qualitative questionnaire data is presented in an appendix, the oppositional signifiers listed in the text were selected primarily by frequency counts, and the summing process used to achieve the cross-tabulation of the five dimensions also used a consensual approach. Whilst this served the purpose of mapping out the sign-system, it deemphasises individual responses. The initial design of this final study had included an "any other comments" section on each page of the questionnaire, and some participants added their own comments. At the analysis stage, I chose to ignore these data. The initial project had been too ambitious - I had hoped to discuss specific brands in detail. However, these extra data could form the basis of further research. Whereas the structuralist approach employed here emphasised the sign-system, a study of branding would investigate the ways in which a particular brand is placed within the sign-system, both referring to it and creating it. For example, it was noticeable that some pack liveries imitated those of the brand leaders (e.g. *Marlboro*, *Benson and Hedges* and *Silk Cut*).

The Image and the Text

The empirical studies presented in this thesis have looked at both discourse and images. The structuralist theory which, in part, informed these analyses, provides a suitable rendering of the nature of sign-systems to encompass a wide diversity of signifiers. However, much of the contemporary social constructionist approach, together with Barthes, has argued that signification is always reducible to language. The studies presented here of the cartoons in chapter five, advertising images in chapter six and packaging in chapter seven stand in a paradoxical relationship to these claims, and to the alternative assertion that meaning is not dependent upon words. This is because, following the conventions of academe, I have presented the analyses discursively. That is, I have translated the images into text. Is an alternative, non-verbal analysis possible? This is what Berger seems to propose in *Ways of Seeing* (1972), and also what Radley's cardiac patient who continued to dig the garden suggests (Radley, 1993 p.117). The responses of participants in chapter seven provide some evidence for this non-discursive signification. Several participants, who were quite able and willing to rank the sample of cigarette packets according to different dimensions, found that the process of explaining their decisions in words was difficult. (It must be recalled here that the packets had been 'doctored' to remove any textual references to the dimensions.)

One possible objection here is that several of the non-verbal signifiers of the dimensions seem to relate to other sign-systems which are familiar and which have been written down or spoken. For example, menthol is associated with the colour green in menthol confectionary. This suggests that packaging designers have chosen already motivated signifiers on purpose. For example, light packaging is used in order to enhance the representation of low tar cigarettes as 'pure', 'free from pollutants'. In this respect, then, it is possible that while participants were unable to express their decision criteria in words, such criteria had been learned initially through discourse. Another obvious point is that the signifying dimension was specified in words, e.g. 'strong-mild'. Would it be possible to refer to such a distinction without words? For example, by requiring smoking participants to identify packaging in relation to the taste of a cigarette?

One final point may be made concerning the relationship between discourse and images. It relates to the possibilities of censorship and the polysemie of the image. It has been noted above that some participants found it difficult to express the visual signifieds of pack livery in words. This hints at a certain ability of images to elude language. This

observation is similar to Barthes' term anchorage, which implies that the image is always polysemic. This is especially interesting in the light of the findings of chapter six that packaging-related imagery in cigarette advertising has become more prominent. That is, the un-anchored image is more difficult to legislate or adjudicate upon.

This also suggests a paradoxical conclusion in relation to government health warnings on both cigarette packets and advertisements. The health warning is an attempt to anchor the advertisement or packet within the medical discourse. However, the reader may be presumed to know that the health warning is attributable to a different source from the rest of the advertisement or packet (the health warning usually says so). In the case of advertising, this has the curious implication that the health warning immediately defines the advertisement as being for (a brand of) cigarettes, and thereby allows the advertiser the freedom to favour images over text, and in some instances, to the exclusion of text. That is, the advertiser may be confident that the reader is distracted from the question: "to smoke, or not to smoke?" to the question "which brand is this advertisement for?" - the answer to which is not always immediately obvious. The same effect occurs in cigarette packaging, where the packet 'answers' the health warning by redefining the representational space visually, with a logotype (again, "which brand?"), with colour ("which tar-level, or 'risk'-level?, menthol or non-menthol?, feminine or masculine?"), and with crests and gold foil ("how expensive? how classy?").

There is one final paradox. While the image may be more difficult to censor, it is itself a product of censorship. In advertising, the Cigarette Code has proscribed a variety of representations and potential claims. That is, recourse to the relative ambiguity of the image testifies to the enforced retreat from less ambiguous verbal claims. The result is, in some cases, a bizarre and elliptical sub-genre of advertising, but perhaps one which is prone to obscurantism. Present day cigarette advertising is a strangely apt testament to its own apparent success.

Structuralist Prescriptions for Future Research

The structuralist model emphasises the role of difference in meaning. A thing is defined in relation to what it is not. This immediately suggests a range of new objects for further research. The analyses presented here have focused largely on cigarettes. This is because cigarettes are the dominant mode of tobacco consumption at the present time, and because cigarette smoking has been the primary object of the medical discourse.

However, it was proposed at the end of chapter six that a more complete structural analysis of the cigarette would entail analyses of other tobacco products and their representations in public discourse and images. Such analyses would identify further dimensions of similarity and difference within the domain of tobacco. Although such analyses would never be complete (it is not possible to identify all the distinguishing dimensions), one might envisage a multi-dimensional matrix in which each 'unit' is located. The choice of 'unit' might also be varied, from wide product classifications to brands. More broadly, tobacco itself is defined through its relationships of difference with a range of other things, including nicotine-containing giving-up products, herbal cigarettes and a range of 'recreational' drugs, including alcohol and marijuana, and other imported products such as tea, coffee, cocoa and sugar.

Such matrices also evolve over time. Kiernan (1992 p.221) mentions changes over time in class-related differences in the mode of tobacco consumption in the UK. The question of integrating the synchronic and diachronic, that is, of adding movement, or change over time, to the synchronic can be considered in relation to the use of the 'labyrinth' in the Times Index analysis. The MDS solution produced in the final analysis of chapter four was a representation of the complete labyrinth as it stood at the end of 1995, albeit at the level of the themes. Similarly, the diachronic analyses did not fully address the structure of the labyrinth at each point in its evolution.

One possible synthesis would entail generating a series of two- or three-dimensional computerised labyrinths, starting with the first year, or chronological unit appearing in that year. The model would represent each code as a labelled dot or sphere, and would produce a map of the links among these nodes in terms of distance, perhaps using a modified MDS programme. As each further unit is added, a new 'solution' would be generated, which could be 'morphed' from the previous one. A moving, changing, evolving labyrinth would be produced and could be run over time, with an index of the date at the corner of the screen. This would provide the viewer with an impression of change over time, as certain nodes are active at different times, budding off new nodes, and nodes move together or apart. The structure would necessarily be vast and complex (there were 126 raw codes), but a powerful computer might be persuaded to focus selectively on chosen areas or clusters of nodes, by 'zooming in'. In this way the viewer would be able to explore the labyrinth for him or herself. In addition, an interactive programme would allow access to the raw data on request, and enable the viewer to add to the labyrinth.

There are several problems with the above. Some codes are not linked to any other codes: how should they be represented? This might be solved by excluding those of peripheral interest, or by combining the code with semantically similar ones. A different unit of analysis, such as the articles themselves rather than the index, would probably minimise such free-floating nodes. A second problem relates to the statistical effect of accumulating data: with a larger existing body of data, each new piece would have less impact on the relative distribution of nodes. This might be resolved by averaging over a certain number of years, or data points. However, this raises a more fundamental problem with the concept of diachronic approaches when applied to the contemporary. What should happen, visually, to a node which has not appeared within the time-period averaged? Should it fade away? This is asking: do all knowledges loose currency at the same rate? Some do seem to be forgotten, whilst others become naturalised as commonsense, and remain implicit in later discourses.

One final problem related to structuralist methods concerns the prioritising of text or image over the reader. This is an important issue and will be discussed in the following section.

8.7 The Role of the Critic

Whilst recognising that the use of metaphor is an inevitable part of thinking, Sontag (1991) argues against interpretation and metaphor, or, in Barthes' terminology, mythology. I shall use two mythological characters to explore the problems associated with criticisms grounded in a social constructionist approach. The first is Rumpelstiltskin - a character in a fairytale collected by the Grimm brothers (1853/1984). He threatens to take the Queen's child unless she can tell him his name. He is overheard singing his name in a premature celebration and simply vanishes when the Queen tells him his name. This kind of optimism is likely to be naïve on account of the second mythological character: Proteus - the 'Old Man of the Sea' in Homer's *Odyssey*, and an inveterate shape-shifter to the ancient greeks. Advertising, in common with other reproductions of 'myths' is often described as 'Protean'. It shifts, adapting its form to its critics, or, in Barthes' language, recuperating their criticisms. A number of such Protean 'recuperations' have been discussed in this thesis. A particularly striking example of this process at work is the advertisements for scientific filters which parasitise the medical representation both in their discourse and in their scientific-style line drawings.

The simple act of naming a representation or discourse, however, is not without its critical value. It makes the representation more tangible: it becomes a 'thing' to be manipulated and criticised, and a concept with which to think. That is, naming is an essential first step in the process of criticism, but it is not in itself sufficient. This is one of the arguments underpinning Cook's (1992 p.205) objections to the 'critical invulnerability' assumed by the semiologist. Unlike the Queen, just naming a problem does not automatically render the critic invulnerable. Sontag's suggestion, however, is not simply that metaphors should be identified explicitly and will then vanish Rumpelstiltskin-like. Rather, she argues that "...metaphors cannot be distanced just by abstaining from them. They have to be exposed, criticised, belaboured, used up" (Sontag, 1991 p.179). This critical strategy is strongly reminiscent of Proteus' daughter, Eidothee's advice to Menelaus on catching Proteus: be persistent, don't let go no matter what transformations he assumes, and eventually he will give in and answer your questions (Homer, 1946 p.75)².

Sontag proposes that the critical process of identifying and criticising metaphors should be guided by the effects of the metaphors: "Not all metaphors applied to illnesses and their treatments are equally unsavoury and distorting..." (Sontag, 1991 p.179). Indeed, other authors have argued for what might be called an adaptive, or positive, role of metaphor, especially as used by the sick person him or herself (e.g. Radley, 1993). For the present study, however, this raises the questions: which representations? and, who should decide? (which, in turn, raises the age-old question, *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*)

I do not propose to answer these questions. The issues they raise extend well beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead, I shall conclude my review of the implications of the medicalization of smoking by quoting the author of a book on the similarly convoluted and vexing issue of conservation: "...editors and publishers have sometimes said, 'Well, what's the answer? If you cannot provide an answer, why raise the matter at all?' But no solution will ever be found unless we first state the problems clearly" (Tudge, 1995 p.349).

In attempting to state the problem clearly, it has been essential to examine both the process and the implications of medicalization. While the empirical studies have addressed only a small fragment of the publicly available material on smoking, there is a

¹ Ovid (1955 p.253) cites Proteus himself offering similar advice to Peleus on catching another shape-shifter, Thetis.

more general reason for being cautious in relation to the conclusions which may be drawn: the absence of the lay reader. Following the structuralist approach, this thesis has focused on the representations of smoking in public discourse and images, and, with the exception of the second part of the final empirical chapter, the material analysed has come from public sources. The analyses have discussed a range of subject positions which the public discourses and images offer to both smokers and non-smokers, but they have not addressed the question of their reception, or, more correctly, the process of negotiation of meaning in everyday thought and conversation.

The lay reader's critical abilities have been regularly upgraded throughout the history of media studies (Liebes and Katz, 1993 p.114) and there is no reason to expect that people are any less sophisticated in their everyday thinking and talking about smoking. For example, the interview accounts of three cigarette advertisements which formed the data for my MSc project analysis contained a number of critical readings. Whilst the present thesis is obliged to remain silent on this issue, the theoretical and empirical work together suggest some possible lines of enquiry for future research. The thesis may be conceptualised as one small piece in a wider project exploring the nature and implications of representations of smoking throughout lay as well as public discourse. The collection of lay accounts of smoking through interviews, biographies or focus group discussions might take the representations described here as a starting point. In addition, the conceptual tools used in this thesis might be applied to these accounts.

Perhaps even more important than providing counter-arguments and ready-made alternative representations of the criticised thing, is to cultivate a critical approach: to communicate the means to criticism and an understanding of the means by which propagandists of all complexions contest representational space. While it may be argued that this in itself is propaganda on behalf of a critical academic discipline with vested interests, it might just as readily be contended that if such an approach was realised, the academic discipline would become redundant. This is not to deny the value of such ready-made alternative representations: people's time for such critical reflection is limited in comparison with the infinite possibilities of critical analyses.

Social Semiotics: Pragmatics and Context

Much of modern semiotic scholarship has taken its cue from the founding work of

Saussure, usually with the aim of reinstating facets of his analytic scheme which he de-emphasised (as Hodge and Kress 1988 p.15) put it: resurrecting the contents of Saussure's rubbish bin, including especially an emphasis on the diachronic and on the relationships among texts and social actors, or interest groups. Jensen (1995) states the problem with reference to Saussure's founding claim for the discipline: "the problem with Saussurian semiology in communication studies has been a tendency to give much attention to signs as such, less to society, and hardly any to the 'life' of signs in social practice" (Jensen, 1995 p.3). The present research reflects this shift of emphasis most clearly in relation to the diachronic, which, in turn, provides one route to the issue of contextualisation: different representations are mutually contextualised. The following discussion will therefore highlight some of the other points raised in modern semiotic scholarship.

Jensen's (1995) approach is to draw on the semiotics and pragmatism of Peirce. One problem with semiology is that its focus "has remained on the ... system of discursive differences, rather than the interpretive difference that is made by various recipients, or the social difference that their interpretation may ultimately make in other contexts of action" (Jensen, 1995 p.12). To Jensen, a pragmatic approach thus entails methodological pluralism, which he contrasts with the 'crypto-positivism' of mass communications research which requires uniformity in methodological principles as the basis of all knowledge and thus seeks to end the polarisation of approaches through imposing *a priori* prescriptions. In contrast, Jensen argues that "social semiotics proposes unification in the last instance, in a community of inquiry that allows for multiple scientific signs" (p.145).

The grounds for this unification lie in Peircean semiotics and in abductive inference. In contrast to the dyadic Saussurian sign (the conjunction of signifier and signified), Peirce proposed a triadic process of signification, comprising object, sign (or 'representamen') and interpretant. Interpretants are themselves signs which people use to "orient themselves towards and interact with a reality of diverse things, events and discourses" (Jensen, 1995 p.22), and, as signs, they may, in turn, call up further interpretants *ad infinitum*. Unification of different empirical approaches and research foci is to be achieved through recourse to an abstracted interpretant, or meta-sign. That is, different categories of signs are related to each other in terms of an emergent set of concepts (interpretants) at a level one removed from the specific empirical traditions in which they were generated (Jensen, 1995 p.146). This is accomplished through the inferential process of abduction, which is a third

form of inference, identified by Peirce, and distinguishable from the more familiar forms of induction and deduction. Jensen defines abduction as "consisting of a first premise that is particular and factual, a second premise that is general and hypothetical, and a conclusion that is particular and hypothetical" (Jensen, 1995 p.160). The second premise supplies a novel conceptualisation or hypothetical rule, which re-contextualises the phenomenon to be explained in the first premise. Jensen's argument is that abductive inference is an essential part of the practice of a semiotically-conceived science.

Jensen's use of Peirce's interpretants is, in many ways, similar to a number of concepts already identified in this thesis, including Barthes' lexicons, Dennett's meta-representations, Potter and Wetherell's interpretive repertoires, and, more generally, discourses or representations, in that they all define relative contextualised perspectives, or 'ways of seeing' which are not co-extensive with the subject or perceiver, but are socially-shared interpretive resources. In this respect, the representations of smoking identified in this thesis might be re-framed as interpretants. However, Jensen's goal of unification at an abstracted meta-level of a second (or higher-order) interpretant requires qualification. This thesis has considered in detail the problems associated with the possibility of an all-encompassing perspective. Each new representation, or interpretant, provides a different perspective on the issue, but it is by no means clear that unification - at least in the form of consistency at a substantive level - will emerge. This is akin to the argument used in chapter 3.1 that the notion of triangulation is misguided because it ignores the social locatedness of the construction of both discourses and academic meta-discourses. Instead, the only feasible kind of uniformity is at the level of the theoretical concepts, in this case of representations as discursive strategies, and an approach which examines their rhetorical relationships and expects, rather than attempts to reconcile, inconsistency.

In addition, the pragmatic reading of interpretants as social resources for action provide a similar emphasis on practice to discourse analysis' adoption of speech act theory. While the absence of the 'reader' in the above studies has already been noted as a limitation, pragmatism identifies a further limitation: the material or performative implications of the representations identified in their social and political contexts, or how "interpretive communities serve *to direct* the social production of meaning toward specific contexts and *purposes*" (Jensen, 1995 p.126, italics added). A number of such potential implications, or uses, of smoking-related representations, and especially medical representations, have been sketched in earlier sections of this chapter. These must, for the present, remain as

hypotheses for future research, especially in the light of Jensen's finding, in his study of TV news reception, that there is no direct mapping of politically-conceived readership and political action (Jensen, 1995 p.89).

One example of the multi-focused approach envisioned by Jensen is provided in relation to mass communication and consumption practices by Gottdiener (1995) who theorises the relationships among producer, object and user in a three-stage model of semiosis. He first notes the discrepancy between an object's exchange value for its producers and its use value to the potential purchaser. This producer/user relation entails the transformation of exchange value into sign value via the use of advertising logotechniques: the first stage of semiosis. The second stage relates to the object/user relation. Here, the user transforms the object's use value into a user sign value, for example, through customisation. This alternative sign value might be oppositional, and is generated in sub-cultural practice. The third stage represents a form of recuperation of the user-generated sign value by producers: "if subcultures can take the objects of mass culture and provide them with second- and other-order meanings, mass culture producers can do the same to the personalised objects of subcultures" (Gottdiener, 1995 p.183). The resulting sign value is usually a sanitised, eviscerated transformation of the subcultural signifier. An illustration of this recuperative practice in relation to smoking might be the generation of the oppositional user sign value of cigarettes which glamourises risk and especially death, which is then adopted as a producer sign value in marketing *Death* brand cigarettes. Chapter five identified a number of alternative oppositional views of smoking which might be used in this way. The user need not be the tobacco advertiser. Instead, it could be the promoter of quitting aids. Gottdiener's model is interesting because he specifies the social locatedness of meaning creation, and because he proposes both an independent sub-cultural source of meaning and consumption practices, and a creative interdependence between producers of mass culture and sub-cultural groups.

Gottdiener (1995) notes that traditional Marxist analyses, in focusing on the hegemonic first and third stages of semiosis, have neglected the role of the second, sub-cultural stage of semiosis, which tends to deemphasise the conflictual evolution of the codes used in the generation of meaning. The present studies have emphasised the conflictual strategies of smoking-related representations and have sought to trace their evolution over time. In addition, the structuralist model of meaning in relation to difference helps elucidate the potential rhetorical strategies of sub-cultural semiosis. However, the relation between

different representations of smoking and the socially-located sources of these representations remain to be researched.

One final problem associated with the present research is identified by Leiss et al (1990). They claim that advertising has become more implicit and visual as advertisers have educated their readers, or readers have become more sophisticated, or visually literate. Thus, it might be claimed that the changes in cigarette advertising over time simply reflect these more general trends in advertising (which in turn reflect societal and cultural changes in context). However, it might also be argued that cigarette advertising has been a key influence upon advertising for other products keen to evade the connotations of Vance Packard's (1957) 'hidden persuaders'.

In some respects, the 'selection pressures' on cigarette advertisers are, and have become increasingly, tough compared with those on advertising for other products. There are several reasons for this. There are broadly three key groups at whom cigarette advertising is targeted: the smoker of the brand (in order to foster loyalty and brand-identification), the smoker of other brands who might be persuaded to switch, and the potential smoker or wavering neophyte. Brand loyalty among smokers is relatively high, despite minimal brand differences in cigarettes (a point which highlights the packet as one candidate explanation). In addition, consumption onset patterns for smoking show a perverse trend (for advertisers) of a clear window of opportunity during the teens (four-fifths of male smokers start smoking by the age of twenty, RCP, 1971 p.109), which means that advertisers must work exceptionally hard with each new generation, and under increasingly stringent regulations requiring them to abstain from targeting this vulnerable group. (It might also be added, cynically, that the product tends to kill off its market at inflationary rates, and there are always some consumers who capitulate to the medical imperative to quit.) In addition, cigarette advertisements no longer have to work to define the product-type as the government health warning does this for them. Finally, cigarette advertising has been a substantial contributor to overall advertising revenue and public debate surrounding its legitimacy also serves to heighten both its prominence and the likelihood of reader scepticism. For all these reasons, it seems likely that cigarette advertising has played a pro-active role in the sophistication of both advertising and its readership. That is, advertisers have been required to be especially creative and subtle in their promotion of cigarettes in order to evade restrictions and address a cynical public. Whereas Leiss et al's (1990) argument can be used to contextualise cigarette advertising in relation to

other forms of advertising, this reconceptualisation poses cigarette advertising as the context for other forms of advertising. In this way, an analysis of the evolution of cigarette advertising provides an important contribution to the wider field of advertising studies.

Medicalization Revisited

This section reviews the contribution to and implications of the present work in relation to two recurring issues in the medicalization literature: the medicalization-demedicalization debate and the issue of health campaigns, especially in relation to the concept of 'lifestyle'.

Two Perspectives on Medicalization

One point of argument within the medicalization literature centres on the idea of demedicalization. The extent of medicalization and demedicalization is compared and contrasted in a quasi-quantitative fashion. Evidence of 'demedicalization' is proposed to undermine the claims of the medicalization thesis (e.g. Fox, 1977), and the two processes are projected into contrasting visions of the future (Lowenberg and Davis, 1994 p.580). This, of course, requires a fairly precise definition of medicalization, for example, as the jurisdiction of the medical profession. Whilst there are problems in defining just who constitutes 'the medical profession', this whole approach seems to be misplaced, or at least, partial, for a different, more serious, reason. The problem with defining 'the medical profession' is just a part of this wider problem. Deprofessionalisation (for example, in the form of home-care remedies, or increased equality in the medical encounter) becomes a definitional question of who is socially entitled to practice medicine (i.e. more akin to power as sovereignty). An alternative, and to my mind, more useful approach is to marshal the evidence to a different question. Rather than asking 'how much is medicalization compared with demedicalization?', the question is better put as: 'what is medicalization - as a discursive and material practice?' Rather than see medicalization as a once and for ever defined list of attributes, it makes more sense to see both the medical discourse, and the medicalization discourse as evolving rhetorical strategies. Integral to this approach is a diachronic perspective: the medical discourse changes over time, and the medicalization discourse, which in many respects is parasitic upon it, also changes.

This allows us to appreciate, first, that the people who practice medicine, or who are accorded recognition as such, change over time, i.e. it holds a notional definition of medicalization constant and examines the changing profile of practitioners. This is the

position of the crude medicalization - demedicalization debate outlined above. The present thesis allows for this kind of approach in identifying a range of potential points of demedicalization. For example, evidence for deprofessionalisation may be found in the increasing number of social bodies which practice smoking-related (preventive) medicine: from parental pressure groups to employers who ban work-place smoking. Second, it allows us to appreciate that the nature of the medical discourse, or the state (as opposed to process) of medicalization changes over time, i.e. that regardless of who is deemed a practitioner, the definition of what constitutes 'the medical' also evolves. This second approach is the one which I have emphasised in this thesis (and, incidentally, it relates to the argument advanced by some proponents of the theory of social representations that a certain definitional 'vagueness', or flexibility is indispensable).

I have examined the changing nature of the medical discourse on smoking over a 50-year period in two media sources: the Times Index and cigarette advertising. In taking a structural view, I have also attempted to address one central problem inherent in a purely diachronic approach. Namely, the absence of the synchronic set of relations between the object of study and the other objects through which, by difference or contrast, the object is defined. That is, I have explicitly recognised the necessity to contextualise the medical discourse in relation to alternative constructions of smoking. On account of the enormity of the task of mapping the evolution of the mutual relations between representations over such a time-period, this attempt has only offered a partial account, and the synchronic perspective is detailed only for the present day: in relation to the representations identified in the article by Klein and the associated correspondence discussed in chapter five. Further, this study itself must be seen as an introduction: it is suggestive of the complexity of the rhetorical relationships among current representations of smoking. Crucially, this second approach highlights the inadequacy of tight *a priori* definitions of medicalization (or demedicalization). Lowenberg and Davis (1994 p.595) reach the same conclusion from their examination of holistic health, which, "highlights the complexity of those cultural phenomena and once again warn us against oversimplistic generalisations".

Contemporary Health Promotion: Healthy Lifestyles and Consumer Choice.

Zola's (1972) founding paper on the medicalization thesis stressed in its title the concept of medicine as social control. He cites the historical relationship of medicine and society in relation to the public health / preventive medicine movement (Zola, 1972 p.488). The medicalization of smoking has come to the fore more recently as 'lifestyle' has been

stressed increasingly in the modern ontogeny of disease. This represents an interesting convergence of preventive medicine and consumerism: health campaigns compete with advertising for unhealthy products in the same mass media forum and with the same marketing techniques (although, usually with substantially different budgets).

'Lifestyle' is a protean concept. As O'Brien (1995 p.197) puts it, "there is no longer anything that does not belong to the sphere of 'lifestyle' and there is no meaning sufficiently flexible to connect the diverse referents to which the concept applies". Lifestyle is operationalised through psychographic techniques. Psychographic market segmentation operates according to differences: sub-groups are constituted by syntagmatic constellations of, amongst other variables, brand choices, disposable income, age and family status, values and affiliations. This practice may also be adopted in health communications research and practice, similarly used to identify target groups. In either case, a segment of the population is identified for attention, and communications are constructed with reference to the group's psychographics. This convergence of health communication and marketing practice suggests a movement away from an instructional, authoritarian approach and towards a more subtle marketing approach. This raises a series of empirical hypotheses which might be investigated in a study of health campaigns. This would be premised on Davidson's (1992) claim that health campaigns are read as advertisements, and would investigate the question: what exactly is being sold? While this is beyond the scope of the present thesis, some provisional comments are in order. These concern the concepts of choice, surveillance and risk.

Consumerism stands in a curious relationship to choice, especially with regard to smoking. A standard critical (Marxist) argument might be that choice is an illusion fostered by a capitalist need to convert exchange value, a marketing practice of fragmented psychographic segmentation and an ideology of individualism. These arguments are countered by the advertising discourse of the unique selling proposition, the alternative Marxist term, 'user value', and the user-commodity nexus it implies (which Gottdiener, 1995, proposes to resurrect from its relative neglect by Marxist scholars) and by a critical account of individualism, possibly from a political economy perspective, or a juxtaposition with the rise of community-based political interest groups. Health, in relation to smoking, presents an alternative critique of illusion and choice which is both cruder and more subtle. On the one hand, choice is illusory because smokers, by the medical-addictive account, do not stand on an even physiological playing-field: the cognitive psychological 'choice' to

quit is countermanded by physiology. This problem has been discussed in detail in sections 1.4 and 1.5 in relation to the idea of the dissonant smoker, and the work of Schachter on addiction. On the other hand, the medical imperative forecloses any apparent choice offered by health-related 'information': essentially, you may choose anything, as long as it is health.

Similarly, Nettleton and Bunton (1995) note that contemporary marketing practice articulates with the practice of surveillance. "Contemporary health promotion techniques that aim to listen more attentively to the views of lay people, by using qualitative interviews, participant observation or health diaries, penetrate into the lives and minds of subjects" (Nettleton and Bunton, 1995 p.47). This use of the concept of surveillance marks an interesting continuity of present-day qualitative practices with the traditional statistical and personality-based practices of surveillance discussed in section 1.6. This intrusiveness is especially obvious in the standard psychological intervention on smoking described by Bennett and Murphy (1997 p.55-7) which entails the following five stages: establishing the motivation to quit, identifying smoking triggers, cutting down, stopping and preventing relapse. Curiously, this approach entails the multiplication of choice: the big choice whether or not to quit is exchanged for a complete psychological kit of smaller choices: choosing a day to quit, identifying all the moments of likely temptation to smoke throughout the day for heightened vigilance and techniques for resolve-maintenance and so forth. While such approaches are more egalitarian than traditional, didactic approaches, Nettleton and Bunton note one unintended consequence: "a more authoritarian health regime may be easier to challenge, ignore or reject than a supporting, caring one that sets an agenda for our lifestyles" (Nettleton and Bunton, 1995 p.47). A similar point is made by Riessman (1983) in relation to the medicalization of several natural life events and states for women: this has often proceeded with the active collaboration of some groups (upper and middle class) of women, and that the process has involved both gain and loss.

A further problem with the concept of lifestyle choices relates to the usual target group of smoking-related communication: the structurally disadvantaged. This group is often ignored by consumer marketing practice because of its limited 'spending power'. It has already been noted that this group's lack of consumer choice is often used to justify smoking as the only affordable means of 'luxury' or relaxation. Ironically, Blaxter (1990 p.223) notes that this group would also benefit least from lifestyle changes.

Besides choice and surveillance, 'lifestyle' can be considered in relation to risk: lifestyle choices in the context of health are risk-choices. This has been a recurring theme throughout this thesis. For example, it is explicit in the medical discourse on the illness correlates of smoking and passive smoking, and thence it is an assumption on which an ever-growing raft of additional discourses and practices are premised or disputed, including litigation, discrimination against smokers, smoking bans and the promotion of stop-smoking products. It is also present in the tobacco industry's response of opening up the representational space of relative risk, through first filtered and then reduced tar and nicotine cigarettes and cigarettes containing tobacco substitutes. It is also inverted in the oppositional account of risk-taking as positively connoted adventure-seeking (or possibly, as macho). In this case especially, the negotiation of risk becomes an issue for health campaigners. In prioritising the narrow definition of risk favoured in the medical discourse identified in chapter five (as a prime cause of disease), a medically premised approach ignores alternative constructions of risk. In addition, by including smoking within a large package of other risk-decisions, or lifestyle choices, the smoker may be allowed to 'compensate' by making 'safer' decisions in other choices, such as drinking, diet and exercise. This places the proponents of anti-smoking messages in competition with proponents of other lifestyle choices.

One final point may be made in relation to risk: who is *perceived* as holding responsibility? Beck (1997 p.6) argues that the perception of responsibility is not straightforward. Governments may be blamed for the results of the activities of private companies. In the case of smoking, the issue is confounded by the medical representation of addiction. The difficulty in persuading smokers to quit heightens attention to the point at which the initial risk-commitment occurs. As noted above from the perspective of the advertiser, the stakes are high in relation to adolescents. For this reason, effective health campaigning will follow Gottdiener's advice and explore the production of oppositional sub-cultural representations among adolescents, because this is what advertisers do for a living. All this highlights a certain paradoxical ambiguity in relation to risk: the addiction model identifies a single and largely irreversible risk decision (to start smoking or not), whereas health campaigning to persuade smokers to quit, together with advertising for stop-smoking products, is premised on the (qualified) freedom of the smoker to choose to quit. This, in turn, has a further consequence: the tobacco companies may argue that they are not liable for smoking-related illness and death because smokers are free agents who have ignored the health warnings on the packets.

8.8 Concluding Remarks

This thesis has adopted the rhetorical and representational approach advocated by social constructionism and grounded in structuralism. This approach has usually bracketed issues of truth with regard to the respective claims of different constructions, although radical theorists have occasionally denied the existence of 'truth' itself. The extreme relativist, 'there is nothing outside discourse' position would, perhaps, maintain that the medical discourse is no more or less valid than any other perspective on smoking. However, taking a less radical platform, which does not dispense altogether with 'reality', the critic must evaluate the respective claims to validity and importance of the identified representations, and here it is that one is obliged to consider the morality of giving equal support to each type of representation. The medical representations of smoking undoubtedly produce positive effects on a wide scale, such as reducing mortality rates and preventing illness. Some of the implications of medicalization, however, may be evaluated negatively. Focusing on addiction models of smoking may generate feelings of helplessness and dependence on expensive medical 'treatments' which undermine self-images of conscious active agency. The individualising effects of medicalization deflect the responsibility for the problem of smoking from structural economic and political causes and let governments 'off the hook'. The annexing of the concept of risk has expanded the medical domain by defining a new group of patients: the potentially sick. As a moral authority, medicine has usurped the role of the priest in taming chance. Sontag (1991) opens her analysis of *Illness as metaphor* with an extended metaphor of the land of the sick, "that other place" which each of us is obliged, at some time, to visit. For me, this characterisation of the "night-side of life" was reminiscent of Dante's topography of the afterlife, where each mortal's soul receives its measured deserts. Medicine, as a secular morality, cannot threaten its congregation with eternal damnation, but it can, and does, construct a metaphorical landscape of the future contingent upon present behaviour. Individualising, or victim-blaming places pressure on smokers to feel guilty about their habit and to worry about their long-term health and, for some, their inability to give up. If such psychological factors themselves effect health, then medicalization may also serve to compound the health risks of smoking.

While addiction may 'explain' why people continue to smoke, it cannot, logically, explain why people take up smoking in the first place. A purely medical representation of smoking thus ignores the factors related to the decision to start smoking - factors often identified

as social psychological, such as whether or not family and friends smoke. Indeed, individualisation reduces the agency of the potential smoker to a passive compliance with 'peer pressure' - the smoker is weak-willed: "In health promotional discourses, alcohol use and smoking tend therefore to be removed from both their social meaning and their social context" (Lupton, 1995 p.149). This denies the importance of the perceived social costs of non-conformity to the teenage smoker and the validity of alternative sub-cultural representations in decisions to start smoking. This construction of youth probably accounts for the special position allotted to youth amongst smoking statistics and press reporting, both as (potential) smokers and as victims of passive smoking.

If one accepts the truth of the health-related findings on smoking, and agrees with the proposed definition of smoking as a problem, what are the implications of the present studies? Even if the cause of the problem happens to lie in the interaction between chemicals contained in tobacco and human physiology, the globalising tendencies of medical representations may not secure the reduction of the problem. Health education campaigning on purely medical representations fails to address the range of other ways available to people for thinking and talking about smoking. Some of the alternative representations of smoking identified in this thesis are broadly pro-tobacco. Others, however, are not, and one possible effect of medicalization is that these alternative negative representations of smoking are themselves deemphasised in medical rhetoric. That is, for the broader anti-smoking 'cause', medicalization may serve to both weaken other anti-smoking arguments and to ignore, unwisely, alternative pro-smoking arguments. The medicalization thesis is critical of proponents of the medical representation for denying any role to alternative representations and for subjugating those representations. If Sontag and Barthes are right, representations will not simply vanish if they are ignored by the medical perspective: they must be identified and criticised.

This thesis is intended as a contribution to this process both theoretically and substantively. The field of smoking-related representations is changing rapidly at the present time. In some respects this suggests that any contemporary analysis will become out-dated quickly. This, of course, is not any argument for abstaining from contemporary analysis, but it does highlight the importance of setting the contemporary within a wider, historical context. This context shows that the current developments in public representations of smoking are not radically new. They are, instead, further elaborations of a labyrinth of meaning which has at its core a primarily medical conception of smoking.

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Appendices

TIMES INDEX THEMES - QUANTITATIVE SUMMARY**APPENDIX 4.1**

1. SUPPLIES, PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION & SALE	TOTAL = 585
MON(16) PS0(34) PS1(142) PS2(21) PS3(9) PS4(27) PS5(7) PS6(35) PS6R(38) PS7(10) PS8(76) PS8A(33) PS8P(36) PS8U(24) PS8W(18) PSE(8) TA1(16) TA2(23) TBSB(12)	
2. CRIME: THEFT & SMUGGLING	TOTAL = 161
CR1(125) CR2(36)	
3. FINANCE	TOTAL = 495
FN0(89) FN1(12) FN2(95) FN2B(151) FN3(90) FN4(32) FNHS(12) SH0(14)	
4. SMOKING	TOTAL = 513
SM0(238) SM1(164) SM3(17) SMAT(51) SMOT(30) SPOS(13)	
5. HEALTH RISKS	TOTAL = 551
SD0(173) SD1(44) SD1L(191) SD1N(10) SD2(28) SD3(38) SD4(11) SD5(35) SM2(9) TA5(12)	
6. PASSIVE SMOKING	TOTAL = 90
SD0P(44) SD1P(7) SD1LP(10) CY5(25) CY6(4)	
7. CHILDREN & YOUNG PEOPLE	TOTAL = 194
CY0(19) CY1(41) CY2(58) CY3(13) CYD(22) CYM(16) CYS(25)	
8. TOBACCO	TOTAL = 286
TB0(4) TB1(34) TB1M(6) TB6(88) TB7(55) TB8(22) TBHR(11) TBNB(44) TBSN(22)	
9. 'SAFE' CIGARETTES	TOTAL = 210
TB2F(31) TB4(112) TB3(67)	
10. SMOKING IN PUBLIC & AT WORK	TOTAL = 373
SP0(61) SP1(130) SP2(32) SP3(11) SP4(17) SP5(13) SP6(22) SP7(5) SW1(82)	
11. NON/ANTI-SMOKING GROUPS	TOTAL = 81
HGP(74) NS(7)	
12. HEALTH CAMPAIGNS & MEASURES	TOTAL = 502
FND(25) HC0(143) HC1(54) HCE(15) HG0(51) HG1(9) HG1D(6) HG1G(15) HG1N(15) HG1O(8) HG1P(10) HG2(23) HG2O(26) HG2W(7) HL1(31) HL2(64)	
13. ADVERTISING & SPONSORSHIP	TOTAL = 634
AS0A(243) AS0C(24) AS0M(25) AS0S(19) AS1(13) AS2(64) AS2O(20) AS3(6) AS4(38) AS5(23) AS6(114) AS7(5) AS8(13) AS9(15) PG1(12)	
14. LITIGATION	TOTAL = 71
LT0(19) LT1(52)	
15. DISCRIMINATION & SMOKERS RIGHTS	TOTAL = 70
DI1(8) DI2(17) DI3(19) DI4(5) SGP(21)	
16. CONTROVERSY, MEDIA & DEVELOPING COUNTRIES	TOTAL = 55
HL3(24) HL4(11) SD0M(4) SMED(9) TWD(7)	
17. MISCELLANEOUS - AC1(54) MISC(94) TA0(10)	TOTAL = 158

OVERALL TOTAL = 5029

1. SUPPLIES, PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION & SALE

Supplies In the post-war decade, there were 26 items on tobacco supplies and shortages (PS0), mostly reporting Parliamentary speeches. The issue was raised again in the 70s (8 items) in the context of inadequate world supplies, the replacement of tobacco by other crops and experimental UK crops. Between '46 and '69, 137 items on tobacco imports (PS1) were coded, including 25 in '47, mainly relating to parliamentary speeches and negotiations of supplies of Jamaican and Cuban cigars, and of tobacco from the Balkans, Greece, Turkey, USA, Canada, India and Rhodesia, with an emphasis on Empire preferences. There were several items in '65-6 on the embargo on Rhodesian tobacco following the unilateral declaration of independence, and in '69 on negotiations with Greece. After '69 only five items were coded: import statistics in '74 and the effects of cheap imports on UK industries in '85, '87 and '94. Home-grown tobacco (PS2) was discussed in eight items in '47 and in a further seven items between '48 and '57, including the distribution of plants to pensioners. The issue was raised again in '73 and the early 80s (six items) where it was linked with increased commercial product prices.

Production Items relating to production and the 'state of the industry' (PS8P) were coded throughout the period. These comprised several related themes: production and the effects of fuel restrictions ('47, '74) and of falling sales ('77), especially following the failure of synthetic tobacco in '77-8, when supplies were burnt. The nationalisation of the industry was proposed in '46, '47, '58 and '66. There were also a number of general articles, including a series of three in '85 on the rise of the tobacco industry. 76 items on labour hours, conditions and pay, together with related strike action, were coded (PS8), mostly in the first two decades, although there were 10 items in the 70s. Production automation was coded separately (PS8A). The related disputes were reported in 29 articles between '60-3, including wrangles over bonus cuts for strikers. Three further items on the new technology were coded in the 70s. Workforce dismissals were also coded separately (PS8W). Five items in '48 reported protests at dismissals caused by tobacco supply cuts. In '82-6 and '91-3, a series of job losses were related to cheap imports and high tax. 24 items were coded on the Tobacco Workers' Union and the TUC (PS8U), 17 of which appeared in '47-'51, with the remainder between '54 and '67. These reported conferences and meetings with the Board of Trade.

Official meetings and appointments of the Company of Tobacco Pipe-Makers and Tobacco Blenders (TA1) were reported regularly through the early '60s, '70s and early '80s, after livery was granted in '60. Monopolies Commission investigations (MON) of supply and machinery at Imperial were reported in nine items in '61-2, and of filter tips in two items in '67 and '69. There were four items on takeovers in the '80s and '90s.

Distribution, Sale and Export In '47-8, nine items on rationing proposals (PS3) were coded and between '47-'57 there were 27 items on token-administered concessions to pensioners (PS4). Forces tobacco issues and concessions (PS5) were discussed in five articles in '47, '52 and '62 and in '71-2, two further items reported a BMJ call for a government campaign to stop smoking and an increase in smoking by soldiers. Distribution and retail outlets (PS6) were coded throughout the 50 years, with particular emphasis in the first 5 years (18 items), where supply shortages were related to proposed bans on certain outlets, including cafés and grocery shops. The remaining 17 items are scattered throughout the rest of the period. In '67-9, the issue of resale price maintenance (PS6R) was coded 37 times, including supermarket price-cutting wars, threatened legal action and the impact on small retailers. The introduction of stores' own (cheap) brands (TBSB) was coded in two periods: in six items between '65-9, and six further items between '83-5. Ten items on vending machines (PS7) were coded in '62 including a ban in Jersey, '68 and the early '70s, including refusal of government aid for decimalisation, and also in '79 and '86. Items on the National Union of Retail Tobacconists (TA2) were coded regularly in the first half of the period. Most of the 23 items reported conferences, including calls for duty reductions, discussion of medical reports and related government action.

Eight items on UK exports (PSE) were coded. In '47-50: reduction to Australia, resumption to France, in '70-3 to France and Italy, and in '84, a big jump in snuff exports was reported.

2. CRIME: THEFT & SMUGGLING

Two sorts of crime were coded: those of theft and robbery of tobacco and tobacco-related products (CR1), and those of smuggling and duty evasion (CR2). The first sort comprised 125 items, all but four of which appeared between '46 and '70. The category is relatively homogenous and self-contained: few, if any links with other categories are made explicitly.

The Times Index provides little detail beyond the words 'theft' or 'robbery' and, usually, the location. Also included here are related prosecutions and notices of the recovery of stolen tobacco products.

There are fewer items (36) in the second category. These are found periodically throughout the 50 years: through the '50s, the late '60s and from the early '80s onwards, with 12 items in '92-'95. They are less homogeneous than the first category. '50s items focused on prosecutions of duty-evasion, including a case among US Airmen and of a present of cigarettes to tug rescue workers, and also of smuggling in prisons. Late-'60s items all related to charges for smuggling cigarettes and cigars. '80s items focused on the increase in smuggling from Belgium and how it is done. The final four years relate tobacco and alcohol smuggling to duty increases, which made the practice more lucrative than cannabis smuggling, and cost the Exchequer £65m; and to possible duty reductions to counter this, following the Canadian example. The effects of bootlegging by individuals on UK off-licences is also reported. Finally, two items in '95 report on the Enlightened Tobacco Companies' attempts to side-step import duty and the High Court Ruling that the practice was illegal.

3. FINANCE

Prices and Duty 95 items on duty and government revenue (FN2) were coded throughout the period, including reports on Parliamentary speeches and correspondence. In '52-3, the Retail Tobacconists Union organised a petition for duty reductions, and tax-collection methods were changed in '76. In '82 another petition was organised by the industry. Targeted taxation focused on coupon brands in '76 and high tar brands in '78. Harmonisation of EEC taxes was reported in '82-3. Items were linked to sales ('82), job losses ('86) and the effect of bootlegging on UK off-licences ('93). A '95 item reported that tobacco tax "hits the poor hardest". 151 items specifically on budget measures (FN2B) were coded separately throughout the period, with 31 items in '47-8 on Parliamentary and Committee discussions of proposals, correspondence, an appeal by tobacco workers and discussion of the effects on retail. Further items coded were similar, with industry warnings of job threats in '82, '85 and '91. Price changes by manufacturers and retailers (FN3) were reported in 90 items between '47-'87, with especially dense reporting after '74. Regular reports of price rises were punctuated by items on 'price wars' in '68, '76-7, '81,

'83 and '86. There was a further 'bin' category of 89 items on 'prices' (FN0) not coded elsewhere, with reports between '49-'92 and especially in the '60s. Detail is generally poor, but an early item noted the effects of sterling devaluation ('49). The effects of the Rhodesian embargo were discussed in '66-7 and of EC membership in '70 and '77, and in '92 in relation to smuggling. 12 items on the use of tobacco tax revenue to pay for cancer research, health education and treatment were coded between '56-'91 (FNHS). Import duties and duty free allowances and prices (FN1) were reported in 12 items between '46-'72.

Shares Tobacco shares performance and disputes were coded in 32 items (FN4), in '56-7, '61-3, '67-71 and '90-2, with the Church of Scotland and Hampstead council disposing of shares in '62-3 and the US ruling on liability resulting in heavy trading in '92. Ownership and sale of shares by health organisations and charities (SH0) was coded separately in 14 items, one in '63, 11 in '82-5 and two in '95. In '63 the Royal College of Surgeons used their investments to fund research. In '84 the BMA was discovered to be advising doctors to invest in tobacco shares. In '85 they produced a report on similar investments by other health institutions and charities, which resulted in sales of shares, and set up a tobacco-free investment trust. In '95, two cancer charities were reported to have tobacco investments.

4. SMOKING

The category SM0 was the second largest coded, with 238 items. It served as a 'bin' category for items on smoking which were not coded elsewhere, usually on account of poor detail (cf. MISC). Three items were coded before '55, with increasing numbers up to '89 and fewer thereafter. The category included articles and correspondence on 'smoking' and 'smokers' habits', surveys and Parliamentary debates, business and diary notes. Statistics (SM1) were coded in 164 items throughout the period. '40s and '50s items relate to 'consumption', 'sales' and 'expenditure'. Sales declines and medical reports are related in the early-mid '60s and mid '70s, together with price increases and increased sales of filter cigarettes ('70,'78). The effects of advertising and other sales promotion techniques was also reported ('67, '92). Against reports of general decline nationally, there was increasing concern to identify who was and wasn't smoking, from the mid-70s. These items report high levels among nurses ('72, '80), fewer women quitting ('88, '91-2),

especially among working mothers of young children ('86), and low income groups ('94). Survey and consumption data was also compared internationally, with Britons the heaviest smokers in Europe in '78, and in '87, whilst smoking kept pace with population growth in Industrialised countries, it had increased by 40% in developing countries.

The motivations to smoke (SMOT) were coded in 30 items from '59 onwards and especially after '80. Early items called for research. Items on (nicotine) addiction were common in the '80s and '90s, including a report on a possible 'defective gene' ('94). Stress was mentioned ('73, '87) and fear of weight-gain among women ('95). Cost was cited as a deterrent ('59, '80). Pleasure was mentioned once ('80). There were 13 items on positive health effects of smoking (SPOS), in the early '70s and between '88-'94, including control of mental arousal ('88) and prevention of onset of Alzheimer's disease ('91, '93). Other effects (SM3) were coded in 17 items across the period, including correspondence on appetite ('47), fire hazard ('56, '62, '68), aggression and dissidence ('76) and poor academic performance ('86).

Attitudes to smoking (SMAT - 51 items) were coded from '63 onwards, with reports of the views of royalty ('63, '92), medical students ('67) and the sports council ('71). Opinion polls and surveys found smokers made to feel anti-social in '72, a tolerant public in '83 and smokers as the 'new pariahs of society' in '91. A series of articles and letters discussed the rights and ethics of smoking throughout the final decade.

5. HEALTH RISKS

A single item in '48 opens the coding of general health effects of smoking (SD0). A further 172 items appeared from '56 onwards, with peaks in '62 (RCP report), the early-'70s and the early-'90s. This category is in some respects a 'bin' for non-specified health issues, including mortality statistics. The details are generally poor, citing sources: medical, governmental and industrial, and periodic calls to action, including advertising bans. The increasing cost of smoking to the NHS and US health system (SM2) was coded in nine items in '77, '87 and '91-4. Items coded under specific health issues are discussed below.

Cancer The link between smoking and cancer (SD1) was coded in 44 items, although some of these may refer to lung cancer (SD1L below). The possibility of a link was first

raised in two items in '52-3, with a tobacco company statement in '56. There were 17 items in '62, the year of the RCP report, including leading articles on the report and statements from the Imperial Cancer Research Fund, manufacturers, teachers, the National Association for Non-Smokers, and a report on the sales impact. From '64-'70 there were a further 12 items, including research by the Tobacco Research Council and a specific warning to women. In '70 falling cancer registration was linked with anti-smoking campaigns. In the late '70s details of the carcinogenic effects of smoking were reported and in '88 the link was used to recommend smoking bans in public places. In '94-5 there were five further items. 12 items coded grants, statistics and reports in relation to the Tobacco Research Council (TA5).

191 items specifically on lung cancer (SD1L) were coded from '51, with dense coverage in the mid-'50s, '62-4 and '75. The first item reported a speech by Dr Doll. This was followed in the '50s and early '60s by a series of medical reports, including: the MRC ('51, '57), WHO ('52, '62), and the RCP ('62), and other UK and US medical and scientific bodies, together with the international reception of these reports. Items also reported comment and research by manufacturers ('57) and retailers, and parliamentary debate. There were only three items in the decade '65-'74, but in '75, 26 items reported the protests around the ICI beagle experiments and a proposed alternative explanation of lung cancer. The remaining items up to '95 reported smoking and lung cancer statistics - especially in women, details of the causal pathway, and evidence of ignored German research at the start of WW2. 10 further items reported other specific forms of cancer linked to smoking (SD1N), including: lip ('59), mouth ('62, '85, '94), larynx and oesophagus ('78), leukaemia ('88), cervix ('88) and, from snuff: nose ('56).

Heart Disease 38 items were coded linking smoking with heart disease (SD3). Four items in '57 considered a possible link with coronary thrombosis. Seven items in the mid-'60s discussed medical reports. In '75-6 the medical evidence was contested and heart disease deaths linked to changing smoking patterns. Increased risks in conjunction with oral contraceptives were reported in '76-7, while heart patients were ignoring medical advice to quit in '79. Further research was reported between '84-'95 in relation to evidence on diet and exercise, with one report focusing on the high risk among working class men ('87) and in Glasgow ('94). There was also an item on a possible connection with nicotine patches ('93).

Pregnancy and other risks Pregnancy risks (SD5) were coded in 35 items, with the first

in '59, three items in '64-6, 13 in '71-7, one in '80 and 17 between '84-'94. Risks to the foetus included: breathing problems ('74), intellectual impairment ('84, '89), low birthweight ('86) and 'odd looking babies' ('87), together with placental damage ('85, '89) and mortality ('73, '77). Items were linked with health campaigns directed at pregnant women ('87, '90), including a report that teenage mothers were least likely to quit ('93), and with potential damages claims ('86).

11 items between '56-'85 reported other respiratory diseases (SD4) including bronchitis, tuberculosis and emphysema. Other medical conditions linked with smoking (SD2, 28 items), include migraine and food allergies ('78), impotence and infertility ('74, '85, '95), eye disease ('86, '90), early menopause ('77-8), rheumatoid arthritis ('92) and reduced effectiveness of pain killers ('73). Smokers also take more days off work through minor smoking-related ailments ('68, '79, '88).

6. PASSIVE SMOKING

The first report of the health risks associated with passive smoking (SD0P - 44 items) appeared in the mid-70s, where it was identified as 'secondary smoking'. Between '73-5, five items warned of the general health danger. In '78, the WHO resolved to assert the right of non-smokers to 'enjoy unpolluted air' and urged governments to emphasise the danger. The issue was raised again in '84, and between '86 and '94, an average of four items appeared each year, linking passive smoking with damage to unborn babies and in support of restrictions on smoking in public places and at work. Curiously, there were also several items relating to passive smoking dangers among pets, including the contested claim that a budgerigar died of lung cancer.

Items specifically linking passive smoking with (lung) cancer (SD1P and SD1LP - 17 items) began in '78, but as with general health-related items, reporting only became regular after '86 and continued into the 90s. The Times Index indicates coverage of a hotly-contested debate over the scientific evidence, and widely contradictory estimates of resulting UK deaths: from 300 to 40 000.

Excepting one item in '76, relating parental smoking to respiratory ailments in children, the effects of passive smoking on children only received attention from '84 onwards. 27 items

were coded (CY5, CY6) over this final decade, linking passive smoking with susceptibility to respiratory problems, including bronchitis and asthma, meningitis, lung cancer, infection and cot death. There were also four items describing other 'effects'. The children of parents who smoke were described as distressed, badly behaved and more likely to be absent from school. These findings were also linked to a recommendation that smokers should not be allowed to adopt or foster young children.

7.CHILDREN & YOUNG PEOPLE

The sale of cigarettes to children (CY1) was coded in 41 items, in '62-3, '75-6 and after '85. '60s items called for bans and increased penalties. '70s items reported shopkeepers flouting the law, an ASH campaign and correspondence. '80s and '90s items reported further campaigns, including "Parents Against Tobacco" ('90) and Parliamentary discussions of proposed legislation ('86, '90-1), law reports ('92, '94) and other measures including the use of a 13 year old to 'trap' shopkeepers ('90). 58 items reported surveys and statistics of children and young people smoking (CY2), starting in '56, and increasing after '84. Effects and correlates of smoking among children ('73) were reported in 13 items from '58 onwards, including academic performance ('68, '88), heart disease ('74), irritability ('86), absenteeism ('89) and lung cancer ('89). 22 items reported deterrent measures (CYD) in '66 and after '74, including tougher warnings on packets ('86), tax increases ('86) and health education ('89). The causes of children smoking (CYM) were the subject of 16 items after '77, including role-models, especially teachers ('77, '80, '85, '91) and parents and friends ('88, '94) and anxiety ('79, '87, '93). The role of advertising was reported to be less important ('88, '94). Smoking in schools and social services care (CYS) was reported in 25 items between '58-72 and after '85, including action against children found smoking ('58, '62, '71), disputes over the provision of cigarettes to children in care ('85, '91) and of smoking areas for VI formers ('67-8, '92). A further 19 general items on smoking by children and young people (CY0) were coded in '58-63 and after '81, including correspondence and Parliamentary debate.

8. TOBACCO

Four items (TB0) discussed tobacco blending in '48, '55 and '64. 84 items relating to cigarettes were coded. 44 reported the launching and performance of new brands (TBNB), three in '60-2, 31 between '68-'71 and the remaining ten between '72-'85. Many of the '68-'71 brands were the new king-size and filtered, with mild brands appearing after '72. Six items related to menthol cigarettes (TB1M): sales, brand introductions and a link with fire hazards. All but three of the remaining 34 items (TB1) appeared between '61-'81 and reported market performance of specific brands and general issues such as tobacco content ('73-4) and flavourings ('61, '77). In '93 one item reported the development of a fast-smoking brand "to give smoker quicker nicotine fix". Hand-rolling tobacco (TBHR) was the subject of 11 items between '67-'91, including reports on duty increases ('77, '84) and smuggling.

88 items on cigars and cigar-smoking (TB6) were coded throughout the period, but especially between '66-'82. In the late-'60s a number of new brands were launched and items report their promotion campaigns. Tax concessions were proposed in '69 and '73 to encourage smokers to switch from cigarettes. A series of price rises were reported in the mid-'70s and consumption was rising ('77), but fell in '82 because of more price rises. In '95 two items reported celebrity and women cigar-smokers.

Pipe-smoking (TB7) was the subject of 55 items throughout the period, with regular reports on the "Pipeman of the Year" and several items on women pipe-smokers ('54, '69, '71) and a dispute in '92 over the suggestion that pipe-smokers should enjoy reduced motor insurance. There were 22 items on chewing tobacco (TB8), in '62, '73 and '84-'91, with an early report on the danger of mouth cancer ('62) and a series of items in the '80s and '90s on Skoal Bandits, including proposed legislation to ban sales to children ('86) and generally ('90-1). 22 items were coded on dry snuff (TBSN), with one item in '56 linking it to nasal cancer and further items between '78-'92 reporting snuff-taking championships, sales performances - which declined during the miners' strike ('85), the promotion of snuff as an alternative to smoking ('80-1) and a Monopolies Commission report on a proposed takeover ('85).

9. 'SAFE' CIGARETTES

31 items throughout the period related to filter tipped cigarettes (TB2F). The first 'tipped' cigarettes were reported in '49, with items on the development of various filters in '60, '65, '67-8, '73 and '84, their increasing market share ('63, '70) and the promotion of specific brands. Their greater safety was questioned in '81. 68 items on tar and nicotine levels and additives (TB3) were coded, starting with the publication of a table of cigarettes by Which? in '71, and including further tables and parliamentary discussions. High-tar sales dropped in '78 as the number of low-tar brands increased. Differential taxes were implemented in '78 to persuade smokers to switch and, by '80, there were no more high tar brands available, as companies invested in further tar reductions. The dangers of carbon monoxide were raised in several items in the early '80s and the safety of low tar cigarettes was questioned in '81-2. Market competition in the new low-tar sector was reported in '84 and new tar classification rules were introduced in '85 to further reduce tar levels. Only six items were coded after '85, including the development of an extremely low-tar cigarette in '89.

112 items on tobacco substitutes (TB4) were coded, 42 in '77. There were four letters in '47 and only two items between '48 and '67, when research began. The ban on substitutes was lifted in '70 and test marketing began in '73, amid protests. Research by manufacturers and an Independent Scientific Committee continued through '74-6 and legislation requiring a government licence was discussed ('76). A number of brands incorporating two approved substitutes were launched in '77 with complaints about misleading advertising from ASH and health authorities. Within two months low sales led to production cuts and brands were withdrawn in '78 as manufacturers destroyed supplies. Between '79-'94 there were 11 further items on 'safer' cigarettes, including claims in '88 and '94 that the industry had abandoned earlier research into 'safe' cigarettes for fear of implying earlier products were unsafe.

10. SMOKING IN PUBLIC & AT WORK

Public Places 61 general items on smoking in public places and calls for its banning were

coded (SP0) from '57 onwards, with particular emphasis in '67-'71 and after '87. In the mid-60s smoking in churches (64) and telephone kiosks (67) were discussed. A ban was imposed in Guernsey in '71 and the issue was discussed in parliament in the late '70s. In '87, 90% of people were in favour of no-smoking zones in public areas, and a government campaign was linked to evidence on passive smoking. In '88, EEC recommendations were announced and New York legislation introduced. In '91, a government code of practice was introduced and there was a prison riot over a smoking ban. In '94, smoking was banned on beaches in Hawaii and Bournemouth and US manufacturers were actively protesting against further bans. 32 items on smoking in places of entertainment were coded (SP2) between '46 and '77, including experimental bans in cinemas and a theatre in '57 and a LCC vote to ban in cinemas in '64, whilst cinemas themselves remained reluctant in '66. 11 council bans were reported between '57 and '92 (SP3) and, during the same period a further 17 items reported debated bans among various official bodies (SP4), including the BMA ('56), the Labour Party ('78) and the TUC (81). Bans on smoking in hospitals (SP5) were raised in 3 articles in the early '60s and again between '73-8 (9 items) and in '93. Smoking in stores (SP7) was the focus of five items between '57-'61, including a parliamentary discussion and a ban by Marks and Spencer Ltd, both in '59. Apart from one café ban in '59, smoking in pubs, restaurants and hotels (SP6) was not coded until '77, with 20 further items between '80-'95. The balance of action seems to be less in favour of bans than in the other categories, with several guides listing no-smoking establishments ('84, '91)

Public Transport Smoking on public transport (SP1) was the subject of 130 items, starting in '47 and increasing in frequency through to '95. Smokers were gradually banned from certain train compartments ('58), the lower decks of buses ('59) and certain airplane seats ('71). The first no-smoking taxi was approved in '78 and the accommodation for smokers was increasingly restricted, with a complete ban on LU in '84 and BA internal ('88) and Antipodean flights ('93), a ferry service ('89), London area buses and trains ('90) and National Express coaches ('92). Whilst many of the bans were fiercely contested, the general picture is summed up by two articles: in '77 ASH published a survey of non-smoking accommodation on airlines and in '93 FOREST published a guide to airlines which permitted smoking.

Work Smoking restrictions and bans in the workplace were coded once in '47 and then periodically between '56-'84, with 55 items in '85-'94. 50s items focused on foodshops and coalmines, 60's on oil and gas works disputes, 70's, the civil service and 80s and 90s,

teachers and office workers. Opinion surveys and passive smoking research were used in support of bans throughout the 80s and the Health and Safety at Work act was invoked in '86. Through the late '80s and early 90s more organisations imposed bans and the movement was supported by sustained medical reporting and by financial and legal incentives, although several items cautioned against alienating smokers. A '95 Parliamentary bill failed to get a second reading.

11. NON/ANTI-SMOKING GROUPS

74 items coded the activities of non- and anti-smoking groups (HGP). Eight items between '57-'64 included reports on the establishment of 'Smokers Anonymous' ('58) and weekend courses for addicts by the National Society of Non-Smokers ('58). From '71 onwards, and especially in '75-7, a series of reports and campaigns, mainly by ASH, called for measures to reduce smoking, including educational campaigns ('71), advertising and sponsorship bans ('75-8, '82-4), bans on workplace smoking ('92-4) and in public areas and transport ('76), campaigns to prevent the sale of cigarettes to children ('75, '77) (- with the launch of "Parents Against Tobacco" in '90), and criticism of media reporting ('75) and government tokenism ('77, '86, '92). There were also several items on the 'intolerance' of anti-smoking 'busibodies' ('76, '83) and their 'militant tactics' ('78)

A further seven items coded non-smoking interests (NS), including nominations of "non-smoker of the year" ('71, '74, '77) and smoke detection kits ('88, '93).

12. HEALTH CAMPAIGNS & MEASURES

Campaigns 25 items coded cigarette prices (tax) as a deterrent and legislation to curb sales wars (FND) from '67 onwards, with eight items in '77. Conflict with European policy was reported in '77 and '94-5. 143 items were coded on general health campaign issues (HC0). Coverage began in '56-7, with 27 items between '61-3 and consistent reporting thereafter. Medical calls for campaigns were discussed in Parliament in '56-7. Reporting of local, national and overseas campaigns, including leaflets, posters and films, sponsored by a variety of organisations, including government, local authorities, medical and anti-

smoking groups, continued through the period. No-smoking days were reported in '75 and after '82. Targetted campaigns were discussed from the '70s, including passive smoking ('73, '92), pregnancy ('74), women ('85) and smoking in front of children ('80). Items were linked with other deterrent measures including price, and medical research and death statistics. 54 further items coded campaigns aimed at children and young people (HC1), with reports from '54 onwards and especially during the '80s. Strategies included a poster competition ('81), a pop video ('86), a puppet show ('87) and school educational packs (e.g. '88). 15 items between '70-'95 coded the effectiveness of campaigns and government warnings (HCE), with most items reporting failures.

Quitting 170 items on quitting were coded, including 51 general items (HG0) in '57, '62 and after '69. These discussed the difficulties of quitting, including advice, with reports that professional med ('71) and those with high IQs ('74) were more likely and women less likely to quit ('85, '95). The role of doctors was stressed in the '80s and items were linked with medical research. There were nine general items on 'treatments' (HG1), from '54 and six on drug treatments (HG1D) in '70, '85 and '92-3. 30 items reported nicotine gum (HG1G) and patches (HG1N) aids, with items on gum in '73 and between '80-91, and patches between '88-'95. NHS availability and possible side-effects, including addiction were reported. Other specific 'treatments' (HG1O) were coded in eight items from '70-'88, including electric shock ('70), diet ('86), mouthwash ('88) and knitting ('77). 10 items on 'psychological treatments' were coded (HG1P) from '63 onwards, including hypnotherapy. There were 23 items on clinics (HG2), mostly in '58 and '62-5, and 26 items on organised quitting (HG2O), with a series on Longnor village in '71 and an 'exercise against smoking' experiment in '80-1. There were also seven items on employers' efforts to help employees quit (HG2W), including financial incentives and therapies, between '86-'93.

Legislation Legislation to put health warnings on packaging (HL1) and then to strengthen the warnings was reported in 31 items between '64-'92, with eight items in '71. Reports also discussed the effectiveness of warnings ('77, '85, '88) and a US ruling that warnings did not protect manufacturers from legal action ('92). There were 65 items on other (proposed) legislative measures, from '64 onwards, including the failure of the '71 Health Hazards bill, and disagreement between the UK and EEC in '88-'91.

13. ADVERTISING & SPONSORSHIP

Advertising 243 general items on advertising were coded - the largest category (AS0A). A single item in '57 raised the possibility of prohibition and the issue was reported in an average of seven items a year after '61, with especially dense coverage in '64-7, '77-'85 and '91-3. No preventative steps were taken in '62, but proposed bans and voluntary limitations were discussed in Parliament and correspondence through the '60s, with expenditure limitations agreed in '66. Disagreements among manufacturers over advertising and coupons delayed agreements on voluntary curbs in '67. Proposed legislation was debated in '72-3, '81 and '93-4. Increased voluntary restrictions were introduced in the ASA-administered cigarette code in '75, with claims of abuse in '77, '85 and '88. The code and health warnings were strengthened regularly, with new agreements reported in '80, '82 and '85. The blocking of a proposed EC ban in the '90s, by the UK, Germany and the Netherlands was defended by the Health Secretary in favour of voluntary restrictions ('94). Throughout the period there were calls for bans from health and anti-smoking groups, and the issue was linked with smoking and health statistics, and, in the '90s, to the 'free speech' issue. Reports on specific advertising campaigns were also coded, mostly in the '60s.

Broadcast and cinema advertising (AS4) was coded in 38 items in '56, throughout the '60s and in ten further items after '71. Television restrictions were agreed in '62 and a ban in '65 in the UK and in '71 in the US. Cinema advertising was banned in '86. Print and billboard advertising (AS5) was coded in 23 items from '63 onwards, including Parliamentary discussions in '63, bans by *Radio Times* and the *Listener* in '69, and reports of advertisers targeting women's publications in '85-6 and '92.

24 items on advertising and children (AS0C) were coded, with two items in the '60s, including the banning of advertising on children's programmes ('61). The remaining items appeared after '83, including reports that children were most familiar with brands sponsoring sports events ('83-4) and believed that cigarettes were advertised in television ('85-6). Calls for bans were related to disputed evidence on the effectiveness of advertising ('85-8, '91, '93) and Government plans to ban advertising within a mile of schools ('94).

Sponsorship 19 general items on sponsorship (AS0S) were coded in '63, '71 and '81-'91, including calls for bans by doctors ('81, '83), voluntary spending restrictions ('82) and controversy over media coverage ('87, '91). Sports sponsorship (AS6) was coded in 114 items from '72 onwards, including a series of talks and agreements between government, industry and sports bodies. Items also reported the possibilities of alternative sponsors ('82) and especially media coverage as a means of circumventing television advertising bans ('80-2, '84, '86-7, '90). Three items in '95 reported disputes over a 'Nicorette'-sponsored yacht in a Rothmans-sponsored race. There were also five items between '81-'91 on arts sponsorship (AS7), 13 items on sponsorship of medical research (AS8) from '53-'86 and 15 items on sponsorship in relation to education (AS9) in the '80s, including protests over a proposed Philip Morris-NUS deal in '80.

Other Promotional Techniques 25 items on tobacco marketing campaigns (AS0M) were coded between '66-'77 and '93-4. 13 items on the sale and collection of cigarette cards (AS1) were coded from '54 onwards. Cigarette coupons (AS2) were the subject of 63 items, in '56 when the trade association ban was lifted, in '65-70 when manufacturers introduced coupon schemes and parliament discussed possible restrictions ('66-8) and in '76-7 when duty increases were expected to be targeted at coupon brands. 21 items in '66-'70 and '77-'80 reported other promotional offers (AS20), including cheap motor insurance ('66) and green shield stamps ('69-'70) and a law case over lottery promotion ('78-'80). Six items on shop-front advertising (AS3) were coded between '61-'91, including compulsory health warnings in '91. Packaging design (PG1) was reported in 13 items throughout the period, including proposals to display tar and nicotine contents in '75, and to remove the royal warrant in '75 and '78.

14. LITIGATION

Litigation against tobacco companies, by and on behalf of smokers, was coded in 52 items (LT1), with six between '58-'64, one in '75 and the rest between '85-'95. The first legal defeat for a US tobacco company was reported in an '88 case, where it was claimed that tobacco companies suppressed evidence of the health hazards. In '90, a US court ruling exposing manufacturers to legal action for death or injury was linked with falling market values of US and UK companies. The granting of legal aid to a group of people suing tobacco companies was reported in '94-5 and mounting court cases in '92 were linked with

the 'defection' of former cigarette advertisement models to the anti-smoking campaign.

Litigation by and on behalf of passive smokers was coded in 19 items (LT0) between '85-'95, including compensation against employers for 'industrial injuries' and, in '94, the possibility of damages suits against manufacturers in the US. The issue was linked to workplace smoking restrictions.

15. DISCRIMINATION & SMOKERS RIGHTS

49 items coded various forms of smoking-related discrimination, including employment selection and dismissal (DI1 - 8 items), insurance (DI2 - 17 items), medical treatment (DI3 - 19) and adoption (DI4 - 5 items). Excepting one item on refusal of medical treatment in '59, all items appeared after '81, with 37 in the last four years. In '93 there were 12 items on the issue of refusing medical treatment to smokers, focusing on a heart patient, drawing support from a junior health minister and condemnation from the BMA. In '94 another patient, whose bypass operation was paid for by a tobacco company, intended to sue the NHS for refusing treatment. Refusal of prospective adoptive parents was related to passive smoking dangers.

21 items were coded on smokers' rights and interest groups, 10 of which related to the founding of FOREST in '79. The rest, between '85-95 report their activities, including fighting workplace bans ('92) and discuss 'smokers rights'.

16. CONTROVERSY, MEDIA & DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

24 items coded accusations of government inactivity and hypocrisy (HL3), with four items in the early '70s and the rest from '81 onwards. Reports included criticisms of government dependence on tobacco duty ('70, '83), the power of the tobacco lobby ('81, '84), evidence that the government had known about and ignored medical reports on the link with lung cancer in '54 and '57 ('85, '88) and controversy over the former Prime Minister's consultancy work for a US Manufacturer ('92). 11 items between '88-'95 coded reports of cover-ups of health dangers by the tobacco industry (HL4). Criticism of media reporting

of health dangers (SD0M) was coded in four items in '63, '75 and '83, and nine items reported on the portrayal of smoking in the media (SMED) in '68, '70 and '89-'94. Seven items between '73-'93 reported the impact of smoking in developing countries, including tobacco farming ('80) and an anti-smoking lobby ('83).

17. MISCELLANEOUS

A further 158 items were categorised as 'miscellaneous', including 94 items which either did not fit into any other category easily, or were too poor in detail (MISC), 10 items on trade associations not included elsewhere (TA0), and 54 items on smokers' accoutrements (AC1).

FREQUENCY OF ITEMS PER YEAR FOR EACH THEME
(Raw Data for Graph 4.1)

year	theme →																	TOTAL
46	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	28
47	4	-	6	-	-	2	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	118
48	2	-	6	-	-	28	-	-	-	64	-	1	7	5	-	5	-	70
49	4	-	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	44	-	2	4	-	3	-	-	31
50	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	19	-	-	1	4	2	2	-	38
51	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	29	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	45
52	6	1	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	22	-	4	-	-	2	-	-	40
53	3	-	9	-	-	2	-	-	-	19	-	5	2	-	-	-	-	39
54	1	1	6	-	-	7	-	-	-	17	-	4	2	-	1	-	-	71
55	3	4	7	-	-	6	2	-	-	15	-	27	1	4	1	1	-	51
56	8	2	4	-	-	7	-	-	-	18	-	4	5	-	3	-	-	95
57	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	112
58	1	13	2	1	-	24	2	-	-	19	-	22	4	4	1	2	-	90
59	5	1	1	2	-	7	10	-	-	14	1	52	6	11	-	2	-	58
60	12	-	11	8	-	3	5	-	1	17	3	11	11	6	1	1	-	73
61	-	1	5	7	1	5	-	-	-	5	1	8	9	13	2	1	-	62
62	2	1	8	2	-	7	-	-	2	28	-	2	8	11	1	1	-	158
63	5	3	10	3	-	11	2	-	-	18	-	1	2	1	6	-	-	91
64	2	16	8	7	-	18	19	-	-	15	2	32	19	15	4	1	-	114
65	5	6	15	2	-	6	20	2	2	16	-	6	8	2	-	1	-	50
66	2	19	2	1	-	11	6	-	1	9	1	28	18	10	4	2	-	88
67	-	15	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	7	-	3	9	5	1	2	-	153
68	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	111
69	2	33	9	2	-	5	3	-	-	7	-	5	9	5	7	1	-	83
70	-	55	14	3	-	8	3	-	-	20	-	9	10	12	14	5	-	94
71	1	10	5	3	-	20	3	1	-	28	-	5	8	4	18	5	-	141
72	2	12	8	3	-	6	5	-	-	20	-	5	5	-	15	2	-	71
73	1	7	3	-	-	12	18	2	-	4	-	10	11	10	11	5	-	94
74	16	7	-	3	-	3	43	1	-	5	3	13	13	14	17	3	-	70
75	3	15	-	1	-	8	3	-	-	4	2	6	13	2	5	9	-	167
76	2	4	-	-	-	1	12	1	-	6	1	12	14	9	8	21	4	114
77	2	3	-	2	-	13	6	-	-	8	4	7	5	1	6	13	-	202
78	2	25	-	8	-	20	14	2	1	7	10	46	13	3	6	9	1	122
79	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	112
80	4	16	-	2	-	22	10	-	-	3	7	16	8	5	13	7	1	125
81	3	23	-	6	-	16	31	-	-	6	10	22	22	5	13	45	-	134
82	4	17	1	1	-	16	8	1	-	1	2	16	12	8	15	18	2	84
83	2	15	3	1	10	6	8	-	-	4	1	4	26	16	14	2	-	81
84	3	36	-	3	-	9	19	1	-	-	5	7	21	4	8	9	-	118
85	4	17	-	1	2	26	33	3	-	7	-	9	8	5	13	4	2	161
86	1	29	-	1	-	15	5	-	-	6	2	2	11	5	3	4	-	154
87	4	8	2	6	2	9	7	4	-	4	3	6	11	5	8	2	-	99
88	3	19	-	5	-	14	13	2	-	8	2	3	20	13	8	6	2	137
89	4	34	-	7	1	17	23	1	6	12	1	13	17	7	12	5	1	91
90	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	100
91	4	16	-	2	-	22	10	-	-	3	7	16	8	5	13	7	1	127
92	3	23	-	6	-	16	31	-	-	6	10	22	22	5	13	45	-	163
93	4	17	1	1	-	16	8	1	-	1	2	16	12	8	15	18	2	155
94	2	15	3	1	10	6	8	-	-	4	1	4	26	16	14	2	-	149
95	3	36	-	3	-	9	19	1	-	-	5	7	21	4	8	9	-	96
96	4	17	-	1	2	26	33	3	-	7	-	9	8	5	13	4	2	154
97	1	29	-	1	-	15	5	-	-	6	2	2	11	5	3	4	-	99
98	4	8	2	6	2	9	7	4	-	4	3	6	11	5	8	2	-	137
99	3	19	-	5	-	14	13	2	-	8	2	3	20	13	8	6	2	91
100	4	34	-	7	1	17	23	1	6	12	1	13	17	7	12	5	1	100
101	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	127
102	4	16	-	2	-	22	10	-	-	3	7	16	8	5	13	7	1	163
103	3	23	-	6	-	16	31	-	-	6	10	22	22	5	13	45	-	155
104	4	17	1	1	-	16	8	1	-	1	2	16	12	8	15	18	2	149
105	2	15	3	1	10	6	8	-	-	4	1	4	26	16	14	2	-	96
106	3	36	-	3	-	9	19	1	-	-	5	7	21	4	8	9	-	154
107	4	17	-	1	2	26	33	3	-	7	-	9	8	5	13	4	2	99
108	1	29	-	1	-	15	5	-	-	6	2	2	11	5	3	4	-	137
109	4	8	2	6	2	9	7	4	-	4	3	6	11	5	8	2	-	91
110	3	19	-	5	-	14	13	2	-	8	2	3	20	13	8	6	2	100
111	4	34	-	7	1	17	23	1	6	12	1	13	17	7	12	5	1	127
112	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	163
113	4	16	-	2	-	22	10	-	-	3	7	16	8	5	13	7	1	155
114	3	23	-	6	-	16	31	-	-	6	10	22	22	5	13	45	-	149
115	4	17	1	1	-	16	8	1	-	1	2	16	12	8	15	18	2	96
116	2	15	3	1	10	6	8	-	-	4	1	4	26	16	14	2	-	154
117	3	36	-	3	-	9	19	1	-	-	5	7	21	4	8	9	-	99
118	4	17	-	1	2	26	33	3	-	7	-	9	8	5	13	4	2	137
119	1	29	-	1	-	15	5	-	-	6	2	2	11	5	3	4	-	91
120	4	8	2	6	2	9	7	4	-	4	3	6	11	5	8	2	-	100
121	3	19	-	5	-	14	13	2	-	8	2	3	20	13	8	6	2	127
122	4	34	-	7	1	17	23	1	6	12	1	13	17	7	12	5	1	163
123	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	155
124	4	16	-	2	-	22	10	-	-	3	7	16	8	5	13	7	1	149
125	3	23	-	6	-	16	31	-	-	6	10	22	22	5	13	45	-	96
126	4	17	1	1	-	16	8	1	-	1	2	16	12	8	15	18	2	154
127	2	15	3	1	10	6	8	-	-	4	1	4	26	16	14	2	-	99
128	3	36	-	3	-	9	19	1	-	-	5	7	21	4	8	9	-	137
129	4	17	-	1	2	26	33	3	-	7	-	9	8	5	13	4	2	91
130	1	29	-	1	-	15	5	-	-	6	2	2	11	5	3	4	-	100
131	4	8	2	6	2	9	7	4	-	4	3	6	11	5	8	2	-	127
132	3	19	-	5	-	14	13	2	-	8	2	3	20	13	8	6	2	163
133	4	34	-	7	1	17	23	1	6	12	1	13	17	7	12	5	1	155
134	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	149
135	4	16	-	2	-	22	10	-	-	3	7	16	8	5	13	7	1	96
136	3	23	-	6	-	16	31	-	-	6	10	22	22	5	13	45	-	154
137	4	17	1	1	-	16	8	1	-	1	2	16	12	8	15	18	2	99
138	2	15	3	1	10	6	8	-	-	4	1	4	26	16	14	2	-	137
139	3	36	-	3	-	9	19	1	-	-	5	7	21	4	8	9	-	91
140	4	17	-	1	2	26	33	3	-	7	-	9	8	5	13	4	2	100
141	1	29	-	1	-	15	5	-	-	6	2	2	11	5	3	4	-	127
142	4	8	2	6	2	9	7	4	-	4	3	6	11	5	8	2	-	163
143	3	19	-	5	-	14	13	2	-	8	2	3	20	13	8	6	2	155
144	4	34	-	7	1	17	23	1	6	12	1	13	1					

PERCENTAGES OF EACH THEME

	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55
1	14.3	1.7	5.7	-	-	13.3	7.5	2.6	4.2	15.7
8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	2.2	-	2.6	5.6	3.9
7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.8	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	7.1	4.2	-	12.9	-	-	-	-	5.6	-
16	-	4.2	-	6.5	-	-	-	-	1.4	-
15	3.6	-	4.3	6.5	5.3	4.4	-	2.6	1.4	5.9
4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	0.8	2.9	-	-	8.9	12.5	10.3	38.0	7.8
13	-	5.9	5.7	3.2	-	-	5.0	5.1	1.4	9.8
6	7.1	23.7	18.6	6.5	18.4	22.2	5.0	17.9	8.5	13.7
3	21.4	5.1	-	3.2	-	-	22.5	15.4	9.9	7.8
10	46.4	54.2	62.9	61.3	76.3	48.9	47.5	43.6	21.1	35.3

	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65
1	1.1	4.5	13.3	-	2.7	8.1	1.3	5.5	1.8	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.2	-	-
5	-	-	-	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	1.1	-	2.7	-	-	2.2	0.9	-
2	13.7	0.9	-	1.7	1.4	4.8	10.1	6.6	16.7	30.0
7	2.1	8.9	5.6	-	-	3.2	12.0	22.0	5.3	8.0
11	-	0.9	3.3	1.7	-	-	1.3	-	0.9	-
14	4.2	9.8	6.7	22.4	15.1	1.6	9.5	2.2	8.9	10.0
16	2.1	1.8	1.1	1.7	1.4	-	0.6	1.1	1.8	4.0
15	1.1	-	1.1	3.4	1.4	9.7	2.5	-	3.5	2.0
4	1.1	1.8	8.9	12.1	2.7	4.8	4.4	2.2	0.9	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	23.2	46.4	12.2	13.8	2.7	1.6	20.3	6.6	24.6	6.0
13	4.2	5.4	12.2	15.5	11.0	3.2	12.0	8.8	15.8	18.0
6	25.3	6.3	3.3	8.6	9.6	17.7	11.4	6.6	9.6	8.0
3	2.1	0.9	12.2	8.6	11.0	16.1	5.1	16.5	1.8	-
10	20	12.5	18.9	8.6	38.4	29.0	9.5	17.6	7.9	14.0

	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75
1	2.3	-	0.9	2.4	1.1	11.3	4.2	2.1	2.9	1.2
8	-	-	0.9	-	2.1	0.7	-	1.1	-	1.2
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.6
2	37.5	35.9	9.0	14.5	7.4	5.0	21.1	4.3	4.3	15.0
7	3.4	2.0	2.7	6.0	19.1	30.5	4.2	12.8	8.7	8.4
11	-	-	-	-	-	2.1	2.8	1.1	5.7	6.0
14	5.7	7.8	3.6	-	10.6	9.9	2.8	9.6	1.4	1.8
16	1.1	3.3	4.5	2.4	5.3	2.1	12.7	22.3	18.6	5.4
15	8.0	9.2	16.2	18.1	11.7	12.1	7.0	8.5	8.7	3.6
4	2.3	2.0	2.7	3.6	-	2.1	1.4	-	2.9	4.8
17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.3	-	0.6
12	5.7	5.9	4.5	6	10.6	9.2	8.5	12.8	10	27.4
13	10.2	6.5	7.2	6	11.7	9.2	18.3	14.9	7.1	7.8
6	5.7	5.2	18.0	7.2	12.8	2.1	11.3	1.1	18.6	12.0
3	10.2	9.2	4.5	9.6	3.2	-	-	-	-	-
10	8.0	13.1	25.2	24.1	4.3	3.5	5.6	6.4	11.4	4.2

APPENDIX 4.3 cont'd

	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85
1	3.5	1.5	3.3	1.8	2.4	3.0	1.2	4.9	2.5	2.5
8	-	-	0.8	-	0.8	2.2	-	4.9	1.7	0.6
5	-	-	-	8.9	-	1.5	-	2.5	-	0.6
9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.7
2	14	11.4	13.9	13.4	28.8	12.7	34.5	9.9	16.1	21.1
7	8.8	15.3	6.6	7.1	15.2	24.6	6.0	8.6	11.0	14.3
11	6.1	5.0	1.6	0.9	4.0	-	2.4	3.7	1.7	0.6
14	4.4	2.5	6.6	14.3	3.2	3.7	6.0	6.2	11.0	4.3
16	6.1	22.2	14.8	1.8	7.2	3.0	4.8	2.5	5.1	3.1
15	11.4	6.4	12.3	12.5	6.4	9.7	3.6	9.9	6.8	7.5
4	1.8	3.0	0.8	0.9	2.4	0.7	1.2	7.4	4.2	4.3
17	0.9	-	1.6	-	-	1.5	-	-	1.7	0.6
12	14.0	10.9	13.1	3.6	5.6	6.7	2.4	7.4	2.5	8.1
13	7.0	10.9	9.8	23.2	16.8	6.0	13.1	13.6	16.9	10.6
6	19.3	7.9	13.1	5.4	7.2	19.4	17.9	11.1	11.9	10.6
3	-	-	0.8	2.7	-	-	-	2.5	-	-
10	2.6	3.0	0.8	3.6	-	5.2	7.1	4.9	6.8	7.5

	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95
1	-	2.0	4.4	2.2	2.0	3.1	3.7	1.3	1.3	4.2
8	-	2.0	2.9	3.3	3.0	0.8	6.1	2.6	2.0	3.1
5	0.6	6.1	0.7	-	-	2.4	6.7	11.6	4.7	7.3
9	3.9	1.0	10.9	-	6.0	0.8	5.5	5.2	4.7	5.2
2	29.9	16.1	5.1	8.8	12.0	20.5	9.8	11.6	7.4	6.3
7	11.0	10.1	16.1	18.7	8.0	15.0	12.9	15.5	10.1	14.6
11	1.3	1.0	1.5	1.1	3.0	0.8	2.5	2.6	2.0	-
14	8.4	8.1	18.2	13.2	6.0	8.7	10.4	14.8	12.8	13.5
16	-	2.0	3.6	1.1	-	-	-	0.6	2.7	1.0
15	3.9	2.0	1.5	-	6.0	4.7	4.3	1.3	2.7	2.1
4	9.1	6.1	5.8	11.0	21.0	8.7	4.9	6.5	4.0	10.4
17	3.2	8.1	5.8	5.5	10.0	5.5	7.4	5.2	8.1	1.0
12	4.5	7.1	8.9	7.7	6.0	13.4	12.9	7.7	13.4	14.6
13	15.6	19.2	10.2	23.1	9.0	9.4	8.6	3.2	11.4	5.2
6	6.5	8.1	2.9	3.3	6.0	5.5	2.5	5.8	6.7	9.4
3	0.6	-	0.7	1.1	-	-	1.8	1.9	2.7	2.1
10	1.3	1.0	0.7	-	2.0	0.8	-	2.6	3.4	-

CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGES OF EACH THEME

APPENDIX 4.3 cont'd

	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55
1	100	100	100	-	-	100	100	100	100	100
8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	86.6	-	97.5	95.7	84.2
7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	90.1	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	85.6	98.1	-	100	-	-	-	-	87.3	-
16	-	93.9	-	87.2	-	-	-	-	81.7	-
15	78.5	-	94.4	80.7	100	84.4	-	94.9	80.3	80.3
4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	89.7	90.1	-	-	80	92.5	92.3	78.9	74.4
13	-	88.9	87.2	74.2	-	-	80	82	40.9	66.6
6	74.9	83	81.5	71	94.7	71.1	75	76.9	39.5	56.8
3	67.8	59.3	-	64.5	-	-	70	59	31	43.1
10	46.4	54.2	62.9	61.3	76.3	48.9	47.5	43.6	21.1	35.3

	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65
1	100	100	100	-	100	100	100	100	100	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	94.6	-	-
5	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	86.6	-	97.4	-	-	92.4	98.6	-
2	99.1	95.6	-	98.1	94.7	91.7	98.7	90.2	97.7	100
7	85.4	94.7	85.5	-	-	86.9	88.6	83.6	81	70
11	-	85.8	79.9	96.4	-	-	76.6	-	75.7	-
14	83.3	84.9	76.6	94.7	93.3	83.7	75.3	61.6	74.8	62
16	79.1	75.1	69.9	72.3	78.2	-	65.8	59.4	65.9	52
15	77	-	68.8	70.6	76.8	82.1	65.2	-	64.1	48
4	75.9	73.3	67.7	67.2	75.4	72.4	62.7	58.3	60.6	-
17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	74.8	71.5	58.8	55.1	72.7	67.6	58.3	56.1	59.7	46
13	51.6	25.1	46.6	41.3	70	66	38	49.5	35.1	40
6	47.4	19.7	34.4	25.8	59	62.8	26	40.7	19.3	22
3	22.1	13.4	31.1	17.2	49.4	45.1	14.6	34.1	9.7	-
10	20	12.5	18.9	8.6	38.4	29.0	9.5	17.6	7.9	14.0

	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75
1	100	-	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
8	-	-	99	-	98.8	88.5	-	99.2	-	98.8
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	97.6
2	97.8	100	98.1	97.5	96.7	87.8	95.7	98.1	97.4	97
7	60.3	64.2	89.1	83	89.3	82.8	74.6	93.8	93.1	82
11	-	-	-	-	-	52.3	70.4	81	84.4	73.6
14	56.9	62.2	86.4	-	70.2	50.2	67.6	79.9	78.7	67.6
16	51.2	54.4	82.8	77	59.6	40.3	64.8	70.3	77.3	65.8
15	50.1	51.1	78.3	74.6	54.3	38.2	52.1	48	58.7	60.4
4	42.1	41.9	62.1	56.5	-	26.1	45.1	-	50	56.8
17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39.5	-	52
12	39.8	39.9	59.4	52.9	42.6	24	43.7	35.2	47.1	51.4
13	34.1	34	54.9	46.9	32	14.8	35.2	22.4	37.1	24
6	23.9	27.5	47.7	40.9	20.3	5.6	16.9	7.5	30	16.2
3	18.2	22.3	29.7	33.7	7.5	-	-	-	-	-
10	8.0	13.1	25.2	24.1	4.3	3.5	5.6	6.4	11.4	4.2

APPENDIX 4.3 cont'd

	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85
1	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
8	-	-	96.6	-	97.6	96.9	-	95.1	97.4	97.5
5	-	-	-	98.3	-	94.7	-	90.2	-	96.9
9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	96.3
2	96.4	98.5	95.8	89.4	96.8	93.2	99	87.7	95.7	92.6
7	82.4	87.1	81.9	76	68	80.5	64.5	77.8	79.6	71.5
11	73.6	71.8	75.3	68.9	52.8	-	58.5	69.2	68.6	57.2
14	67.5	66.8	73.7	68	48.8	55.9	56.1	65.5	66.9	56.6
16	63.1	64.3	67.1	53.7	45.6	52.2	50.1	59.3	55.9	52.3
15	57	42.1	52.3	51.9	38.4	49.2	45.3	56.8	50.8	49.2
4	45.6	35.7	40	39.4	32	39.5	41.7	46.9	44	41.7
17	43.8	-	39.2	-	-	38.8	-	-	39.8	37.4
12	42.9	32.7	37.6	38.5	29.6	37.3	40.5	39.5	38.1	36.8
13	28.9	21.8	24.5	34.9	24	30.6	38.1	32.1	35.6	28.7
6	21.9	10.9	14.7	11.7	7.2	24.6	25	18.5	18.7	18.1
3	-	-	1.6	6.3	-	-	-	7.4	-	-
10	2.6	3.0	0.8	3.6	-	5.2	7.1	4.9	6.8	7.5

	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95
1	-	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
8	-	98	95.5	97.9	98	97	96.3	98.7	98.8	95.8
5	100	96	92.6	-	-	96.2	90.2	96.1	96.8	92.7
9	99.2	89.9	91.9	-	95	93.8	83.5	84.5	92.1	85.4
2	95.3	88.9	81	94.6	89	93	78	79.3	87.4	80.2
7	65.4	72.8	75.9	85.8	77	72.5	68.2	67.7	80	73.9
11	54.4	62.7	59.8	67.1	69	57.5	55.3	52.2	69.9	-
14	53.1	61.7	58.3	66	66	56.7	52.8	49.6	67.9	59.3
16	-	53.6	40.1	52.8	-	-	-	34.8	55.1	45.8
15	44.7	51.6	36.5	-	60	48	42.4	34.2	52.4	44.8
4	40.8	49.6	35	51.7	54	43.3	38.1	32.9	49.7	42.7
17	31.7	43.5	29.2	40.7	33	34.6	33.2	26.4	45.7	32.3
12	28.5	35.4	23.4	35.2	23	29.1	25.8	21.2	37.6	31.3
13	24	28.3	14.5	27.5	17	15.7	12.9	13.5	24.2	16.7
6	8.4	9.1	4.3	4.4	8	6.3	4.3	10.3	12.8	11.5
3	1.9	-	1.4	1.1	-	-	1.8	4.5	6.1	2.1
10	1.3	1.0	0.7	-	2.0	0.8	-	2.6	3.4	-

CORRELATIONAL RAW DATA

year	units	codes	items	themes*	average*
46	26	12	28	5	-
47	100	25	118	7	5.7
48	58	21	70	5	6.3
49	30	13	31	7	5.0
50	37	12	38	3	5.0
51	44	15	45	5	4.3
52	37	14	40	5	5.7
53	35	14	39	7	7.3
54	65	19	71	10	8.0
55	50	21	51	7	9.3
56	89	29	95	11	9.7
57	97	31	112	11	11.3
58	89	29	90	12	11.6
59	54	30	58	12	11.6
60	71	27	73	11	11.0
61	59	25	62	10	11.0
62	138	42	158	12	11.3
63	81	31	91	12	12.3
64	104	40	114	13	11.3
65	48	18	50	9	11.0
66	70	31	88	11	10.3
67	134	39	153	11	11.3
68	103	38	111	12	11.0
69	76	35	83	10	11.0
70	87	37	94	11	11.0
71	125	45	141	12	11.3
72	63	31	71	11	11.6
73	88	37	94	12	11.3
74	67	37	70	11	12.3
75	137	43	167	14	12.3
76	94	40	114	12	12.3
77	155	55	202	11	12.3
78	100	44	122	14	12.6
79	107	34	112	13	12.6
80	111	42	125	11	12.3
81	131	42	134	13	11.6
82	76	25	84	11	12.6
83	71	36	81	14	12.6
84	102	50	118	13	14.0
85	132	56	161	15	14.0
86	125	49	154	14	14.6
87	85	44	99	15	15.0
88	114	52	137	16	14.3
89	79	33	91	12	13.6
90	83	39	100	13	13.0
91	106	53	127	14	13.6
92	129	52	163	14	14.6
93	136	57	155	16	15.3
94	129	58	149	16	15.3
95	86	43	96	14	-

* raw data for Graph 4.3

IN-GROUP vs OUT-GROUP LINKS

(RAW DATA FOR t-TEST)

Scores for in-group links = actual no. links/2 divided by possible number of types of links.
 Scores for out-group links = actual no. links divided by possible number of types of links.

THEME	IN-GROUP LINKS	OUT-GROUP LINKS
1	$(20/2)/171 = 0.0585$	$40/1976 = 0.0202$
2	$(0/2)/1 = 0$	$9/242 = 0.0372$
3	$(4/2)/28 = 0.0714$	$81/920 = 0.0880$
4	$(6/2)/15 = 0.2$	$58/702 = 0.0826$
5	$(18/2)/45 = 0.2$	$57/1130 = 0.0504$
6	$(6/2)/10 = 0.3$	$33/590 = 0.0559$
7	$(16/2)/21 = 0.3810$	$35/812 = 0.0431$
8	$(12/2)/36 = 0.1667$	$69/1026 = 0.0673$
9	$(4/2)/3 = 0.6667$	$40/360 = 0.1111$
10	$(16/2)/36 = 0.2222$	$48/1026 = 0.0468$
11	$(0/2)/1 = 0$	$68/242 = 0.2810$
12	$(44/2)/120 = 0.1833$	$83/1712 = 0.0485$
13	$(64/2)/105 = 0.3048$	$90/1620 = 0.0556$
14	$(2/2)/1 = 1$	$28/242 = 0.1157$
15	$(0/2)/10 = 0$	$15/590 = 0.0254$
16	$(0/2)/10 = 0$	$14/590 = 0.0237$

RAW DATA MATRIX

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	*															
2	1	*														
3	21	6	*													
4	3	-	8	*												
5	2	-	1	8	*											
6	-	-	-	-	1	*										
7	-	-	1	-	-	4	*									
8	3	2	16	16	5	-	4	*								
9	4	-	9	2	2	1	-	2	*							
10	1	-	-	-	3	13	4	1	-	*						
11	1	-	2	2	5	2	9	1	3	9	*					
12	2	-	7	6	15	3	8	3	5	3	11	*				
13	2	-	7	11	9	1	4	14	10	2	15	12	*			
14	-	-	3	-	3	5	-	-	-	5	6	3	1	*		
15	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	2	-	7	-	4	-	-	*	
16	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	2	-	2	1	2	.2	-	*

ADJUSTED DATA MATRIX FOR M.D.S. ANALYSIS

(Actual no. links / possible number of types of links)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	*															
2	.026	*														
3	.138	.375	*													
4	.026	-	.167	*												
5	.011	-	.013	.133	*											
6	-	-	-	-	.02	*										
7	-	-	.018	-	-	.114	*									
8	.018	.111	.222	.296	.056	-	.074	*								
9	.070	-	.375	.111	.067	.067	-	.074	*							
10	.006	-	-	-	.033	.289	.148	.012	-	*						
11	.026	-	.125	.167	.25	.2	.643	.056	.5	.5	*					
12	.007	-	.055	.047	.094	.038	.071	.021	.104	.021	.344	*				
13	.007	-	.058	.122	.06	.013	.038	.104	.222	.015	.5	.05	*			
14	-	-	.188	-	.15	.5	-	-	-	.278	1.5	.094	.033	*		
15	-	-	-	.033	.04	.04	-	.044	-	.156	-	.05	-	-	*	
16	-	-	-	.033	.02	.08	.029	-	.133	-	.2	.013	.027	.2	-	*

APPENDIX 5

The article, letters and cartoons discussed in chapter 5 and listed below, are reproduced in the following pages in their original form and in transcript labelled with paragraph numbers, to facilitate access.

ARTICLE: Guardian Mon. 29th May 1995 p.11.

Smokeless zones by Richard Klein (1280 WORDS)

CARTOON 1

LETTERS - Guardian Wed. 31st May 1995: *There is no smoke without ire*

LETTER 1	(Dr) Peter Ayton. City University.	(179 WORDS)
LETTER 2	Paul Bottrell (Canadian Student)	(153 WORDS)
LETTER 3	Clive Turner. Tobacco Manufacturers' Association.	(105 WORDS)
LETTER 4	Patrick S Briggs.	(81 WORDS)
LETTER 5	(Dr) Jim Brooks. Glasgow	(48 WORDS)

CARTOON 2

LETTERS - Guardian Thurs. 1st June 1995: *Smoking out the hypocrite*

LETTER 6	Pamela Furness. Chief executive, A.S.H.	(156 WORDS)
LETTER 7	Aileen Moss.	(124 WORDS)
LETTER 8	Name and address supplied.	(56 WORDS)

Original Presentation of Klein Article and Cartoon 1

Wednesday is 'World No Tobacco Day'. But, **Richard Klein** argues, we need more freedom for smokers

Smokeless zones



JUST AS the tobacco wars have subsided in the United States, thanks in part to the libertarian and pro-business impulses of the Republicans, they are inflaming opinion in Europe. From the Atlantic to the Urals, smoking is being banned in public places and the culture of cigarettes censored. Virgin Airline is now non-smoking across the Atlantic; Boris Yeltsin has banned cigarette advertising. You feel the growing oppression of the cigarette police. Everywhere you can observe the shaming, criminalising force of these new measures. Smokers huddle at doorways, and sneak around, while statistically seeming to diminish. Europe is being assaulted by anti-tabagism, just as it has before in history.

In America, after decades of having been demonised, smoking is on the rise again, particularly among the young, especially among young women. The culture of smoking has once again begun to acquire, as it must here, the cultural cachet attached to whatever is transgressive, rebellious and defiant. From the standpoint of an American, who has been through the whole 20-year cycle from demonisation to re-divinisation of cigarettes — the anti-smoking effort in Europe looks comic, bound to repeat the same inevitable failure. The history of anti-tabagism confirms that every attempt to suppress the use of tobacco or to censor its culture produces the opposite result, enhancing its allure, despite or rather be-

cause of the ban. It would be funny, except that, historically, losing the right to use tobacco has usually coincided with the loss of other freedoms, one form of oppression being a reliable index of others.

Recently in Canada, the government slapped a prohibitory tax on cigarettes, doubling the price. Instantly, smuggling took up the slack on a vast scale. Mom-and-Pop stores, whose incomes depended heavily on tobacco sales, ceased to sell any. Crime and violence increased, requiring expanded law enforcement. People continued to puff away. After a year, the government withdrew the tax. In New York, with new restrictions, cigar clubs are hot; and people sit on restaurant floors to beat the 35-seat rule (smoking is banned in public places seating more than 35). Smoke-easies will follow.

Trying to suppress smoking is like trying to suppress masturbation, attempted at the end of the 19th century. The result was more intrusive surveillance, supervision and control of dormitories, and a great explosion of masturbation. Scratching the least itch was suspect... and more fun. Whenever governments seek to interdict perennial vices, they produce a result exactly opposite of the one intended, and diminish personal freedom.

Governments have always justified these constraints on the freedom to smoke in the name of public health. In 1607, King James I himself penned a Counterblast to Tobacco, sounding like the Surgeon General (or the head of the British

Medical Association). The King, presciently wrote in Latin: "The habit of smoking is disgusting to sight, repulsive to smell, dangerous to the brain, noxious to the lungs, spreading its fumes around the smoker as foul as those that come from Hell." James I was a tyrant and the dour enemy of Sir Walter Raleigh, who had brought tobacco from Virginia and lost his head on the block, his pipe clenched in its teeth, defiant to the end. Hitler hated smoking and banished it from his presence, everywhere in Nazi Germany signs proclaimed, "German women do not smoke." They smoked like chimneys.

We continue to imagine that we have only just discovered the noxious character of tobacco. Since the 19th century, chemists have known that the alkaloid of nicotine in minute doses kills large rats. Every puff fills your lungs with an extremely noxious poison. Doctors have long observed the difference between the health of their patients who smoke, and those who don't. There is no smoker who doesn't feel the effects of the poison over time, probably with every first cigarette of the day. For over a century people have been calling them coffin nails.

Yet we should never forget that doctors are faddish. Tobacco was considered in the 16th century as a panacea, and until the 18th century was widely used in remedies, sprinkled on linens or clothes for its disinfectant powers and pleasing smell. There is now evidence that tobacco may protect you against Parkinson's dis-

ease. Not far off may be the day, imagined by Woody Allen (in *Sleeper*), when doctors again prescribe cigarettes for health.

Banning advertising doesn't work. Portugal, the country with the highest percentage of smoking men in Europe, has had a total ban on cigarette advertising for decades. Banning ads is also a form of censorship. Think about Yeltsin, motivated by a concern with public health: for centuries Russian leaders have been banning things and representations of things. If it's legal, why censor its publicity?

THIS assumes not only that advertising sells cigarettes, which it probably does, but that the absence of advertising discourages their sale. That is not obvious. The absence of advertising is advertising, of a more seductive and powerful kind. Consider the brilliant scheme proposed in Canada to wrap cigarette packs in plain brown paper, since it was thought that skilful packaging attracted neophyte smokers. The idea was abandoned when the bureaucrats were reminded that pornography comes in plain brown wrappers. Cigarettes are sexy enough already, without being made more titillating by anonymity.

The warning on the packs already entices smokers to contemplate their own mortality with every puff. Governments who want to increase revenues, while they piously protect public health, incite more smoking by enlarging and sharpening

these warnings. This increases the pleasure for the smoker, on the same principle that leads young smokers to buy Death cigarettes, the package featuring a skull and crossbones.

It would be better if governments began by acknowledging that tobacco is a mixed blessing. It is poison, yet a source of release after strenuous exertion, and a consolation following loss. It kills boredom and is a spur to concentration; it kills appetite and fosters work. It controls and mitigates anxiety in times of stress, and so is precious to soldiers. It brings a form of beauty into the lives of smokers on the meanest streets. It is a civilising, democratic substance, a token of civility and an instrument of sociality. And for all those reasons, tobacco, like alcohol, is a substance in universal use, and must be presumed to have benefits for human civilisation. If it has been consumed so avidly for so long, Tobacco has long been revered by Native Americans — from the Iroquois nation to the Mayans, it was considered a god, the spirit that joined the tribe to its ancestors in a ritual of pipe and smoke.

Governments, ideally, should protect the absolute right to smoke and the absolute right to

be protected against second-hand smoke. Such an ideal may seem contradictory, but it is the only one worth struggling for. Instead of banning smoking on flights, airlines ought to be forced to find a way to protect passengers from smoke, while allowing those who wish to smoke, since it is the greatest natural instrument for alleviating fear of flying.

But this would require a change in people's attitudes. Non-smokers would have to learn to tolerate occasional whiffs of smoke. Humans have lived for 400 years suffused by second-hand smoke. Pregnant women have been smoking and adults blowing it in children's faces for centuries, and yet civilisation has survived and possibly flourished. Smokers need to learn an etiquette that respects the right of others to be smoke-free. You don't light up without asking permission. A more subtly informed, broadly tolerant attitude towards the dual nature of tobacco would protect people who loathe smoke and leave others free to choose their poison.

Richard Klein is professor of French literature at Cornell University, New York; author of *Cigarettes Are Sublime* (Picador)

Original Presentation of Letters 1-5 and Cartoon 2

There is no smoke without ire

ACCORDING to Richard Klein (Smokeless zones, May 29), non smokers should "learn to tolerate occasional whiffs of smoke" in order that smokers can enjoy the freedom to smoke. But if avoidance of cancer and heart disease was simply a matter of learning, then it would be on the national curriculum.

If I entered a busy workplace spraying an unpleasant carcinogenic gas around and then responded to complaints by stating I enjoyed it, I could only expect further outrage. If I floated the dubious claims that it "fosters work" and is "a spur to concentration", should I be allowed to continue with my habit?

Young smokers may well see tobacco as "a civilising democratic substance, a token of civility and an instrument of sociality", but only because the adverse consequences of smoking are temporarily remote and largely unapparent.

Meanwhile, I have little choice about being a "secondary" smoker. The rise in strident righteousness in smokers towards people trying to protect themselves suggests it will not be long before I am told by smokers that they object to me not smoking and would I mind moving?

(Dr) Peter Ayton,
City University,
Northampton Square,
London EC1V 0HB.

AS A Canadian student studying in England, I was amazed at Prof Klein's interpretation of recent events in Canada. The Canadian government did not "slap a prohibitory tax on cigarettes, doubling the price". It did, however, gradually increase the tax on cigarettes already in place, which meant about a 20 per cent increase in the price in the last five years. This did not lead to "increased crime and violence", and although smuggling was a problem, the decision to decrease taxes (not eliminate, as Prof Klein attests) was largely seen as a political favour to the provincial government of Quebec.

Prof Klein argues for a recognition of "the dual nature of tobacco", implying that the good somehow balances the bad. While I would argue for the right to smoke, this cannot outweigh the right to breathe

clean air. I can think of no better description of Prof Klein's argument than that it's all smoke and mirrors.

Paul Bottrell
12 Providence St
North Hill,
Plymouth PL4 8JG

RICHARD Klein mentions King James I's well-known Counterblaste to Tobacco, published in 1604. What is not so well known is that, because of his iniquitous fiscal imposition that year, when he raised tobacco tax from two pence per pound to six shillings and eight pence, this led to a surge in smuggling, mirrored today, which, within two years, had reached uncontrollable proportions.

Unable to beat the smugglers, the king slashed the tax to one shilling, and in 1613 took personal control of the industry. He introduced a monopoly and

the anti-smoking king actually became a partner with two tobacco merchants, Edmund Peschell and Edward White.

Clive Turner,
Tobacco Manufacturers' Association,
Glen House,
Stag Place,
London SW1E 5AG

NOT least among the litany of lies and half-truths in Richard Klein's paean to tobacco was the absurdity in its final paragraph. Smokers, he argues, "need to learn an etiquette that respects the right of others to be smoke-free". Fair enough — but then "You don't light up without permission."

Can Prof Klein please advise me of a form of words that politely tells such an inquiring smoker that I do not grant my permission? I haven't found one yet.

Patrick S Briggs,
40 Broom Park,
Teddington,
Middlesex TW11 9RS.

EACH year I eagerly look for and try to spot the Guardian's famous 'April Fools' article. I often miss it, but this year I spotted it — Smokeless zones, by Richard Klein, a well-written and clever spoof. Alas, I looked at the publication date and it was May 29.

(Dr) Jim Brooks,
10 Langside Drive,
Glasgow G43 2EE.

ALL THE SAME,
IT WAS TERRIBLY
CONSIDERATE OF
YOU TO ASK ME
FIRST



**Original
Presentation
of Letters 6.8**

Smoking out the hypocrite

RICHARD Klein (Smokeless zones, May 29) has completely missed the point in his muddled association between smoking and freedom. Tobacco is not, as he claims, a "democratic substance". On the contrary, it is a highly addictive drug, which (as any ex-smoker knows) is extremely difficult to give up.

Smoking is a matter for public policy rather than individual choice because, as John Stuart Mill in *On Liberty* states, "As soon as any part of a person's conduct affects prejudicially the interests of others, society has jurisdiction over it..." It is an indictment on public policy-makers, therefore, that young people continue to be hooked at such an early age to this deadly addiction. It is shameful that the likes of Klein and the tobacco industry continue to try and create a smokescreen between the real issue — that smoking is the single largest preventable cause of death and disease in the UK — and spurious notions of freedom.

Pamela Furness.
Chief executive,
Action on Smoking and Health,
109 Gloucester Place,
London W1H 4EJ.

IMUST endorse Richard Klein's article. The current PC stance of the anti-smoking lobby has reached lunatic proportions. We are at the stage where the condemned man is refused the traditional last cigarette on the grounds that the firing squad will die from passive smoking.

My sister is severely handicapped and has been a moderate smoker for 40 years. Smoking is one of the few pleasures available to her — yet at every turn, outside the confines of her own home, she is denied this therapeutic release from stress and misery.

Smokers have become the world's politically incorrect underclass — only a notch above drug and alcohol abusers — yet the habit is not dying, it is merely being driven underground with the underprivileged suffering most.

Aileen Moss.
35 Daleham Mews,
London NW3.

SO Richard Klein thinks that trying to suppress smoking is like trying to suppress masturbation? Speaking as a woman who was recently masturbated upon in public by a complete stranger, and who is frequently subjected to other people's cigarette emissions, I find his analogy interestingly accurate; both smoker and masturbator invoking very similar reactions in me.

Name and address supplied.

APPENDIX 5 cont'd

Wednesday is 'World No Tobacco Day'. But, **Richard Klein** argues, we need more freedom for smokers

Smokeless zones

[CARTOON 1]

- K.1 JUST AS the tobacco wars have subsided in the United States, thanks in part to the libertarian and pro-business impulses of the Republicans, they are inflaming opinion in Europe. From the Atlantic to the Urals, smoking is being banned in public places and the culture of cigarettes censored. Virgin Airline is now non-smoking across the Atlantic; Boris Yeltsin has banned cigarette advertising.
- K.2 You feel the growing oppression of the cigarette police. Everywhere you can observe the shaming, criminalising force of these new measures. Smokers huddle at doorways, and sneak around, while statistically seeming to diminish. Europe is being assaulted by anti-tabagism, just as it has before in history.
- K.3 In America, after decades of having been demonised, smoking is on the rise again, especially among young women. The culture of smoking has once again begun to acquire, as it must here, the cultural cachet attached to whatever is transgressive, rebellious and defiant. From the standpoint of an American, who has been through the whole 20-year cycle from demonisation to re-divinisation of cigarettes - the anti-smoking effort in Europe looks comic, bound to repeat the same inevitable failure. The history of anti-tabagism confirms that every attempt to suppress the use of tobacco or to censor its culture produces the opposite result, enhancing its allure, despite or rather because of the ban. It would be funny, except that, historically, losing the right to use tobacco has usually coincided with the loss of other freedoms, one form of oppression being a reliable index of others.
- K.4 Recently in Canada, the government slapped a prohibitory tax on cigarettes, doubling the price. Instantly, smuggling took up the slack on a vast scale. Mom-and-Pop stores, whose income depended heavily on tobacco sales, ceased to sell any. Crime and violence increased, requiring expanded law enforcement. People continued to puff away. After a year, the government withdrew the tax. In New York, with new restrictions, cigar clubs are hot; and people sit on restaurant floors to beat the 35-seat rule [smoking is banned in public places seating more than 35]. Smoke-easies will follow.
- K.5 Trying to suppress smoking is like trying to suppress masturbation, attempted at the end of the 19th century. The result was more intrusive surveillance, supervision and control of dormitories, *and* a great explosion of masturbation. Scratching the least itch was suspect ... and more fun. Whenever governments seek to interdict perennial vices, they produce a result exactly opposite of the one intended, and diminish personal freedom.

- K.6 Governments have always justified these constraints on the freedom to smoke in the name of public health. In 1607, King James I himself penned a Counterblast to Tobacco, sounding like the Surgeon General [or the head of the British Medical Association]. The King presciently wrote in Latin: "The habit of smoking is disgusting to sight, repulsive to smell, dangerous to the brain, noxious to the lungs, spreading its fumes around the smoker as foul as those that come from Hell." James I was a tyrant and the dour enemy of Sir Walter Raleigh, who had brought tobacco from Virginia and lost his head on the block, his pipe clenched in its teeth, defiant to the end. Hitler hated smoking and banished it from his presence; everywhere in Nazi Germany signs proclaimed, "German women do not smoke." They smoked like chimneys.
- K.7 We continue to imagine that we have only just discovered the noxious character of tobacco. Since the 19th century, chemists have known that the alkaloid of nicotine in minute doses kills large rats. Every puff fills your lungs with an extremely noxious poison. Doctors have long observed the difference between the health of their patients who smoke, and those who don't. There is no smoker who doesn't feel the effects of the poison over time, probably with every first cigarette of the day. For over a century people have been calling them coffin nails.
- K.8 Yet we should never forget that doctors are faddish. Tobacco was considered in the 16th century as a panacea, and until the 19th century was widely used in remedies, sprinkled on linens or clothes for its disinfectant powers and pleasing smell. There is now evidence that tobacco may protect you against Parkinson's disease. Not far off may be the day, imagined by Woody Allen [in *Sleeper*], when doctors again prescribe cigarettes for health.
- K.9 Banning advertising doesn't work. Portugal, the country with the highest percentage of smoking men in Europe, has had a total ban on cigarette advertising for decades. Banning ads is also a form of censorship. Think about Yeltsin, motivated by a concern with public health: for centuries Russian leaders have been banning things and representations of things. If it's legal, why censor its publicity?
- K.10 THIS assumes not only that advertising sells cigarettes, which it probably does, but that the absence of advertising discourages their sale. That is not obvious. The absence of advertising *is* advertising, of a more seductive and powerful kind. Consider the brilliant scheme proposed in Canada to wrap cigarette packs in plain brown paper, since it was thought that skilful packaging attracted neophyte smokers. The idea was abandoned when the bureaucrats were reminded that pornography comes in plain brown wrappers. Cigarettes are sexy enough already, without being made more titillating by anonymity.
- K.11 The warning on the packs already entices smokers to contemplate their own mortality with every puff. Governments who want to increase revenues, while they piously protect public health, incite more smoking by enlarging and sharpening these warnings. This increases the pleasure for the smoker, on the same principle that leads young smokers to buy Death cigarettes, the package featuring a skull and crossbones.

- K.12 It would be better if governments began by acknowledging that tobacco is a mixed blessing. It is poison, yet a source of release after strenuous exertion, and a consolation following loss. It kills boredom and is a spur to concentration; it kills appetite and fosters work. It controls and mitigates anxiety in times of stress, and so is precious to soldiers. It brings a form of beauty into the lives of smokers on the meanest streets. It is a civilising, democratic substance, a token of civility and an instrument of sociality. And for all those reasons, tobacco, like alcohol, is a substance in universal use, and must be presumed to have benefits for human civilisation if it has been consumed so avidly for so long. Tobacco has long been revered by Native Americans - from the Iroquois nation to the Mayans, it was considered a god, the spirit that joined the tribe to its ancestors in a ritual of pipe and smoke.
- K.13 Governments, ideally, should protect the absolute right to smoke and the absolute right to be protected against second-hand smoke. Such an ideal may seem contradictory, but it is the only one worth struggling for. Instead of banning smoking on flights, airlines ought to be forced to find a way to protect passengers from smoke, while allowing those who wish to smoke, since it is the greatest natural instrument for alleviating fear of flying.
- K.14 But this would require a change in people's attitudes. Non-smokers would have to learn to tolerate occasional whiffs of smoke. Humans have lived for 400 years suffused by second-hand smoke. Pregnant women have been smoking and adults blowing it in children's faces for several centuries, and yet civilisation has survived and possibly flourished. Smokers need to learn an etiquette that respects the right of others to be smoke-free. You don't light up without asking permission. A more subtly informed, broadly tolerant attitude towards the dual nature of tobacco would protect people who loathe smoke and leave others free to choose their poison.

Richard Klein is professor of French literature at Cornell University, New York; author of *Cigarettes Are Sublime* (Picador)

There is no smoke without ire

LETTER 1

(179 WORDS)

- 1.1 ACCORDING to Richard Klein (Smokeless zones, May 29), non-smokers should "learn to tolerate occasional whiffs of smoke" in order that smokers can enjoy the freedom to smoke. But if avoidance of cancer and heart disease was simply a matter of learning, then it would be on the national curriculum.
- 1.2 If I entered a busy workplace spraying an unpleasant carcinogenic gas around and then responding to complaints by stating I enjoyed it, I could only expect further outrage. If I floated the dubious claims that it "fosters work" and is "a spur to concentration", should I be allowed to continue with my habit?
- 1.3 Young smokers may well see tobacco as "a civilising democratic substance, a token of civility and an instrument of sociality", but only because the adverse consequences of smoking are temporarily remote and largely unapparent.
- 1.4 Meanwhile, I have little choice about being a "secondary" smoker. The rise in strident righteousness in smokers towards people trying to protect themselves suggests it will not be long before I am told by smokers that they object to me not smoking and would I mind moving?

(Dr) Peter Ayton.
City University,
Northampton Square,
London EC1V 0HB.

LETTER 2

(153 WORDS)

-
- 2.1 AS A Canadian student studying in England, I was amazed at Prof Klein's interpretation of recent events in Canada. The Canadian government did not "slap a prohibitory tax on cigarettes, doubling the price". It did, however, gradually increase the tax on cigarettes already in place, which meant about a 20 per cent increase in the price in the last five years. This did not lead to "increased crime and violence", and although smuggling was a problem, the decision to decrease taxes (not eliminate, as Prof Klein attests) was largely seen as a political favour to the provincial government of Quebec.
- 2.2 Prof Klein argues for a recognition of "the dual nature of tobacco", implying that the good somehow balances the bad. While I would argue for the right to smoke, this cannot outweigh the right to breathe clean air. I can think of no better description of Prof Klein's argument than that it's all smoke and mirrors.

Paul Bottrell

12 Providence St.
North Hill,
Plymouth PL4 8JG.

LETTER 3

(105 WORDS)

-
- 3.1 RICHARD Klein mentions King James I's well-known Counterblaste to Tobacco, published in 1604. What is not so well known is that, because of his iniquitous fiscal imposition that year, when he raised tobacco tax from two pence per pound to six shillings and eight pence, this led to a surge in smuggling, mirrored today, which, within two years, had reached uncontrollable proportions.
- 3.2 Unable to beat the smugglers, the king slashed the tax to one shilling, and in 1613 took personal control of the industry. He introduced a monopoly and the anti-smoking king actually became a partner with two tobacco merchants, Edmund Peschell and Edward White.

Clive Turner.

Tobacco Manufacturers' Association,
Glen House,
Stag Place,
London SW1E 5AG

LETTER 4**(81 WORDS)**

- 4.1 NOT least among the litany of lies and half-truths in Richard Klein's paeon to tobacco was the absurdity in its final paragraph. Smokers, he argues, "need to learn an etiquette that respects the right of others to be smoke-free". Fair enough - but then "You don't light up without permission."
- 4.2 Can Prof Klein please advise me of a form of words that politely tells such an enquiring smoker that I do not grant my permission? I haven't found one yet.

Patrick S Briggs.

40 Broom Park,
Teddington,
Middlesex TW11 9RS.

LETTER 5**(48 WORDS)**

EACH year I eagerly look for and try to spot the Guardian's famous April Fools' article. I often miss it, but this year I spotted it - Smokeless zones, by Richard Klein, a well-written and clever spoof. Alas, I looked at the publication date and it was May 29.

(Dr) Jim Brooks.

10 Langside Drive,
Glasgow G43 2EE.

[CARTOON 2]

Smoking out the hypocrite

LETTER 6

(156 WORDS)

- 6.1 RICHARD Klein (Smokeless zones, May 29) has completely missed the point in his muddled association between smoking and freedom. Tobacco is not, as he claims, a "democratic substance". On the contrary, it is a highly addictive drug, which (as any ex-smoker knows) is extremely difficult to give up.
- 6.2 Smoking is a matter for public policy rather than individual choice because, as John Stuart Mill in *On Liberty* states, "As soon as any part of a person's conduct affects prejudicially the interests of others, society has jurisdiction over it..." It is an indictment on public policy-makers, therefore, that young people continue to be hooked at such an early age to this deadly addiction. It is shameful that the likes of Klein and the tobacco industry continue to try and create a smokescreen between the real issue - that smoking is the single largest preventable cause of death and disease in the UK - and spurious notions of freedom.

Pamela Furness.

Chief executive,
Action on Smoking and Health,
109 Gloucester Place,
London W1H 4EJ.

LETTER 7**(124 WORDS)**

- 7.1 I MUST endorse Richard Klein's article. The current PC stance of the anti-smoking lobby has reached lunatic proportions. We are at the stage where the condemned man is refused the traditional last cigarette on the grounds that the firing squad will die from passive smoking.
- 7.2 My sister is severely handicapped and has been a moderate smoker for 40 years. Smoking is one of the few pleasures available to her - yet at every turn, outside the confines of her own home, she is denied this therapeutic release from stress and misery.
- 7.3 Smokers have become the world's politically incorrect underclass - only a notch above drug and alcohol abusers - yet the habit is not dying, it is merely being driven underground with the under-privileged suffering most.

Aileen Moss.

35 Dalehan Mews,
London NW3

LETTER 8**(56 WORDS)**

SO Richard Klein thinks that trying to suppress smoking is like trying to suppress masturbation? Speaking as a woman who was recently masturbated upon in public by a complete stranger, and who is frequently subjected to other people's cigarette emissions, I find his analogy interestingly accurate; both smoker and masturbator invoking very similar reactions in me.

Name and address supplied.

APPENDIX 6.1

Newspaper Circulation (thousands)¹

	<i>DT</i>	<i>DM</i>	<i>ST</i>	<i>NW</i>
1945	822	2000	460	5000
1950	976	4567	535	8444
1955	1055	4725	606	7971
1960	1200	4649	1001	6664
1965	1351	4957	1275	6175
1970	1409	4570	1439	6229
1975	1323	3943	1396	5646
1980	1433	3625	1419	4198
1985	1221	3253	1258	4787
1990	1086	3907	1187	5038
1995	1066	2603	1253	4744

DT = Daily Telegraph; *DM* = Daily Mirror; *ST* = Sunday Times; *NW* = News of the World

¹from Seymour-Ure(1996) / Peak & Fisher (1995)

NUMBER OF ADVERTISEMENTS (AND EDITIONS) PER YEAR

	DT	DM	ST	NW	TOTAL
1946	2 (6)	1 (6)	2 (4)	1 (5)	6 (21)
1947	3 (6)	3 (6)	0 (4)	1 (4)	7 (20)
1948	1 (6)	1 (6)	0 (4)	1 (4)	3 (20)
1949	2 (6)	1 (6)	1 (4)	1 (4)	5 (20)
1950	3 (6)	1 (6)	1 (4)	4 (5)	9 (21)
1951	2 (6)	1 (6)	2 (4)	1 (4)	6 (20)
1952	1 (6)	1 (6)	2 (4)	3 (4)	7 (20)
1953	1 (6)	2 (6)	5 (5)	5 (4)	13 (21)
1954	1 (6)	4 (6)	3 (4)	1 (4)	9 (20)
1955	2 (6)	0 (6)	4 (4)	1 (4)	7 (20)
1956	2 (6)	4 (6)	3 (5)	4 (5)	13 (22)
1957	4 (6)	5 (6)	5 (4)	1 (4)	15 (20)
1958	1 (6)	5 (6)	4 (4)	5 (5)	15 (21)
1959	0 (6)	1 (6)	3 (4)	3 (4)	7 (20)
1960	3 (6)	6 (6)	2 (4)	5 (4)	16 (20)
1961	7 (6)	3 (6)	3 (4)	1 (4)	14 (20)
1962	7 (6)	9 (6)	7 (4)	2 (4)	25 (20)
1963	2 (6)	3 (6)	5 (4)	1 (5)	11 (21)
1964	5 (6)	8 (6)	14 (5)	4 (4)	31 (21)
1965	1 (6)	7 (6)	13 (4)	5 (4)	26 (20)
1966	0 (6)	5 (6)	11 (4)	9 (5)	25 (21)
1967	3 (6)	7 (6)	8 (4)	6 (4)	24 (20)
1968	2 (6)	2 (6)	13 (5)	6 (4)	23 (21)
1969	0 (6)	10 (6)	9 (5)	6 (4)	25 (21)
1970	1 (6)	6 (6)	4 (4)	5 (4)	16 (20)
1971	0 (6)	5 (6)	13 (5)	6 (3)	24 (20)
1972	2 (6)	3 (6)	10 (4)	6 (5)	21 (21)
1973	2 (6)	3 (6)	21 (5)	1 (4)	27 (21)
1974	1 (6)	5 (6)	13 (4)	0 (4)	19 (20)
1975	4 (6)	3 (6)	6 (4)	10 (4)	23 (20)
1976	2 (6)	4 (6)	17 (5)	0 (4)	23 (21)
1977	0 (6)	3 (6)	10 (5)	27 (5)	40 (22)
1978	0 (6)	2 (6)	7 (4)	2 (4)	11 (20)
1979	1 (6)	4 (6)	12 (5)	1 (4)	18 (21)
1980	1 (6)	3 (6)	25 (5)	7 (4)	36 (21)
1981	1 (6)	0 (6)	9 (4)	6 (4)	16 (20)
1982	0 (6)	0 (6)	14 (4)	7 (4)	21 (20)
1983	0 (6)	0 (6)	7 (4)	1 (4)	8 (20)
1984	0 (6)	0 (6)	7 (4)	2 (4)	9 (20)
1985	0 (6)	1 (6)	13 (5)	0 (5)	14 (22)
1986	0 (6)	0 (6)	1 (4)	0 (4)	1 (20)
1987	0 (6)	0 (6)	10 (5)	1 (4)	11 (21)
1988	1 (6)	1 (6)	6 (4)	0 (5)	8 (20)
1989	0 (6)	1 (6)	6 (5)	0 (5)	7 (22)
1990	2 (6)	3 (6)	5 (4)	2 (4)	12 (20)
1991	0 (6)	2 (6)	6 (4)	0 (4)	8 (20)
1992	0 (6)	3 (6)	6 (5)	7 (5)	16 (22)
1993	0 (6)	1 (6)	4 (4)	6 (5)	11 (21)
1994	0 (6)	0 (6)	1 (5)	6 (4)	7 (21)
1995	0 (6)	0 (6)	3 (5)	3 (4)	6 (21)

DT = Daily Telegraph; DM = Daily Mirror; ST = Sunday Times; NW = News of the World

AVERAGE NUMBER OF ADVERTISEMENTS PER ISSUE

	DT	DM	ST	NW	TOTAL	3YR AV.
1946	0.3333	0.1667	0.5	0.2	0.2857	.
1947	0.5	0.5	0	0.25	0.35	0.262
1948	0.1667	0.1667	0	0.25	0.15	0.250
1949	0.3333	0.1667	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.279
1950	0.5	0.1667	0.25	0.8	0.4286	0.328
1951	0.3333	0.1667	0.5	0.25	0.3	0.361
1952	0.1667	0.1667	0.5	0.75	0.35	0.426
1953	0.1667	0.3333	1	1.25	0.6190	0.474
1954	0.1667	0.6667	0.75	0.25	0.45	0.475
1955	0.3333	0	1	0.25	0.35	0.468
1956	0.3333	0.6667	0.6	0.8	0.5909	0.565
1957	0.6667	0.8333	1.25	0.25	0.75	0.683
1958	0.1667	0.8333	1	1	0.7143	0.607
1959	0	0.1667	0.75	0.75	0.35	0.623
1960	0.5	1	0.5	1.25	0.8	0.617
1961	1.1667	0.5	0.25	0.25	0.7	0.917
1962	1.1667	1.5	1.75	0.5	1.25	0.820
1963	0.3333	0.5	1.25	0.2	0.5238	1.081
1964	0.8333	1.3333	2.8	1	1.4762	1.097
1965	0.1667	1.1667	3.25	1.25	1.3	1.323
1966	0	0.8333	2.75	1.8	1.1905	1.210
1967	0.5	1.1667	2	1.5	1.2	1.161
1968	0.3333	0.3333	2.6	1.5	1.0952	1.161
1969	0	1.6667	1.8	1.5	1.1905	1.032
1970	0.1667	1	1	1.25	0.8	1.066
1971	0	0.8333	2.6	2	1.2	1.000
1972	0.3333	0.5	2.5	1.2	1	1.161
1973	0.3333	0.5	4.2	0.25	1.2857	1.081
1974	0.1667	0.83	3.25	0	0.95	1.131
1975	0.6667	0.5	1.5	2.5	1.15	1.066
1976	0.3333	0.6667	3.4	0	1.0952	1.365
1977	0	0.5	2	5.4	1.8182	1.175
1978	0	0.3333	1.75	0.5	0.55	1.095
1979	0.1667	0.6667	2.4	0.25	0.8571	1.048
1980	0.1667	0.5	5	1.75	1.7143	1.129
1981	0.1667	0	2.25	1.5	0.8	1.197
1982	0	0	3.5	1.75	1.05	0.750
1983	0	0	1.75	0.25	0.4	0.633
1984	0	0	1.75	0.5	0.45	0.500
1985	0	0.1667	2.6	0	0.6364	0.387
1986	0	0	0.25	0	0.05	0.413
1987	0	0	2	0.25	0.5238	0.328
1988	0.1667	0.1667	1.3	0	0.4	0.417
1989	0	0.1667	1.2	0	0.3182	0.435
1990	0.3333	0.5	1.25	0.5	0.6	0.435
1991	0	0.3333	1.5	0	0.4	0.581
1992	0	0.5	1.2	1.4	0.7273	0.556
1993	0	0.1667	1	1.2	0.5238	0.531
1994	0	0	0.2	1.5	0.3333	0.381
1995	0	0	0.6	0.75	0.286	.

DT = Daily Telegraph; DM = Daily Mirror; ST = Sunday Times; NW = News of the World

Advertising of cigarettes, of the components of manufactured cigarettes and of hand-rolling tobacco

This Appendix reproduces the text of an agreement complementary to BCAP, in respect of which ASA and CAP have accepted some measure of responsibility for interpretation and implementation.

So far as concerns those aspects of cigarette advertisements which are not the subject of provisions in this Appendix, BCAP applies.

Introduction as amended January 1983

- 1.1 The rules which follow in Section 2, and which are, with the other material in this Appendix, usually known collectively as the 'Cigarette Code', were first introduced in 1975, though they are based on rules which cigarette manufacturers had agreed earlier voluntarily to observe. The Cigarette Code has been substantially revised once since; this Introduction was revised in the seventh edition of the Code so as to clarify the scope of the Code and to indicate more clearly its place among the various agreements which affect the advertising and marketing of cigarettes. The Cigarette Code is the outcome of discussions between the Department of Health and Social Security (on behalf of the UK Health Departments), the manufacturers and importers of cigarettes (as represented by the Tobacco Advisory Council and the Imported Tobacco Products Advisory Council), and the Advertising Standards Authority.
- 1.2 The Authority's involvement is two-fold. It acts as the final arbiter of the meaning of the rules, and it supervises the pre-clearance procedure for advertisements within the scope of the Cigarette Code, which is operated by the Committee of Advertising Practice.
- 1.3 For the purposes of interpretation, what constitutes a cigarette, so far as these rules are concerned, is set out in this and the two following paragraphs.

The Cigarette Code applies to all advertisements published within Gt Britain and Northern Ireland that are addressed to the public and within the scope of the British Code of Advertising Practice, for the following:
 1. cigarettes, whether manufactured or hand-rolled;
 2. the components of hand-rolled cigarettes, such as hand-rolling tobacco, cigarette papers and filters;
 3. the components of manufactured cigarettes, such as tobacco, tobacco substitutes, filter systems and wrappings;
 4. any other product, if the advertisement concerned contains a prominent depiction of a cigarette, or cigarette pack, recognisably of a brand currently on sale in the UK.
- 1.4 Advertisements of special offers, competitions and the like, which are linked to the promotion of a brand of cigarettes, are regarded, for the purposes of the Cigarette Code, as advertisements for cigarettes.
- 1.5 'Teaser' advertisements that are recognisably for a brand of cigarettes are required to conform to the Cigarette Code.
- 1.6 The following are not regarded for the purposes of the Cigarette Code as advertisements for cigarettes:
 1. advertisements for other products which contain the names of cigarette brands, or which incorporate elements of the design of branded cigarettes, or the packs in which they are sold, but which are not within the terms of 1.3.4 above;
 2. advertisements dealing in general terms with social or political issues affecting one or more aspects of the manufacture or sale of cigarettes (see BCAP – B.5.3 and B.6).

- 1.7 The Cigarette Code does not apply to advertisements for the following:
1. schemes, events or activities, sponsored or financially supported by tobacco manufacturers or importers, *even where such an advertisement is required, in consequence of the bilateral agreement on sports sponsorship (see 1.8 below) to carry a Government Health Warning;*
 2. such tobacco products as snuff, cigars, cheroots, cigarillos or pipe tobacco; ancillary products such as pipes, cigarette holders, matches or lighters; or herbal tobaccos or cigarettes.
- 1.8 The Cigarette Code, and the associated pre-clearance procedures operated by CAP, have been adopted as part of more general voluntary agreements between the tobacco manufacturers and Health Ministers. The Advertising Standards Authority and the Committee of Advertising Practice are not parties to the bilateral aspects of those voluntary agreements, which are concerned with such matters as: the programme of product modification and research; the Government Health Warning, its wording, size and position; the location of outdoor advertisements; and the programming of cigarette advertisements in the cinema. Nor are the Authority or the Committee parties to the separate Voluntary Agreement between the tobacco industry and the Minister for Sport on the sponsorship of sport. (This agreement provides inter alia for the limitation of expenditure and for the inclusion of the Government Health Warning in related publicity material.) Enquiries concerning the precise scope and requirements of either bilateral agreement should be addressed to the appropriate Government Department (the Department of Health and Social Security, and the Department of the Environment respectively) or to the Tobacco Advisory Council.
- 1.9 The essence of the Code is that advertisements should not seek to encourage people, particularly the young, to start smoking or, if they are already smokers, to increase their level of smoking, or to smoke to excess; and should not exploit those who are especially vulnerable, in particular young people and those who suffer from any physical, mental or social handicap.
- 1.10 Subject to the rules, however, there is no intent to hamper fair competition or to handicap advertisers in attracting the attention of readers. It remains legitimate for them (1) to indicate so far as is truthful that cigarettes are enjoyed by people of many different kinds (2) to seek to persuade existing smokers to change their brand or not to do so and (3) in pursuit of these objectives to employ all such techniques of artistic presentation as are used by advertisers of other types of product or service and are consistent with the spirit and the letter of this Code and of the British Code of Advertising Practice.

Rules

- 2.1 Advertisements should not seek to persuade people to start smoking.
- 2.2 Advertisements should not seek to encourage smokers to smoke more or smoke to excess; or show a cigarette left in the mouth.
- 2.3 Advertisements should not exaggerate the attractions of smoking.
- 2.4 Advertisements should not exploit those who are specially vulnerable, whether on account of their youth or immaturity or as a result of any physical, mental or social handicap.
- 2.5 Advertisements should not claim directly or indirectly that it is natural to smoke, or that it is abnormal not to smoke.
- 2.6 Advertisements should not claim or imply that smoking is healthy or free from risk to health.

- 2.7 Advertisements should not claim directly or indirectly that smoking is a necessity for relaxation or for concentration.
- 2.8 Advertisements should not claim directly or indirectly that to smoke, or to smoke a particular brand
 - (a) is a sign or proof of manliness, courage or daring.
 - (b) enhances feminine charm.
- 2.9 Advertisements should not include or imply any personal testimonial for, or recommendation of, the product by any well-known person of distinction in any walk of life, nor should they claim directly or indirectly the recommendation of a particular brand by any group or class of people engaged in an activity or calling which particularly attracts public admiration or emulation.
- 2.10 Advertisements should not include copy or illustrations which are sexually titillating or which imply a link between smoking and sexual success; nor should any advertisement contain any demonstration of affection in such a way as to suggest romantic or sexual involvement between those portrayed.
- 2.11 Advertisements should not claim directly or indirectly that it contributes significantly to the attainment of social or business success to smoke, or to smoke a particular brand.
- 2.12 No advertisement should appear in any publication directed wholly or mainly to young people.
- 2.13 Advertisements should not feature heroes of the young.
- 2.14 Advertisements should not imply that smoking is associated with success in sport. They should not depict people participating in any active sporting pursuit or obviously about to do so or just having done so, or spectators at any organised sporting occasion.

N.B. Advertising associated with events sponsored by cigarette manufacturers is subject to separate rules.

These rules should be adhered to in the light of the guidelines in part 3 of this Appendix.

Guidelines for interpreting the aforementioned rules

- 3.1 Pleasure of smoking (Rules 2.1.3)
 1. In advertisements showing persons smoking, their faces should not express unrealistic enjoyment of the cigarette.
 2. Persons should not be shown in advertisements reaching with extravagant eagerness for a cigarette.
 3. Advertisements should not emphasise the satisfaction derived or to be derived from smoking or from a particular brand of cigarette. Claims such as that a particular product gives 'more satisfaction' or 'really satisfies' should not be made unless they can be substantiated by objective evidence.
 4. The smoking characteristics of the product may be mentioned or described and illustrated by appropriate imagery, provided no health claim is implied.
- 3.2 Encouragement to smoke or to smoke more (Rule 2.2)
 1. Advertisements should not suggest that:
 1. plenty of cigarettes should be kept handy by smokers; or that
 2. smokers should ensure that supplies never run short.
 2. Advertisements should not claim a greater degree of popularity for a particular product than in fact it enjoys (e.g. that a brand is bought or smoked 'always' or 'everywhere'). Claims to brand leadership among any section of the community or in any area or country should not be made unless capable of substantiation.

3. Claims that people are changing to a particular brand or type of cigarette are permissible, if true, provided this does not imply an increase in smoking generally.

4. Advertisements for coupon brands, or including reduced price offers, should be so drafted as to avoid encouraging people to smoke more.

3.3 Youth (Rules 2.1,4,5,11,12,13)

1. In interpreting the rules in relation to youth, advertisers should take special care not to address their advertisements particularly to young people, even where there is no suggestion that the product is for their consumption, e.g. where it is intended as a present for an adult. Thus:

1. people featured in cigarette advertisements should both be and clearly be seen to be adults of 25 or over;
2. advertisements should not be designed, written or published in such a way as to make it likely that they will appeal more to those under 18 than to the public at large;
3. characters and situations depicted should not be such as to inspire the emulation of the young, by suggesting that those who do not smoke at all, or who do not smoke a particular brand, are less grown-up, less manly or less feminine than those who do, or that they are lacking in daring or sophistication.

3.4 Health claims (Rules 2.5,6)

1. Advertisements may not claim that there is a lessened risk in smoking any particular brand of cigarette unless the claim can be supported by valid evidence, i.e. evidence which has been accepted by the health authorities.

2. Advertisements should not use the word 'safe' or words such as 'clean' or 'pure' in relation to cigarettes or filters, hand-rolling tobaccos or smoking generally, nor should the words 'fresh' and 'cool' be used except in relation specifically to the oral sensation of a cigarette.

3. Outdoor settings should not convey any implications of health. The word 'natural' may be used to describe tobacco, but not to describe the act or habit of smoking.

3.5 Relaxation and concentration (Rule 2.7)

1. Advertisements should not depict situations involving nervous strain or emotional pressure in relation to smoking.

2. People may be depicted in any advertisement as smoking while concentrating on a job (other than a dangerous job) or relaxing in an appropriate setting, provided that the advertisement does not claim directly or indirectly that the cigarette is a necessary aid to concentration or relaxation.

3.6 Smoking situations

1. When a person or persons are featured in an advertisement for cigarettes, the situation in which the person or persons are shown should not be one in which smoking would be inappropriate.

3.7 Personal qualities (Rule 2.8)

1. Advertisements should not suggest:

1. that it is a sign or proof of manliness to smoke, or to smoke a particular brand, or that smokers are more virile or tough than non-smokers;
2. that smoking is a manifestation of courage or daring, or is associated particularly with courageous or daring people;

3. that the choice of a particular brand indicates nerve or courage. (It is legitimate to suggest that the choice of a particular brand is an indication of taste or discernment.);
4. that female smokers are more glamorous or independent than female non-smokers.

3.8 Testimonials and recommendations (Rule 2.9)

1. People engaged in dangerous activities or occupations should not be depicted smoking while so engaged, nor should it be implied that it is normal for them to smoke, or to smoke a particular brand.
2. The depiction of real or fictitious individuals of obvious distinction or authority should be avoided.

3.9 Social success (Rule 2.11)

1. Advertisers should take particular care that their advertisements avoid encouraging people to believe that the habit of smoking, or the smoking of a particular brand, is in any way more closely associated with the rich, the successful or go-ahead than with the rest of the population.
2. Particular care should be taken not to contravene this rule when presenting cigarettes in settings appropriate to their quality or to those who purchase them.
3. Where an advertisement depicts people in a group or groups, not more than half of them should be shown smoking.

1971 First health warnings: "PACKETS CARRY A GOVERNMENT HEALTH WARNING."
or "EVERY PACKET CARRIES A GOVERNMENT HEALTH WARNING."

From 1975, the health warning also included a tar category: middle tar, low to middle tar or low tar (as defined by H.M. Government).

In 1978, "H.M. Government Health Departments' WARNING: CIGARETTES CAN SERIOUSLY DAMAGE YOUR HEALTH".

In 1981, "DANGER: "H.M. Government Health Departments' WARNING: CIGARETTES CAN SERIOUSLY DAMAGE YOUR HEALTH".
or, "DANGER: H.M. Government Health Department' WARNING: THINK FIRST - MOST DOCTORS DON'T SMOKE".

In 1982, the warning was "DANGER: H.M. Government Health Department' WARNING: THINK ABOUT THE HEALTH RISKS BEFORE SMOKING",

From 1983 to 1986: "DANGER: H.M. Government Health WARNING: CIGARETTES CAN SERIOUSLY DAMAGE YOUR HEALTH."

In 1987, "Warning: SMOKING CAN CAUSE FATAL DISEASES. Health Departments' Chief Medical Officers",
"Warning: SMOKING WHEN PREGNANT CAN INJURE YOU BABY AND CAUSE PREMATURE BIRTH",
"Warning: SMOKING CAN CAUSE LUNG CANCER, BRONCHITIS AND OTHER CHEST DISEASES",

From 1988, "STOPPING SMOKING REDUCES THE RISK OF SERIOUS DISEASES. Health Departments' Chief Medical Officers."

From 1989, it was also "Warning: SMOKING CAN CAUSE HEART DISEASE. Health Departments' Chief Medical Officers."

From 1991, it was "Warning: MORE THAN 30, 000 PEOPLE DIE EACH YEAR IN THE UK FROM LUNG CANCER. Health Departments' Chief Medical Officers."

From 1992, advertisements showed tar and nicotine levels in milligrams and included the most direct health warnings yet:

"SMOKING KILLS. Health Departments' Chief Medical Officers",
"SMOKING CAUSES CANCER. Health Departments' Chief Medical Officers",
"SMOKING CAUSES HEART DISEASE. Health Departments' Chief Medical Officers"
"SMOKING CAUSES FATAL DISEASES. Health Departments' Chief Medical Officers"
"PROTECT CHILDREN: DON'T MAKE THEM BREATHE YOUR SMOKE. Health Departments' Chief Medical Officers."

In 1993, the further health warning appeared: "SMOKING WHEN PREGNANT HARMS YOUR BABY. Health Departments' Chief Medical Officers."

In 1995, the warrant ws changed to: "Chief Medical Officers' Warning."

Raw Data for Health Representations Codes

APPENDIX 6.4

Yr	Max.	H2	H3	H4	H5	H6	H7
46	5	-	-	5	-	-	-
47	7	2	1	6	1	-	1
48	3	1.5	1	3	-	-	-
49	5	0.5	-	5	-	-	-
50	9	0.5	-	9	-	-	-
51	6	1	-	6	-	-	-
52	7	1	1	7	-	-	-
53	13	1.5	1	13	-	-	-
54	9	2.5	3	9	-	-	-
55	7	-	-	7	-	-	-
56	13	3	3	12	1	-	1
57	15	5.5	5	14	1	-	1
58	15	7	7	15	-	-	-
59	7	5	2	7	-	-	-
60	16	9	8	16	-	-	-
61	14	9	9	14	-	-	1
62	25	18.5	13	25	-	-	-
63	11	8.5	4	11	-	-	-
64	31	24.5	15	31	-	-	-
65	26	21	12	26	-	-	-
66	25	20	4	25	-	-	-
67	24	21.5	6	23	-	1	1
68	23	23	4	23	-	-	-
69	25	22	3	24	-	1	-
70	16	16	2	16	-	-	-
71	24	24	5	22	1	1	3
72	21	21	5	18	1	2	3
73	27	27	2	19	6	2	4
74	19	18	2	14	3	2	2
75	23	23	-	16	6	1	5
76	23	23	2	12	7	4	9
77	40	39.5	1	11.5	9.5	19	1
78	11	11	-	7	2	2	2
79	18	17	-	12	1	5	4
80	36	36	2	17	6	13	2
81	16	16	-	9	5	2	1
82	21	21	-	10.2	4.7	6.2	5
83	8	8	-	3	3	2	1
84	9	9	-	2	3	4	1
85	14	14	-	6	8	-	-
86	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
87	11	11	-	4	7	-	-
88	8	8	-	3	5	-	-
89	7	7	-	3	3	1	1
90	12	12	-	5	2.5	4.5	2
91	8	8	-	1	2.5	4.5	3
92	16	16	-	1	5	10	5
93	11	11	-	2	1	8	6
94	7	7	-	-	4.5	2.5	1
95	6	6	-	-	2	4	-

H2 - Filter tipped Cigarettes; H3 - Ref's to Filter tip; H4 - Medium + t/n; H5 - Low-to-Medium t/n; H6 - Low t/n; H7 - References to 'mild' etc; (Not shown: H1 - Official health warning - all adverts from 1971; H8 - Tobacco substitutes, n=24, in 1977; H9 - other health claims, n=4)

Raw Data for 'Act of Smoking' Codes

APPENDIX 6.4 cont'd

Yr	Max.	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11
46	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	1	-	-
47	7	2	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	2	-	1
48	3	1	1	-	1	1	-	2	1	2	-	-
49	5	3	3	-	1	2	-	1	-	1	-	-
50	9	2	2	1	2	-	-	3	1	3	-	1
51	6	3	1	1	3	-	-	2	-	1	-	-
52	7	2	1	2	1	3	-	4	2	5	-	1
53	13	4	2	2	2	4	-	8	4	5	-	1
54	9	2	-	2	-	2	-	7	1	3	1	-
55	7	1	1	-	1	-	-	4	1	1	-	-
56	13	4	1	-	6	1	-	12	5	4	-	1
57	15	4	2	-	3	2	2	11	1	2	-	1
58	15	4	2	1	7	-	-	12	1	2	-	4
59	7	-	-	-	2	-	-	6	3	3	-	-
60	16	8	-	3	7	6	3	16	2	10	1	-
61	14	6	-	1	4	2	3	11	3	4	-	-
62	25	13	2	1	11	2	4	22	8	4	-	1
63	11	4	-	-	4	-	1	11	4	3	-	1
64	31	10	4	2	11	4	4	18	7	1	-	2
65	26	5	1	1	4	2	4	14	3	7	4	-
66	25	7	2	3	7	3	4	19	11	7	-	-
67	24	7	-	-	7	2	5	13	9	6	1	3
68	23	3	-	-	2	1	3	13	2	4	6	-
69	25	2	-	-	3	-	5	18	7	-	2	2
70	16	-	-	-	-	-	4	10	2	-	-	-
71	24	-	-	-	-	-	13	4	2	-	-	-
72	21	1	-	-	2	-	11	5	1	1	-	1
73	27	5	-	-	4	1	6	12	-	-	5	-
74	19	3	-	-	2	2	5	8	1	-	-	1
75	23	4	-	-	4	-	8	8	5	4	-	1
76	23	1	-	-	1	-	14	3	1	-	-	-
77	40	2	-	-	5	-	20	4	-	-	-	-
78	11	1	-	-	1	-	3	4	2	-	-	-
79	18	-	-	-	-	-	9	6	1	-	-	-
80	36	-	-	-	-	-	13	20	1	-	-	-
81	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-
82	21	-	-	-	1	-	4	8	-	-	-	-
83	8	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	-
84	9	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
85	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
86	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
87	11	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	2	-	-	-
88	8	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
89	7	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
90	12	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
91	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
92	16	1	-	-	2	-	-	4	1	-	-	-
93	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
94	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
95	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

S1 - Cigarette lit; S2 - Visible smoke; S3 - Lighting up; S4 - Cigarette in hand;
S5 - Cigarette in mouth; S6 - Cigarette elsewhere; S7 - Cigarette extracted from packet;
S8 - Offering / accepting cigarette; S9 - 'Sociable cigarette'; S10 - Gifts; S11 - Relaxed smoker

Raw Data for Financial Representations Codes

APPENDIX 6.4 cont'd

Yr	Max.	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
46	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	7	2	2	-	-	-	-
48	3	2	1	-	-	-	-
49	5	3	2	-	-	-	-
50	9	4	1	-	-	-	-
51	6	3	2	-	-	-	-
52	7	4	1	-	-	-	-
53	13	6	1	-	-	-	-
54	9	4	3	1	-	-	-
55	7	3	2	-	-	-	-
56	13	8	3	-	2	-	-5
15		10	1	1	2	1	-
58	15	7	3	1	-	-	-
59	7	5	2	-	-	-	-
60	16	10	-	-	-	-	-
61	14	7	1	-	1	1	-
62	25	19	4	-	-	2	-
63	11	7	1	-	-	2	-
64	31	19	6	-	1	4	-
65	26	21	7	-	-	3	-
66	25	14	3	-	-	11	-
67	24	8	3	-	-	4	3
68	23	17	7	-	-	2	2
69	25	20	5	-	1	8	-
70	16	15	-	-	2	11	-
71	24	19	-	-	3	9	-
72	21	17	2	-	-	9	-
73	27	12	1	-	-	5	-
74	19	9	4	-	-	6	-
75	23	17	5	4	-	11	-
76	23	15	8	-	-	5	-
77	40	27	10	2	-	14	1
78	11	4	3	-	-	-	-
79	18	5	5	-	-	1	-
80	36	8	8	3	-	7	-
81	16	5	2	-	-	4	-
82	21	1	3	-	-	4	-
83	8	1	1	1	-	1	-8
9		1	1	-	-	1	-
85	14	1	-	-	-	-	-
86	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
87	11	-	-	-	-	1	-
88	8	-	-	-	-	-	-
89	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
90	12	2	2	-	-	3	-
91	8	-	-	-	-	1	-
92	16	2	2	2	-	2	-
93	11	-	-	-	-	-	-
94	7	-	-	-	-	4	-
95	6	-	-	-	-	1	-

F1 - Price Stated; F2 - Price / Value claim; F3 - Mentions Budget / Tax; F4 - 'Worth a little Extra'
F5 - Incentives e.g. coupons; F6 - 'No coupons' stressed

Raw Data for Packaging Codes

APPENDIX 6.4 cont'd

Yr	Max.	P1	P2	P2.1	P2.2	P2.3	P2.4	p2.5	P2.6
46	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	7	2	2	1	-	-	1	-	-
48	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	9	5	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
51	6	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
52	7	5	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
53	13	10	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
54	9	8	3	2	-	-	2	-	-
55	7	7	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
56	13	12	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
57	15	15	2	-	-	-	2	-	-
58	15	13	3	1	-	-	2	-	-
59	7	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	16	16	6	2	3	-	1	-	-
61	14	13	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
62	25	25	6	3	4	-	1	-	-
63	11	11	5	3	1	-	1	1	-
64	31	30	9	3	2	1	5	-	-
65	26	25	9	3	1	1	4	-	-
66	25	25	3	1	1	1	-	-	-
67	24	23	7	1	-	1	5	-	-
68	23	23	5	2	1	2	1	-	-
69	25	25	5	1	1	1	3	-	-
70	16	16	3	2	-	1	-	-	-
71	24	24	7	3	-	3	1	-	-
72	21	21	4	1	-	2	1	-	-
73	27	25	4	-	-	2	-	2	-
74	19	19	2	-	-	1	1	-	-
75	23	23	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
76	23	21	5	-	2	-	-	3	-
77	40	39	2	1	-	-	-	-	1
78	11	10	4	-	-	-	-	3	1
79	18	15	5	1	-	-	2	1	1
80	36	33	4	-	-	-	3	-	1
81	16	14	11	-	-	4	6	-	1
82	21	20	6	2	-	2	1	-	1
83	8	8	4	1	-	1	1	-	1
84	9	5	6	1	-	-	-	1	4
85	14	8	5	-	-	1	-	2	2
86	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
87	11	8	8	1	-	-	4	-	3
88	8	5	4	-	-	-	1	-	3
89	7	4	5	-	-	-	1	-	4
90	12	8	6	-	-	-	1	-	5
91	8	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
92	16	12	5	-	-	-	-	-	4
93	11	9	9	-	1	-	-	-	9
94	7	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
95	6	1	6	-	-	-	1	-	5

P1 - Presence of Packet; P2 - Reference to Packet:

P2.1 - Text Livery, P2.2 - Text Pack Design, P2.3 - Text Pun, P2.4 - Visual Element,
P2.5 - Ad parallels pack, P2.6 - Visual Pun

3 Year Average Data for Graph 5.2-3 (HEALTH)
APPENDIX 6.4 cont'd

Yr	H2	H3	H4	H5	H6	H8
46	.	.	.	.	.	.
47	23.3	13.3	93.3	6.7	-	6.7
48	26.7	13.3	93.3	6.7	-	6.7
49	14.7	5.9	100	-	-	-
50	10.0	-	100	-	-	-
51	11.4	4.5	100	-	-	-
52	13.5	7.7	100	-	-	-
53	17.2	17.2	100	-	-	-
54	13.8	13.8	100	-	-	-
55	19.0	20.7	96.6	3.4	-	3.4
56	24.3	22.9	94.3	5.7	-	5.7
57	36.0	34.9	95.3	4.7	-	5.7
58	47.3	37.8	97.3	2.7	-	2.7
59	55.3	44.7	100	-	-	-
60	62.2	51.4	100	-	-	2.7
61	66.4	54.5	100	-	-	1.8
62	72.0	52.0	100	-	-	2
63	76.9	47.8	100	-	-	-
64	79.4	45.6	100	-	-	-
65	79.9	37.8	100	-	-	-
66	83.3	29.3	98.7	-	1.3	1.3
67	89.6	19.4	98.6	-	1.4	1.4
68	92.4	18.1	97.2	-	2.8	1.4
69	95.3	14.1	98.4	-	1.6	-
70	95.4	15.4	95.4	1.5	3.1	4.6
71	100	19.7	91.8	3.3	4.9	9.8
72	100	16.7	81.9	11.1	6.9	13.9
73	98.5	13.4	76.1	14.9	9.0	13.4
74	98.6	5.8	71.0	21.7	7.2	15.9
75	98.5	6.2	64.6	24.6	10.8	24.6
76	99.4	3.5	45.9	26.2	27.9	17.4
77	99.3	4.1	41.2	25.0	33.8	16.2
78	97.8	1.4	44.2	18.1	37.7	10.1
79	98.5	3.1	55.4	13.8	30.8	27.7
80	98.6	2.9	54.3	17.1	28.6	24.3
81	100	2.7	49.6	21.5	29.0	24.7
82	100	-	49.3	28.2	22.7	15.6
83	100	-	40.0	28.2	32.1	18.4
84	100	-	35.5	45.2	19.4	6.5
85	100	-	37.5	45.8	16.7	4.2
86	100	-	42.3	57.7	-	-
87	100	-	40.0	60.0	-	-
88	100	-	38.5	57.7	3.8	3.8
89	100	-	40.7	38.9	20.4	11.1
90	100	-	33.3	29.6	37.0	22.2
91	100	-	19.4	27.8	52.8	27.8
92	100	-	11.4	24.3	64.3	40.0
93	100	-	8.8	30.9	60.3	35.3
94	100	-	8.3	31.3	60.4	29.2
95	.	.	.	.	.	.

H2 - Filter tipped Cigarettes; H3 - Ref's to Filter tip; H4 - Medium + t/n; H5 - Low-to-Medium t/n; H6 - Low t/n; H7 - References to 'mild' etc; (Not shown: H1 - Official health warning - all adverts from 1971; H8 - Tobacco substitutes, n=24, in 1977; H9 - other health claims, n=4)

3 Year Average Data for Graph 5.4-7 (Act of Smoking)
APPENDIX 6.4 cont'd

Yr	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11
46	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
47	20.0	13.3	6.7	6.7	13.3	6.7	40.0	20.0	33.3	-	67
48	40.0	33.3	6.7	13.3	26.7	6.7	26.7	13.3	33.3	-	67
49	35.3	35.3	5.9	23.5	17.6	-	35.3	11.8	35.3	-	59
50	40.0	30.0	10.0	30.0	10.0	-	30.0	5.0	25.0	-	50
51	31.8	18.2	18.2	27.3	13.6	-	40.9	13.6	40.9	-	91
52	34.6	15.4	19.2	23.1	26.9	-	53.8	23.1	42.3	-	77
53	27.6	10.3	20.7	10.3	31.0	-	65.5	24.1	44.8	3.4	69
54	24.1	10.3	13.8	10.3	20.7	-	65.5	20.7	31.0	3.4	34
55	24.1	6.9	6.9	24.1	10.3	-	79.3	24.1	27.6	3.4	34
56	25.7	11.4	-	28.6	8.6	5.7	77.1	20.0	20.0	-	57
57	27.9	11.6	2.3	37.2	7.0	4.7	81.4	16.3	18.6	-	40
58	21.6	10.8	2.7	32.4	5.4	5.4	78.4	13.5	18.9	-	15
59	31.6	5.3	10.5	42.1	15.8	7.9	89.5	15.8	39.5	2.6	15
60	37.8	-	10.8	35.1	21.6	16.2	89.2	21.6	45.9	2.7	-
61	49.1	3.6	9.1	40.0	18.2	18.2	89.1	23.6	32.7	1.8	18
62	46.0	4.0	4.0	38.0	8.0	16.0	88.0	30.0	22.0	-	40
63	40.3	9.0	4.5	38.8	9.0	13.4	76.1	28.4	11.9	-	60
64	27.9	7.4	4.4	27.9	8.8	13.2	63.2	20.6	16.2	5.9	44
65	26.8	8.5	7.3	26.8	11.0	14.6	62.2	25.6	18.3	4.9	24
66	25.3	4.0	5.3	24.0	9.3	17.3	61.3	30.7	26.7	6.7	40
67	23.6	2.8	4.2	22.2	8.3	16.7	62.5	30.6	23.6	9.7	42
68	16.7	-	-	16.7	4.2	18.1	61.1	25.0	13.9	12.5	69
69	7.8	-	-	7.8	1.6	18.8	64.1	17.2	6.3	12.5	31
70	3.1	-	-	4.6	-	33.8	49.2	16.9	-	3.1	31
71	1.6	-	-	3.3	-	45.9	31.1	8.2	1.6	-	16
72	8.3	-	-	8.3	1.4	41.7	29.2	4.2	1.4	6.9	14
73	13.4	-	-	11.9	4.5	32.8	37.3	3.0	1.5	7.5	30
74	17.4	-	-	14.5	4.3	27.5	40.6	8.7	5.8	7.2	29
75	12.3	-	-	10.8	3.1	41.5	29.2	10.8	6.2	-	31
76	8.1	-	-	11.6	-	48.8	17.4	7.0	4.7	-	12
77	5.4	-	-	9.5	-	50.0	14.9	8.1	-	-	-
78	4.3	-	-	8.7	-	46.4	20.3	4.3	-	-	-
79	1.5	-	-	1.5	-	38.5	46.2	4.6	-	-	-
80	-	-	-	-	-	31.4	44.3	2.9	-	-	-
81	-	-	-	1.4	-	23.3	45.2	1.4	-	-	-
82	-	-	-	2.2	-	11.1	33.3	-	2.2	-	-
83	-	-	-	2.6	-	15.8	26.3	-	2.6	-	-
84	-	-	-	-	-	6.5	9.7	-	3.1	-	-
85	-	-	-	-	-	4.2	4.2	-	-	-	-
86	-	-	-	-	-	3.8	19.2	7.7	-	-	-
87	-	-	-	-	-	10.0	20.0	10.0	-	-	-
88	-	-	-	-	-	11.5	15.4	7.7	-	-	-
89	-	-	-	-	-	11.1	-	-	-	-	-
90	-	-	-	-	-	7.4	-	3.7	-	-	-
91	2.8	-	-	5.6	-	2.8	11.1	5.6	-	-	-
92	2.9	-	-	5.7	-	-	11.4	8.6	-	-	-
93	2.9	-	-	5.9	-	-	-	11.8	-	-	-
94	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.2	-	-	-
95	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

S1 - Cigarette lit; S2 - Visible smoke; S3 - Lighting up; S4 - Cigarette in hand;
 S5 - Cigarette in mouth; S6 - Cigarette elsewhere; S7 - Cigarette extracted from packet;
 S8 - Offering / accepting cigarette; S9 - 'Sociable cigarette'; S10 - Gifts; S11 - Relaxed smoker

3 Year Average Data for Graph 5.8-9 (FISCAL)
APPENDIX 6.4 cont'd

Yr	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
46	.	.	.	.	.	.
47	26.7	20.0	-	-	-	-
48	46.7	33.3	-	-	-	-
49	52.9	23.5	-	-	-	-
50	50.0	25.0	-	-	-	-
51	50.0	18.2	-	-	-	-
52	50.0	15.4	-	-	-	-
53	48.3	17.2	3.4	-	-	-
54	44.8	20.7	3.4	-	-	-
55	51.7	27.6	3.4	6.9	-	-
56	60.0	17.1	2.9	11.4	2.9	-
57	58.1	16.3	4.7	9.3	2.3	-
58	59.5	16.2	5.4	5.4	2.7	-
59	57.9	13.2	2.6	-	-	-
60	59.5	8.1	-	2.7	2.7	-
61	65.5	9.1	-	1.8	5.5	-
62	66.0	12.0	-	2.0	10	-
63	67.2	16.4	-	1.5	11.9	-
64	69.1	20.6	-	1.5	13.2	-
65	65.9	19.5	-	1.2	22.0	-
66	57.3	17.3	-	-	24.0	40
67	54.2	18.1	-	-	23.6	69
68	48.6	20.6	-	1.4	19.4	69
69	81.3	18.8	-	4.7	32.8	31
70	83.1	7.7	-	9.2	43.1	-
71	83.6	3.3	-	8.2	47.5	-
72	66.7	4.2	-	4.2	31.9	-
73	56.7	10.4	-	-	29.9	-
74	55.1	14.5	-	-	31.9	-
75	63.1	26.2	5.8	-	33.8	-
76	68.6	26.7	7.0	-	34.9	12
77	62.2	28.4	2.7	-	25.7	14
78	52.2	26.2	2.9	-	20.3	14
79	26.2	24.6	4.6	-	12.3	-
80	25.7	21.4	4.3	-	17.1	-
81	19.2	17.8	4.1	-	20.5	-
82	15.6	13.2	2.2	-	20.0	-
83	7.9	13.2	2.6	-	15.8	-
84	9.7	6.5	3.2	-	6.5	-
85	8.3	4.2	-	-	4.2	-
86	3.8	-	-	-	3.8	-
87	-	-	-	-	5.0	-
88	-	-	-	-	3.8	-
89	7.4	7.4	-	-	11.1	-
90	7.4	7.4	-	-	14.8	-
91	11.1	11.1	5.6	-	16.7	-
92	5.7	5.7	12.5	-	8.6	-
93	5.9	5.9	5.9	-	17.6	-
94	-	-	-	-	16.7	-
95	.	.	.	.	.	.

F1 - Price Stated; F2 - Price / Value claim; F3 - Mentions Budget / Tax; F4 - 'Worth a little Extra'
F5 - Incentives e.g. coupons; F6 - 'No coupons' stressed

3 Year Average Data for graph 5.10 (PACKAGING)
APPENDIX 6.4 cont'd

Yr	P1	P2	P2.1	P2.2	P2.3	P2.4	P2.5	P2.6
46	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
47	53.3	13.3	6.7	-	-	6.7	-	-
48	53.3	13.3	6.7	-	-	6.7	-	-
49	64.7	5.9	-	-	-	5.9	-	-
50	55	10.0	-	-	-	10	-	-
51	59.1	13.6	-	-	-	13.6	-	-
52	69.2	11.5	-	3.8	-	7.7	-	-
53	79.3	17.2	6.9	3.4	-	10.3	-	-
54	86.2	17.2	10.3	3.4	-	6.9	-	-
55	93.1	17.2	10.3	3.4	-	6.9	-	-
56	97.1	11.4	2.9	2.9	-	5.7	-	-
57	93.0	14.0	2.3	2.3	-	9.3	-	-
58	94.6	13.3	2.7	-	-	10.8	-	-
59	97.7	23.7	7.9	7.9	-	7.9	-	-
60	97.3	18.9	5.4	10.8	-	2.7	-	-
61	98.2	23.6	9.1	14.5	-	3.6	-	-
62	98.0	24.0	12.0	12.0	-	4.0	2.0	-
63	98.5	29.9	13.4	10.4	1.5	10.4	1.5	-
64	97.1	33.8	13.2	5.9	2.9	14.7	1.5	-
65	97.6	25.6	8.5	4.9	3.7	11.0	-	-
66	97.3	25.3	6.7	2.7	4.0	12.0	-	-
67	98.6	20.8	5.6	2.8	5.6	8.3	-	-
68	98.6	23.6	5.6	2.8	5.6	12.5	-	-
69	100	20.3	7.8	3.1	6.3	6.3	-	-
70	100	23.1	9.2	1.5	7.7	6.2	-	-
71	100	23.0	9.8	-	9.8	3.3	-	-
72	97.2	20.8	5.6	-	9.7	2.8	2.8	-
73	97.0	14.9	1.5	-	7.5	3.0	3.0	-
74	97.1	10.1	-	-	4.3	2.9	2.9	-
75	96.9	12.3	-	3.1	1.5	3.1	4.6	-
76	96.5	9.3	1.2	2.3	-	1.2	3.5	2
77	94.6	14.9	1.4	2.7	-	-	8.1	2
78	92.8	15.9	2.9	-	-	2.9	5.8	3
79	89.2	20.0	1.5	-	-	7.7	6.2	4
80	88.6	28.6	1.4	-	5.7	15.7	1.4	3
81	91.8	28.8	2.7	-	8.2	13.7	-	4
82	93.3	46.7	6.7	-	15.6	17.8	-	5
83	86.8	42.1	10.5	-	7.9	5.3	2.6	15.8
84	67.7	48.4	6.5	-	6.5	3.2	9.7	22.6
85	54.2	50.0	4.2	-	4.2	-	12.5	29.2
86	61.5	53.8	3.8	-	3.8	15.4	7.7	23.1
87	65	65.0	5	-	-	25.0	-	35.0
88	65.4	65.4	3.8	-	-	23.1	-	38.5
89	63.0	55.6	-	-	-	11.1	-	44.4
90	63.0	51.9	-	-	-	7.4	-	44.4
91	69.4	38.9	-	-	-	2.8	-	33.3
92	74.3	48.6	-	2.8	-	-	-	45.7
93	79.4	50.0	-	2.9	-	-	-	47.1
94	66.7	75.0	-	2.9	-	4.2	-	70.8
95	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

P1 - Presence of Packet; P2 - Reference to Packet:

P2.1 - Text Livery, P2.2 - Text Pack Design, P2.3 - Text Pun, P2.4 - Visual Element,
P2.5 - Ad parallels pack, P2.6 - Visual Pun

BREAKDOWN of INCENTIVES CODE (F5)
APPENDIX 6.5

	GC	GV	CO	MO	FP	Other offers
46	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	-	-	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	-	-	-	-	-	-
52	-	-	-	-	-	-
53	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	-	-	-	-	-	-
57	1	-	-	-	-	-
58	-	-	-	-	-	-
59	-	-	-	-	-	-
60	-	-	-	-	-	-
61	1	-	-	-	-	-
62	2	-	-	-	-	-
63	2	-	-	-	-	-
64	4	-	-	-	-	-
65	3	-	-	-	-	-
66	8	1	-	-	-	2
67	3	1	-	-	-	-
68	1	1	-	-	-	-
69	3	5	-	1	-	-
70	3	8	-	-	-	-
71	5	4	-	-	-	-
72	1	7	1	-	-	-
73	2	-	3	-	1	-
74	1	2	3	-	-	-
75	1	-	5	3	-	2
76	-	3	2	-	-	-
77	-	1	-	1	-	2
78	-	-	-	-	-	-
79	-	-	-	1	-	-
80	-	-	-	3	3	1
81	-	-	-	4	-	-
82	2	-	-	2	-	2
83	-	-	-	1	-	-
84	-	-	-	1	-	-
85	-	-	-	-	-	-
86	-	-	-	-	-	-
87	-	-	-	-	1	-
88	-	-	-	-	-	-
89	-	-	-	-	-	-
90	1	-	1	-	-	1
91	-	-	-	-	-	1
92	2	-	-	-	-	-
93	-	-	-	-	-	-
94	3	-	-	-	-	1
95	1	-	-	-	-	-

GC = Gift Coupons & related offers; GV = 'double' coupons etc; CO = Picture of coupons only;
MO = Money off; FP = Free Pack

CIGARETTE PACKAGING LIST

APPENDIX 7.1

	1	Aroma Ovals Plain		51	Classic KS
	2	Balmoral Gold		52	Classic 100s
	3	Balmoral KS		53	Consulate KS
	4	Balmoral KS Lights		54	Conway KS
	5	Balmoral SKs Lights		55	Conway De Luxe Mild KS
	6	Balmoral 100s		56	Conway 100s
	7	Beaumont KS		57	Conway Lights 100s
	8	Beaumont SKs	*	58	Covent Brand
	9	Beaumont Lights KS		59	Craven 'A' KS
	10	Beaumont Lights SKs		60	Craven 'A' KS Mild
*	11	Benington KS Lights		61	Craven 'A' KS Menthol
*	12	Benington KS		62	Craven 'A' SKs
*	13	Benington SK		63	Curzon 25s
*	14	Benington SK Lights		64	Davidoff Magnum
	15	B&H KS Special Filter		65	Death KS
	16	B&H KS Special Mild		66	Death Lights
	17	B&H 100s	*	67	Death SP
	18	B&H SKs		68	Dickens & Grant KS
NL	19	B&H SKs		69	Dickens & Grant SKs
	20	B&H SKs Lights		70	Dickens & Grant SKs Lights
NL	21	B&H SKs Lights	*	71	Dickens & Grant Menthol SKs
	22	B&H XL		72	Dorchester KS
*	23	B&H Super Virginia Filter	NL	73	Dorchester KS
*	24	B&H Lights		74	Dorchester Extra Mild
*	25	B&H Ultra Lights	NL	75	Dorchester Extra Mild
	26	Berkeley SKs		76	Dorchester KS Menthol
	27	Berkeley SKs Mild		77	Dorchester SKs
	28	Berkeley SKs Menthol		78	Dorchester SKs Extra Mild
*	29	Berkeley KS		79	Dorchester SKs Menthol
*	30	Black Cat		80	Ducados KS
*	31	Broadway KS 25s		81	Ducados Rubio
*	32	Broadway Lights KS 25s		82	Dunhill KS
	33	Buckingham KS		83	Dunhill Lights
	34	Buckingham KS Lights		84	Dunhill Infinite Lights
	35	Buckingham SKs		85	Dunhill Ultimate Lights
	36	Buckingham SKs Lights		86	Dunhill International
	37	Camel Filter		87	Dunhill International Mild
	38	Camel Lights KS		88	Dunhill International Menthol
	39	Camel Mild KS	*	89	Dunhill Luxury Length
	40	Camel Regular SP	*	90	Dunhill Special Reserve
	41	Capstan Full Strength	*	91	Eclipse
	42	Carrolls No.1		92	Elite KS
	43	Cartier Vendôme Lights		93	Elite SKs
*	44	Charles House		94	Embassy Number 1 KS
	45	Chesterfield KS		95	Embassy Mild KS
*	46	Chesterfield KS Lights		96	Embassy Filter
	47	Choice KS		97	Fine 120mm Virginia
	48	Choice KS Lights		98	Fine 120mm Menthol
	49	Choice SKs		99	First Specials 25s
*	50	Choice SK Lights		100	Five Kings KS

APPENDIX 7.1 cont'd

	101	Five Kings KS Mild		152	Key KS
	102	Five Kings SKs		153	Key Lights KS
	103	Five Kings SKs Mild		154	Key SKs
	104	Gauloises Plain		155	King George KS
	105	Gauloises Disque Bleu Filter		156	King George Special Mild KS
	106	Gauloises Blondes		157	King George SKs
	107	Gauloises Blondes Lights		158	Kings KS
	108	Gauloises Filter SP	NL	159	Kings KS
	109	Gauloises Legeres Filtre SP		160	Kings 100s
	110	Gitanes Blondes Filter KS	*	161	Kings Lights KS
	111	Gitanes Blondes Legeres	*	162	Kings Lights SKs
	112	Gitanes Plain		163	Kingsmen KS
	113	Gitanes Filter		164	Kingsmen Special KS
	114	Gitanes International		165	Kingsmen SKs
*	115	Globe KS		166	Kingston Filter Kings
*	116	Globe KS Low Tar		167	Kingston Lights KS
*	117	Globe SK		168	Kingston SKs
*	118	Globe SK Mild	*	169	Kingston Lights SK
	119	Gold Leaf KS		170	Knights KS
	120	Goldmark KS	NL	171	Knights KS
	121	Goldmark SKs		172	Knights KS Lights
NL	122	Goldmark SKs	NL	173	Knights KS Lights
	123	Goldmark Specials (25s)		174	Knights 100s
*	124	Goldmark Lights	NL	175	Knights 100s
	125	HB KS	*	176	Knights SK Lights
	126	Haddows KS		177	Knightsbridge KS
	127	Haddows KS Lights		178	Knightsbridge SKs
	128	Haddows SKs	*	179	Knightsbridge KS Lights
	129	Harrods		180	Kool Menthol KS
*	130	Harrods Lights		181	Lambert & Butler KS
	131	House of Commons		182	Lambert & Butler Lights KS
	132	House of Lords		183	Lambeth KS
	133	JPS KS		184	Lambeth KS Special Mild
	134	JPS Lights		185	Lambeth SKs
	135	JP Superkings		186	Lark Charcoal Filter
NL	136	JP Superkings		187	Londis KS
	137	JP Superkings Lights		188	Londis Lights KS
NL	138	JP Superkings Lights		189	Londis Luxury Length
	139	JP Superkings Menthol		190	Lucky Strike KS Filter
NL	140	JP Superkings Menthol		191	L&M Filter
	141	JP Superkings Ultra Lights		192	Mace KS
NL	142	JP Superkings Ultra Lights		193	Mace SKs 100s
	143	Kensitas Club KS	*	194	Madison KS
	144	Kensitas Club Mild KS	*	195	Madison KS Lights
	145	Kensitas KS	*	196	Madison SK
	146	Kensitas Mild KS	*	197	Madison SK Lights
NL	147	Kensitas Mild KS		198	Major Extra Size
	148	Kensitas Plain		199	Marlboro KS
	149	Kent KS		200	Marlboro KS SP
	150	Kent Lights KS		201	Marlboro 100s
	151	Kent De Luxe 100s		202	Marlboro Lights KS

APPENDIX 7.1 cont'd

	203	Marlboro Lights KS SP		254	Salem Menthol KS
	204	Marlboro Lights 100s		255	Select KS
*	205	Martins KS	*	256	Select No.2
*	206	Mascot		257	Senior Service Plain
	207	Mayfair KS		258	Silk Cut KS (Purple)
*	208	Mayfair Lights		259	Silk Cut Ex. Mild KS (Light Purple)
	209	Merit Low Tar		260	Silk Cut.Ult Low KS (White/Purple)
	210	More Filter 120s		261	Silk Cut Super Low KS (White)
	211	More Menthol		262	Silk Cut 100s (Purple)
	212	More Special Mild Filter		263	Silk Cut Ult.Low 100 (White/Purple)
NL	213	More Special Mild Filter		264	Silk Cut Ext.Mild 100s (Light Purple)
	214	More Special Mild Menthol		265	Silk Cut Menthol KS
NL	215	More Special Mild Menthol		266	Silk Cut Regular
	216	MS KS		267	Silk Cut No.3
	217	No.3 KS	*	268	Silver Strand KS
NL	218	No.3 KS	*	269	Silver Strand SKs
	219	No.3 SKs	*	270	Sinclair
	220	Oscar KS		271	Sky KS
	221	Oscar SKs		272	Sky Lights KS
*	222	Oscar SK Lights		273	Sky SKs
	223	Pall Mall KS Filter		274	Sobranie Black Russian 100s
	224	Park Drive Plain		275	Sobranie Cocktail 100s
	225	Peter Stuyvesant LLength		276	Solo KS
	226	P. Stuyvesant LL.Ext. Lights		277	Solo KS 25s
	227	Peter Stuyvesant KS		278	Solo KS Lights
	228	Piccadilly Filter de Luxe		279	Solo SKs
	229	Piccadilly No.1 20s		280	Sovereign
	230	Players Medium Navy Cut		281	Spar KS
	231	Prince KS SP		282	Spar KS Extra Mild
	232	Prince Lights KS SP		283	Spar SKs
*	233	Prince Ultra Lights	*	284	Special KS
	234	Raffles 100s	*	285	Special SK
	235	Raffles Lights	*	286	St. James KS 14s
	236	Red Band KS		287	St Moritz
	237	Red Band KS Lights		288	State Express 555 KS
	238	Red Band SKs		289	Statesman KS
	239	Red Band Lights 100s		290	Statesman LL SKs
	240	Regal KS	*	291	Statesman KS Lights
	241	Regal Mild KS		292	Style Special KS 25s
	242	Regal Filter		293	Supreme KS
*	243	Reyno Menthol		294	Supreme KS Mild
	244	Ronson KS		295	Supreme SKs
	245	Ronson Lights KS		296	Sweet Afton
NL	246	Ronson Lights KS	*	297	Tobacconists' Own
	247	Ronson SKs	*	298	Tor Oriental
	248	Rothmans KS	*	299	Tor Turkish
	249	Rothmans KS Lights		300	Triumph KS
	250	Rothmans International		301	Triumph KS Special Mild
	251	Rothmans Royals 120mm		302	Triumph SKs
	252	Rothmans Royals KS (25s) *		303	Triumph SK Lights
	253	R'ans Royals Lights (25s) *		304	Triumph Gold

APPENDIX 7.1 cont'd

*	305	Triumph SK Menthol
	306	Virginia Star KS
	307	Virginia Star de Luxe Mild
	308	Virginia Star d.L. Mild 100s
	309	Virginia Star 100s
	310	Vogue Superslims
	311	Warwick 18s KS
	312	Warwick Lights 18s KS
	313	Warwick 18s SKs
*	314	Warwick 18s SK Lights
	315	Windsor Blue KS
	316	Windsor Blue KS Lights
	317	Windsor Blue SKs
	318	Winston KS
	319	Woodbine
	320	Yves St Laurent Lux 100s
	321	Yves St Laurent Menthol

* denotes not listed by TMA at 25
Aug 94
NL denotes 'new livery'

ADDITIONS

322	Carrolls Extra Mild KS
323	Cartier Vendôme Ultra
324	Cartier Vendôme Menthol Lights
325	Craven 'A' plain
326	Davidoff Lights
327	Embassy Lights KS
328	Gauloises Blondes Ultra
329	HB Lights
330	Kent KS SP
331	Lucky Strike Lights
332	Lucky Strike SP
333	Marlboro Menthol KS
334	Marlboro Menthol Lights KS
335	Merit Ultra KS
336	Merit Menthol KS
337	Mild Seven SP
338	Mild Seven Lights SP
339	More Menthol SP
340	Peter Stuyvesant Filter SP
341	Peter Stuyvesant Menthol SP
342	Red Band KS Lights NL
343	Reyno Lights
344	Salem SP
345	Salem Lights SP
346	Sovereign KS NL
347	Sovereign Lights KS
348	Style Special 25s NL
349	Vogue Menthol
350	Winston SP
351	Winston Lights SP
352	Yves St Laurent 100s Lights
353	Yves St Laurent Menthol Lights

RAW DATA FOR COLOUR GRAPHS 7.1-3

APPENDIX 7.2

GRAPH 7.1 PRESENCE / ABSENCE OF COLOUR

RAW DATA

		NON-MENTHOL			MENTHOL	
		STANDARD	LOW	VERY LOW	STANDARD	LOW
1	GOLD	173	98	14	10	15
2	SILVER	16	13	1	2	3
3	BLACK	94	32	2	3	2
4	WHITE	116	91	14	9	15
5	GREY	15	14	2	-	1
6	DARK RED	40	12	-	-	2
7	RED	114	47	6	2	6
8	PINK	5	2	1	-	-
9	PURPLE	3	7	4	-	-
10	DARK BLUE	70	40	1	-	-
11	BLUE	48	54	4	-	1
12	GREEN	8	3	-	12	19
13	YELLOW	7	7	1	-	1
14	BROWN	5	4	-	-	-
15	CREAM	9	6	-	-	2
16	ORANGE	3	7	2	-	-
N		196	112	14	12	19

PERCENTAGE DATA

		NON-MENTHOL			MENTHOL	
		STANDARD	LOW	VERY LOW	STANDARD	LOW
1	GOLD	88.3	87.5	100.0	83.3	78.9
2	SILVER	8.2	11.6	7.1	16.7	15.8
3	BLACK	48.0	28.6	14.3	25.0	10.5
4	WHITE	59.2	81.3	100.0	75.0	78.9
5	GREY	7.7	12.5	14.3	-	5.3
6	DARK RED	20.4	10.7	-	-	10.5
7	RED	58.2	42.0	42.9	16.7	31.6
8	PINK	2.6	1.8	7.1	-	-
9	PURPLE	1.5	6.3	28.6	-	-
10	DARK BLUE	35.7	35.7	7.1	-	-
11	BLUE	24.5	48.2	28.6	-	5.3
12	GREEN	4.1	2.7	-	100.0	100.0
13	YELLOW	3.6	6.3	7.1	-	5.3
14	BROWN	2.6	3.6	-	-	-
15	CREAM	4.6	5.4	-	-	10.5
16	ORANGE	1.5	6.3	14.3	-	-

APPENDIX 7.2 cont'd

GRAPH 7.2 PRIMARY PACK COLOUR

RAW DATA

		NON-MENTHOL			MENTHOL	
		STANDARD	LOW	VERY LOW	STANDARD	LOW
1	GOLD	19	9	2	-	2
2	SILVER	2	1	-	-	-
3	BLACK	29	-	-	-	-
4	WHITE	49	68	11	3	9
5	GREY	6	4	-	-	1
6	DARK RED	20	-	-	-	-
7	RED	19	1	-	-	-
8	PINK	1	-	-	-	-
9	PURPLE	-	-	-	-	-
10	DARK BLUE	34	5	-	-	-
11	BLUE	5	19	-	-	-
12	GREEN	2	-	-	9	5
13	YELLOW	1	1	1	-	-
14	BROWN	1	-	-	-	-
15	CREAM	7	4	-	-	2
16	ORANGE	1	-	-	-	-
N		196	112	14	12	19

PERCENTAGE DATA

		NON-MENTHOL			MENTHOL	
		STANDARD	LOW	VERY LOW	STANDARD	LOW
1	GOLD	9.7	8.0	14.3	-	10.5
2	SILVER	1.0	0.9	-	-	-
3	BLACK	14.8	-	-	-	-
4	WHITE	25.0	60.7	78.6	25.0	47.4
5	GREY	3.1	3.6	-	-	5.3
6	DARK RED	10.2	-	-	-	-
7	RED	9.7	0.9	-	-	-
8	PINK	0.5	-	-	-	-
9	PURPLE	-	-	-	-	-
10	DARK BLUE	17.3	4.5	-	-	-
11	BLUE	2.6	17.0	-	-	-
12	GREEN	1.0	-	-	75.0	26.3
13	YELLOW	0.5	0.9	7.1	-	-
14	BROWN	0.5	-	-	-	-
15	CREAM	3.6	3.6	-	-	10.5
16	ORANGE	0.5	-	-	-	-

APPENDIX 7.2 cont'd

GRAPH 7.3 PERCENTAGE OF COLOUR

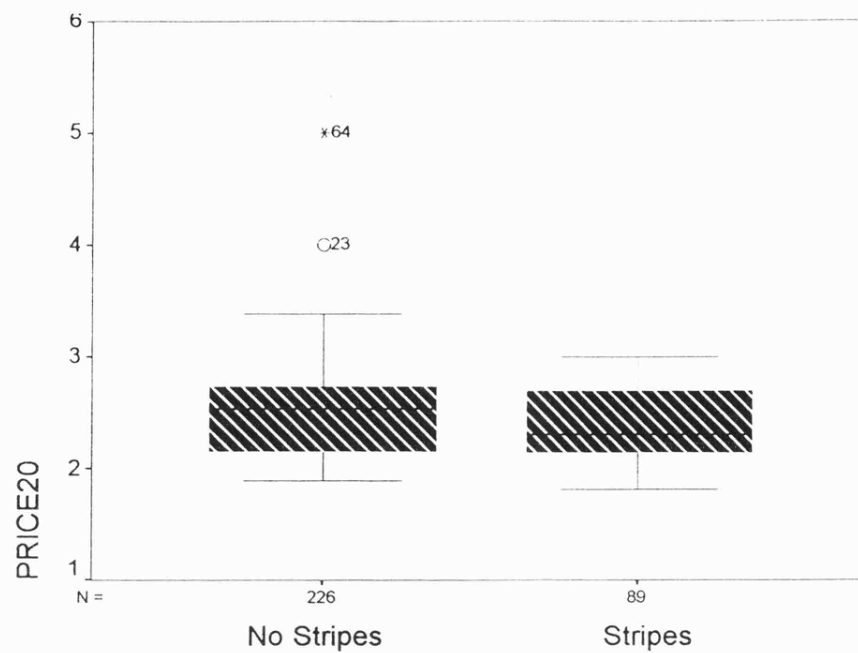
RAW DATA

		NON-MENTHOL			MENTHOL	
		STANDARD	LOW	VERY LOW	STANDARD	LOW
1	GOLD	2260	1190	158	38	180
2	SILVER	209	164	-	28	12
3	BLACK	3193	108	-	28	2
4	WHITE	4400	5583	1056	366	907
5	GREY	483	512	20	-	79
6	DARK RED	1686	99	-	-	-
7	RED	2341	291	-	1	-
8	PINK	71	46	20	-	-
9	PURPLE	19	42	20	-	-
10	DARK BLUE	3232	587	-	-	-
11	BLUE	602	2007	26	-	1
12	GREEN	198	3	-	739	533
13	YELLOW	165	82	93	-	2
14	BROWN	136	72	-	-	-
15	CREAM	551	381	-	-	184
16	ORANGE	54	33	7	-	-
N		196	112	14	12	19

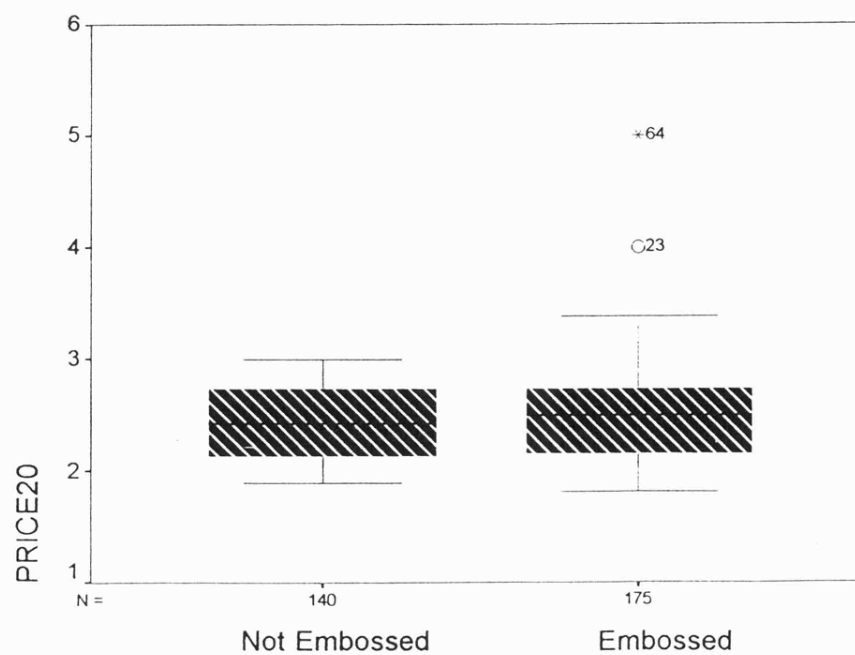
PERCENTAGE DATA

		NON-MENTHOL			MENTHOL	
		STANDARD	LOW	VERY LOW	STANDARD	LOW
1	GOLD	11.5	10.6	11.3	3.2	9.5
2	SILVER	1.1	1.5	-	2.3	0.6
3	BLACK	16.3	1.0	-	2.3	0.1
4	WHITE	22.4	49.8	75.4	30.5	47.7
5	GREY	2.5	4.6	1.4	-	4.2
6	DARK RED	8.6	0.9	-	-	-
7	RED	11.9	2.6	-	0.1	-
8	PINK	0.4	0.4	1.4	-	-
9	PURPLE	0.1	0.4	1.4	-	-
10	DARK BLUE	16.5	5.2	-	-	-
11	BLUE	3.1	17.9	1.9	-	0.1
12	GREEN	1.0	0.03	-	61.6	28.1
13	YELLOW	0.8	0.7	6.6	-	0.1
14	BROWN	0.7	0.6	-	-	-
15	CREAM	2.8	3.4	-	-	9.7
16	ORANGE	0.3	0.3	0.5	-	-

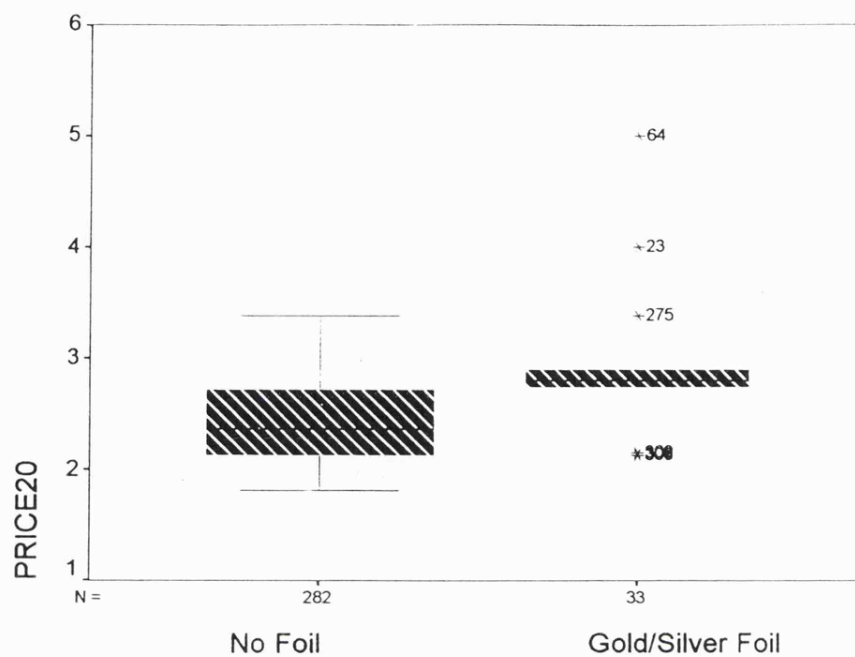
Box Plot of Price(in £) for Stripes and No Stripes



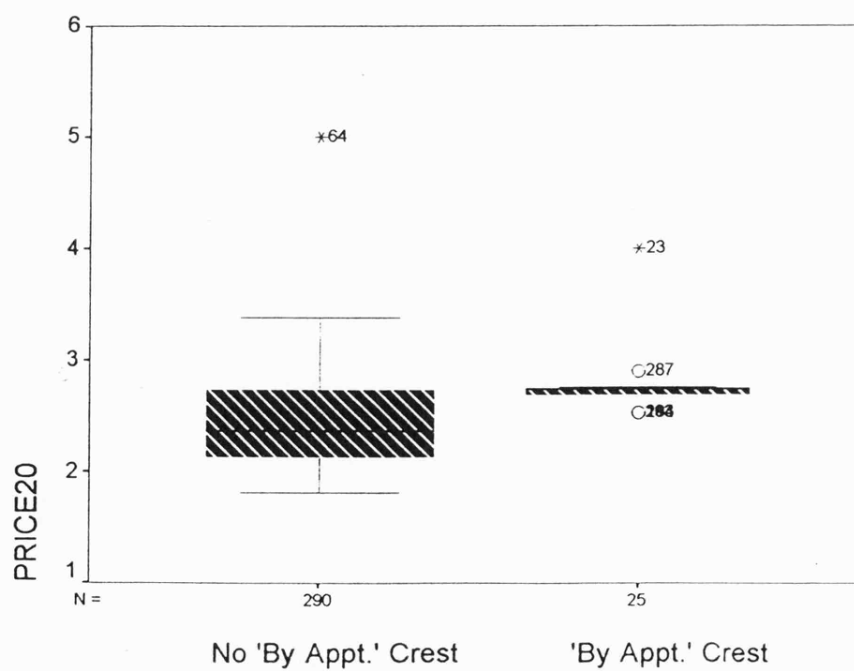
Box Plot of Price(in £) for Embossed and Not Embossed



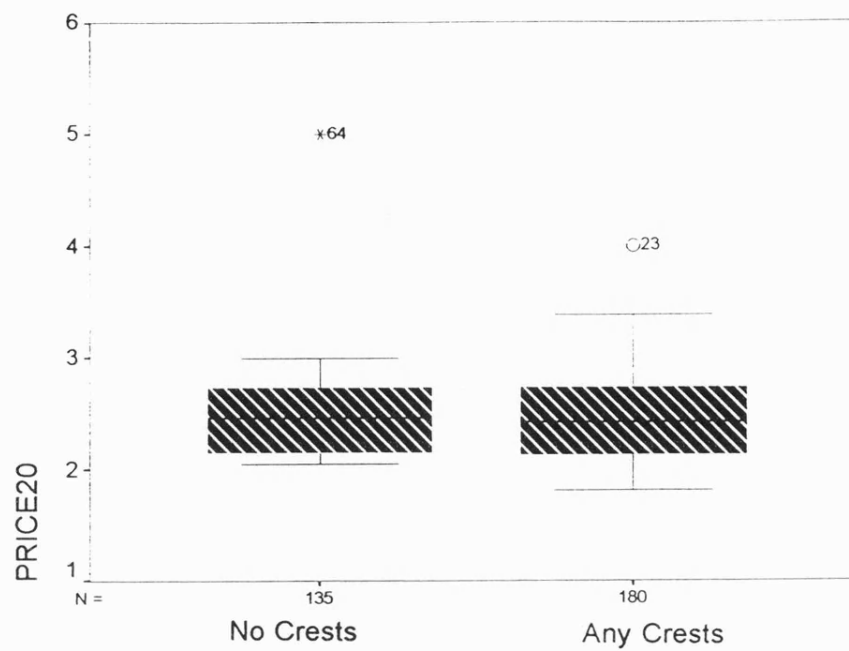
Box Plot of Price(in £) for Gold/Silver Foil and No Foil



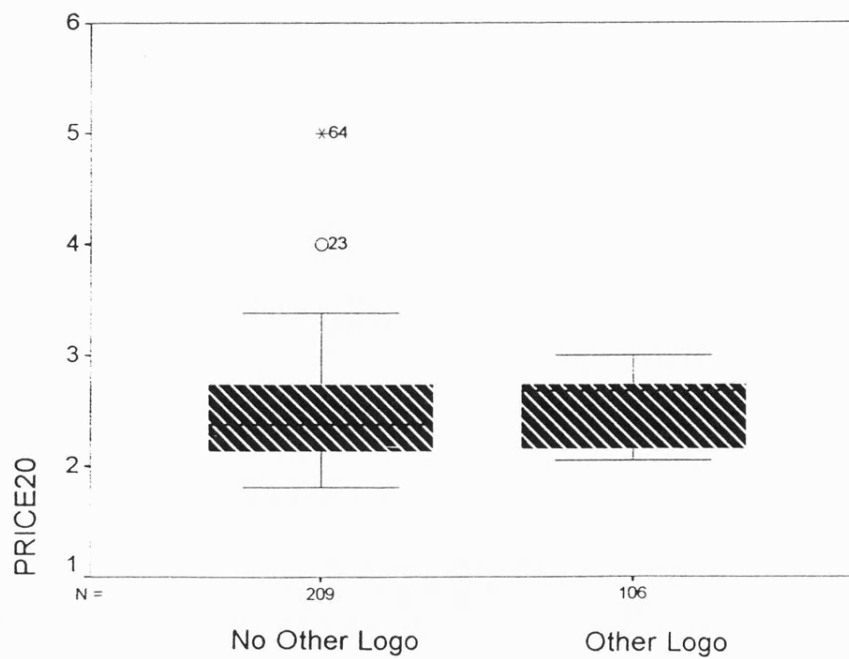
Box Plot of Price(in £) for 'By Royal Appointment' Crests



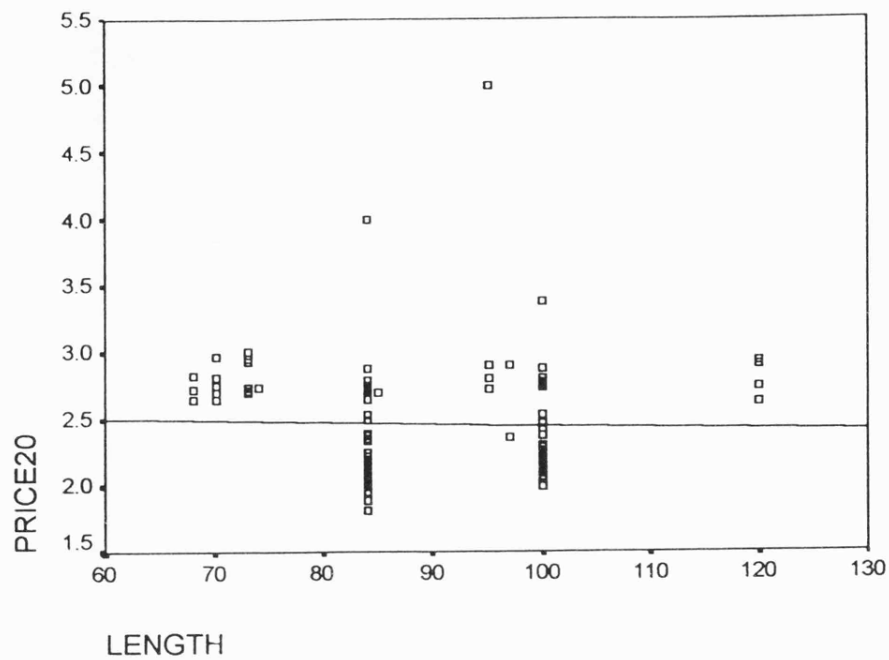
Box Plot of Price(in £) for Any Crests and No Crests

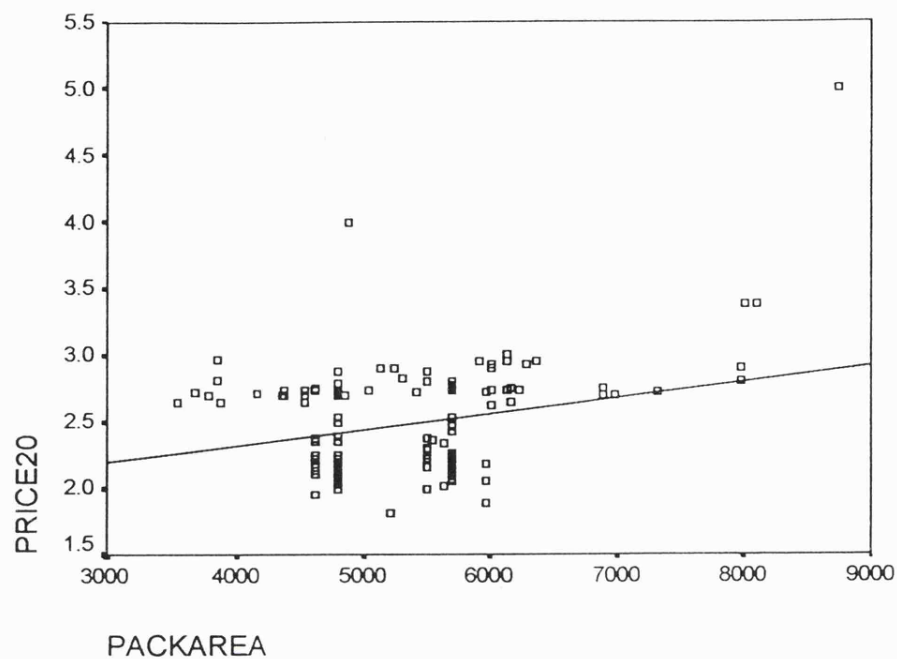


Box Plot of Price(in £) for Other Logos

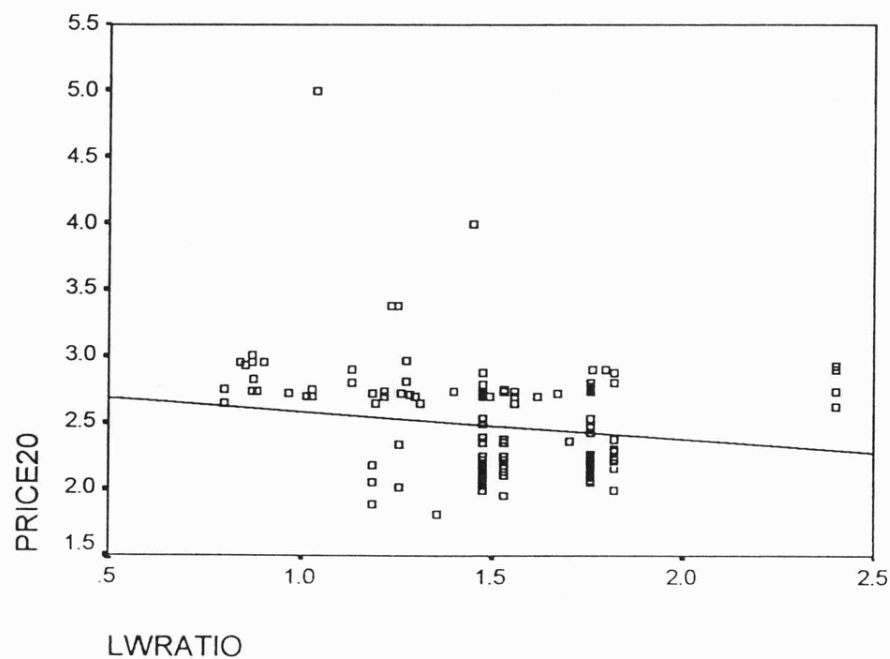


Scatterplot of Price for 20 Cigarettes (in £) with Pack Length (mm)

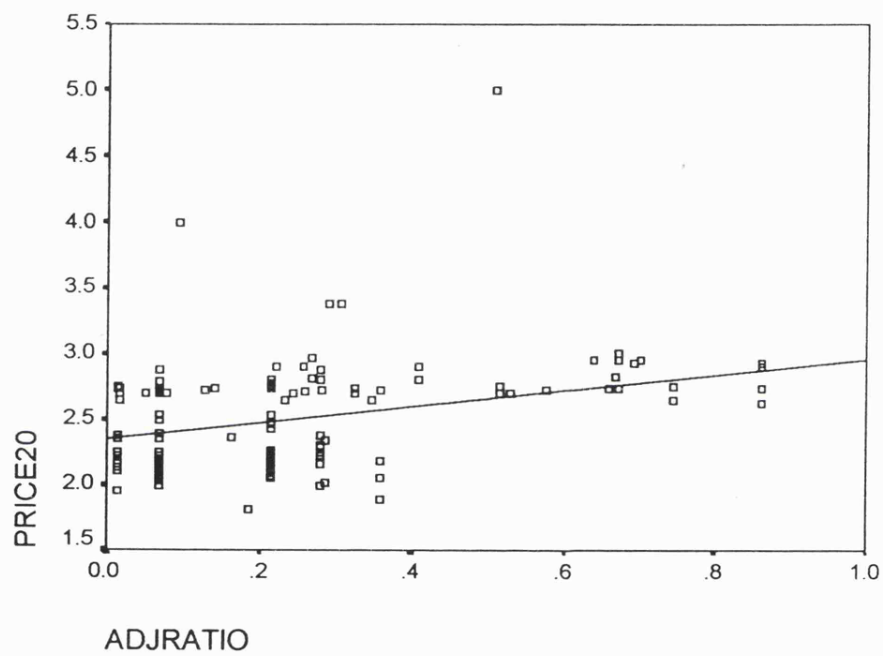


Scatterplot of Price for 20 Cigarettes (in £) with Pack Area (mm²)

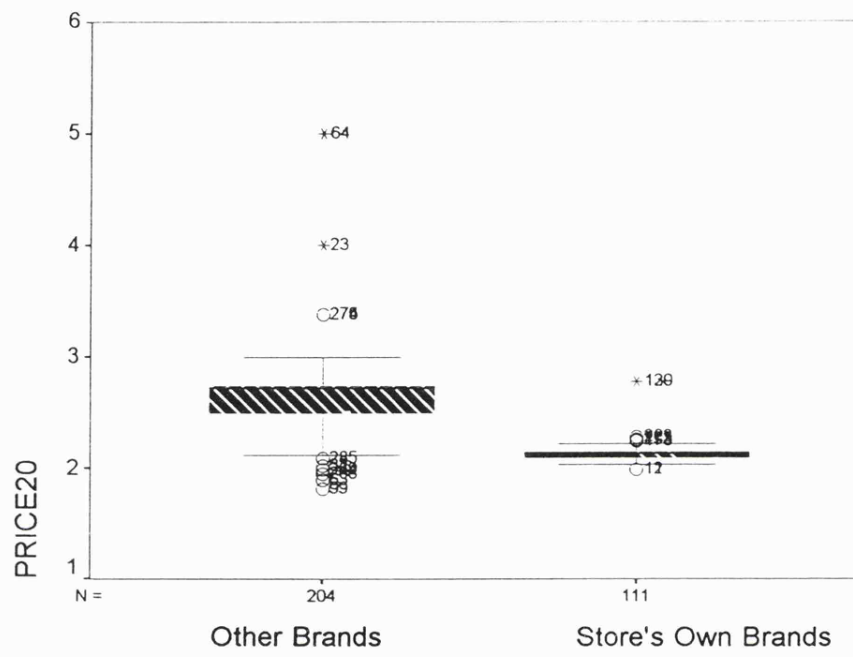
Scatterplot of Price for 20 Cigarettes (in £) with Pack Length/Width Ratio



Scatterplot of Price for 20 Cigarettes (in £) with Adjusted Length/Width Ratio



Box Plot of Price for 20 Cigarettes (in £) for Store and Other Packets



APPENDIX 7.6

List of 40 Packets and Related Data

<i>Pack</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>
1	B&H Special Filter	12	1	0	2.74	0	3
2	B&H Special Mild	8	2	0	2.74	0	3
3	Berkeley	12	1	0	2.53	0	4
4	Berkeley Mild	9	2	0	2.53	0	3
5	Berkeley Menthol	8	2	1	2.53	0	3
6	Beaumont	14	1	0	2.11	1	3
7	Beaumont Lights	8	2	0	2.11	1	3
8	Capstan	15	1	0	3.00	0	4
9	Consulate	8	2	1	2.74	0	4
10	Craven 'A'	14	1	0	2.39	0	4
11	Craven 'A' Mild	8	2	0	2.39	0	5
12	Craven 'A' Menthol	8	2	1	2.39	0	3
13	Death	13	1	0	2.70	0	2
14	Dorchester SK	13	1	0	2.42	0	4
15	Dorchester SK Mild	9	2	0	2.42	0	4
16	Dorchester Menthol	8	2	1	2.42	0	4
17	Dunhill Int.	12	1	0	2.80	0	2
18	Dunhill Int. Mild	8	2	0	2.80	0	3
19	Dunhill Inf. Lights	1	3	0	2.74	0	5
20	King George	14	1	0	2.20	1	3
21	King George Mild	9	2	0	2.20	1	3
22	Marlboro	13	1	0	2.74	0	4
23	Marlboro Lights	6	2	0	2.74	0	4
24	Marlboro Menthol	13	1	1	2.74	0	5
25	More 120s	12	1	0	2.93	0	3
26	More Menthol Mild	9	2	1	2.93	0	3
27	More Menthol	12	1	1	2.93	0	4
28	Oscar	13	1	0	2.18	1	3
29	Oscar Lights	9	2	0	2.18	1	3
30	Players	14	1	0	2.93	0	6
31	Raffles	13	1	0	2.53	0	4
32	Raffles Lights	8	2	0	2.53	0	5
33	Silk Cut	7	2	0	2.74	0	3
34	Silk Cut Ultra Low	1	3	0	2.74	0	3
35	Silk Cut Menthol	7	2	1	2.74	0	3
36	Sky	13	1	0	2.12	1	3
37	Sky Lights	8	2	0	2.12	1	3
38	Sobranie Cocktail	12	1	0	3.38	0	6
39	St. Moritz	11	1	1	2.90	0	2
40	Superkings Ultra	3	3	0	2.53	0	3

A = Tar yield (mg)

B = Tar Group (1=Standard, 2=Low, 3=Very Low)

C = Menthol(1) Non-Menthol (0)

D = Price in £

E = Store (1) Non-Store (0)

F = Number of colours on packt

CIGARETTE PACKAGE DESIGN QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire asks you to evaluate a series of cigarette package designs along a few simple dimensions.

The questions ask for your own impressions. There are no right or wrong answers.

Please work through the cigarette packs and questionnaire in order and do not refer back to previous packs. Do not spend too long on each pack.

Please use the space provided at the bottom of each page to make any further comments about the pack designs. In particular, it would be helpful if you could indicate any specific reasons for the judgments you have made.

All the information you supply will remain anonymous and will be used for research purposes only.

PACK 2

For each question, please tick the box which most accurately describes your own impression of the pack design:

1. Masculine - Feminine

Very Masculine	More Masculine than Feminine	Neither Masculine or Feminine	More Feminine than Masculine	Very Feminine
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. Strong - Mild

Very Strong	Quite Strong	Average	Quite Mild	Very Mild
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Economical - Expensive

Very Economical	Quite Economical	Average	Quite Expensive	Very Expensive
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. Classy - Ordinary

Very Classy	Quite Classy	Inbetween	Quite Ordinary	Very Ordinary
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. Menthol ☐ Non-Menthol ☐

6. Are you familiar with this particular pack design?

Yes ☐ Maybe ☐ No ☐

Any other comments?

.....

This section asks you to reflect briefly on the judgment processes involved in rating the cigarette packets. A number of things may have helped you to make your judgments, such as the pack designs themselves, for example, colour, size, shape etc. Alternatively, other things such as brand names, advertising, personal experience may have been useful to you.

Please describe the things which helped you to rate the packs in the following ways:

As MASCULINE

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As FEMININE

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Are you male or female? (please tick)

Male

☐

Female

☐

How old are you? years

What is your occupation?

How long have you lived in the UK?

Which of the following best describes your own cigarette smoking status? (please tick)

☐

Never smoked

☐

Ex-smoker

☐

Social or Occasional smoker

☐

Regular smoker

If you smoke or used to smoke, please state the brand/s of cigarettes that you smoke / used to smoke:

.....
.....

If you are an ex-smoker, how long ago did you give up?

Is there anything further you would like to add?

All the information you have supplied will remain anonymous.

Thank you very much for your time.

[ONE PAGE FOR EACH OF THE OTHER DIMENSIONS, HEADED:]

Please describe the things which helped you to rate the packs in the following ways:

As STRONG [ETC]
.....

As MILD [ETC]
.....

Please describe the things which helped you to rate the packs in the following ways:

As ECONOMICAL [ETC]
.....

As EXPENSIVE [ETC]
.....

Please describe the things which helped you to rate the packs in the following ways:

As ORDINARY [ETC]
.....

As CLASSY [ETC]
.....

Please describe the things which helped you to rate the packs in the following ways:

As MENTHOL [ETC]
.....

As NON-MENTHOL [ETC]
.....

APPENDIX 7.8

Background Information on Participants

PARTICIPANTS CLASSIFIED AS 'SMOKERS'

<i>No.</i>	<i>sex</i>	<i>age</i>	<i>yrs/UK</i>	<i>smoking status</i>	<i>gave up?</i>	<i>occupation</i>
1	female	45	45	regular smoker	-	receptionist
7	female	28	28	regular smoker	-	stewardess
12	female	25	25	regular smoker	-	photographer
19	female	24	24	regular smoker	-	secretary
20	female	17	17	regular smoker	-	office junior
31	female	22	22	regular smoker	-	marketing
41	female	26	26	regular smoker	-	student
45	male	35	35	regular smoker	-	musician/student
46	male	30	8	regular smoker	-	legal advisor
48	female	29	29	regular smoker	-	nurse
50	male	35	35	regular smoker	-	illustrator
52	male	24	24	regular smoker	-	student
2	male	20	20	social smoker	-	builder/plasterer
4	male	54	21	social smoker	-	advertiser
6	female	26	7	social smoker	-	student
9	female	18	18	social smoker	-	student
13	female	36	2	social smoker	-	lecturer
16	male	24	24	social smoker	-	engineer
21	male	44	44	social smoker	-	company director
25	male	34	34	social smoker	-	technician
26	female	26	26	social smoker	-	technician
27	male	40+	40+	social smoker	-	architect
36	female	33	33	social smoker	-	secretary
37	male	24	24	social smoker	-	student
38	female	23	23	social smoker	-	student
47	female	25	25	social smoker	-	auditor
55	female	23	23	social smoker	-	optician
59	male	29	4	social smoker	-	m o t o r c y c l e mechanic
56	male	22	22	ex-smoker	2 years	computer support
57	female	19	17	ex-smoker	4 months	student

APPENDIX 7.8 cont'd

Background Information on Participants

PARTICIPANTS CLASSIFIED AS 'NON-SMOKERS'

<i>No.</i>	<i>sex</i>	<i>age</i>	<i>yrs/UK</i>	<i>smoking status</i>	<i>gave up?</i>	<i>occupation</i>
3	female	54	54	non-smoker	-	housewife
5	male	32	8	non-smoker	-	student
8	female	54	54	non-smoker	-	bookseller
22	female	23	23	non-smoker	-	student
24	female	60	60	non-smoker	-	bank clerk
29	male	61	61	non-smoker	-	graphic designer
34	female	53	53	non-smoker	-	domestic bursar
39	male	24	24	non-smoker	-	student
40	male	51	51	non-smoker	-	chemist
42	male	58	58	non-smoker	-	i n s u r a n c e surveyor
43	female	55	55	non-smoker	-	housewife
49	female	26	26	non-smoker	-	scientist
51	female	26	26	non-smoker	-	e n v ' n t a l consultant
53	male	55	55	non-smoker	-	retired civil servant
54	female	55	55	non-smoker	-	retired
60	male	62	62	non-smoker	-	graphic designer
10	female	53	53	ex-smoker	15 years	bookseller
14	male	60	60	ex-smoker	35 years	printer
15	female	55	55	ex-smoker	30 years	clerk
18	female	60+	60+	ex-smoker	10 years	housewife
23	male	42	42	ex-smoker	9 years	company director
28	male	45	45	ex-smoker	22 years	technician
30	male	63	63	ex-smoker	20 years	advertiser
32	female	57	33	ex-smoker	32 years	admin. asst.
33	male	59	59	ex-smoker	12 years	admin. asst.
44	female	60	60	ex-smoker	>20 years	retired teacher
58	female	26	26	ex-smoker	5/6 years	administrator
11	female	50s	50s	ex-social smoker	20 years	bookseller
17	female	22	22	ex-social smoker	3 years	student
35	male	48	48	ex-social smoker	10 years	board director

Qualitative Data for Comments on Strong - Mild

APPENDIX 7.9

STRONG

COLOUR (unspecified)	5
Dark/Deep	21
Strong/Bold/Rich	16
Black	11
Reds	14
Dark reds	2
dark blues	2
gold	1
a lot of one colour	1
Black lettering	2
red lettering	2
Dark writing	2
Dark green	1
Brown	1

PACK LIVERY (unspecified)	3
Strong, Bold design	6
Plain/less delicate/unimaginative	3
Lettering/amount of	1
Bold/Big/strong lettering	6
Wording stands out from b'g'd	1
Angularity of design	1
Logos / bold motif	2
no pictures	1
Traditional design	1

PACK DESIGN (shape unspecified)	1
flatter pack	1
Untipped cigarettes	2
Short cigarettes/Smaller pack	3

PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE	5
Brandname (unspecified)	3
Branding/image	1

OTHER ASSOCIATIONS:

Masculine/imagery	16
Cheap / Trampy	2
More expensive brands	1
Naval associations	2
Wording e.g. kingsize	2
General impression	1

Difficulty for non-smokers	2
----------------------------	---

MILD

COLOUR (unspecified)	4
Light/Wishy-Washy/Pale/Pastel	36
white	19
blue	9
pale/light blue	5
green	7
combinations: white/gold/purple	1
gold	1
no gold	1
pink	1
lack of colour	1
'aqua' colours	1
pale blue writing	1
Cream	1
Green/blue/white=coolness	1

PACK LIVERY (unspecified)	2
Lettering style/shape/weight	2
delicate/thin lettering	2
Nothing stands out/plain/spare/simple	7
gentle/soft designs	4
stripes	1
reliefs, but only with light colours	1
Small gold crest	1
Swirling patterns	1
No/fewer lines/diagonals	2

PACK DESIGN (shape unspecified)	1
slim box	1
kingsize	1
thin cigarettes	1
longer packets/larger filters	1

PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE	5
Brandname (unspecified)	2
minimalist name	1

OTHER ASSOCIATIONS:

Feminine/less masculine	7
Classy	1
cheap/ness	4
Menthol/'minty'	5
All have prominent health warnings.	1

Difficulty for non-smokers	1
----------------------------	---

APPENDIX 7.9 cont'd

Qualitative Data for Comments on Menthol-Non-Menthol

MENTHOL

COLOUR (unspecified)	3
Green	39
light green	4
Green=menthol/minty	5
blue	8
pale /ice blue	5
white	7
turquoise	1
cool colours	3
spare use of colour	1
Green writing	3
Pale blue writing	1
pale = mild	2
blue=low tar	1

PACK LIVERY:

Plain livery	1
------------------------	---

pack shape	1
----------------------	---

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE 1

brand name	1
----------------------	---

brand image/advertising	4
-----------------------------------	---

ASSOCIATIONS:

Feminine	2
--------------------	---

Masculine	1
---------------------	---

Eco-nature	1
----------------------	---

fresh-looking	1
-------------------------	---

Difficult for non-smoker	4
------------------------------------	---

NON-MENTHOL

COLOUR (unspecified)	3
Not Green	26
Not green or blue	8
Not green/blue/white	2
Not green/white	1
not (much) white	2
blue	2
Dark colours	3
Strong colours	2
red	3
black	1
gold	1
comb'n: white,red, black,blue	1

PACK LIVERY:

strong design	1
-------------------------	---

typeface	1
--------------------	---

good design	1
-----------------------	---

pack shape	1
----------------------	---

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE 2

brand name	1
----------------------	---

brand image/advertising	3
-----------------------------------	---

ASSOCIATIONS:

Masculine	1
---------------------	---

Feminine	1
--------------------	---

most cigs are non-menthol	2
-------------------------------------	---

Difficult for non-smoker	3
------------------------------------	---

Qualitative Data for Comments on Masculine-Feminine APPENDIX 7.9 cont'd

MASCULINE

COLOUR (unspecified)	11
colder colours blue	1
green	3
dark green / maroon	1
gold	1
dark colours	16
Strong/bold colours	16
red	17
(dark) blues	1
black	14
monochrome	1
solid/saturated colours	2
conflicting colours:blue/red	1
no green (menthol)	1
LIVERY (unspecified)	3
strong/bold/ design	3
stark/plain/not complex/gaudy	9
bold lines/shapes/geometrical	7
stripes (school tie/shirts)	3
lettering (unspecified)	1
bold/rectangular/ lettering	6
intricate logo/crest	3
no clouds	1
DESIGN (shape unspecified)	4
short/squat/wide etc	9
not thin/long	3
thin	1
plain shape	1
not size	1
shorter cigarettes/non-filter	1
PERSONAL Knowledge (unspecified)	2
imagination	2
friends/other people/popular	5
advertising/sponsorship/familiar	6
name (unspecified)	6
name - old school association	1
name - no-nonsense	1
OTHER ASSOCIATIONS:	
masculine occupations eg navy	12
cigarettes=masculine	1
supermarket brands - naff	1
stronger/rich/not 'light'	5
less classy	1
words: kingsize/superkings	2
classy/sexy	1

FEMININE

COLOUR (unspecified)	9
Pale/Soft/Pastel/Washy colours	31
White	12
green (green/white)	9
gold	2
blue/light blue	9
intriguing/different colours	2
pink colours	1
warm colours/reds	3
single colour (fashion)	1
colourful	2
LIVERY (unspecified)	2
detailed	2
subtle/tasteful/elegant/simple	3
delicate/pretty/less bold design	7
flowing lines/rounded/swirling patterns	3
lettering (unspecified)	1
flowing//curvy lettering	3
fancy/frilly/pretty/ornate lettering	5
delicate lettering	1
small crest	1
relief design	1
DESIGN (shape unspecified)	3
smaller/streamline	2
long/slim pack/cigs	15
Oblong	1
wider	1
100s	1
cigs different colours	1
white filters	2
PERSONAL Knowledge (unspecified)	3
imagination	2
familiar brand (see people)	4
advertising/marketing	3
name (unspecified)	6
foreign-sounding name	1
name: neutral connotations	1
OTHER ASSOCIATIONS:	
Menthol	7
'trendy' to smoke	1
expensive/classy	3
sexy	1
fem.image no longer fashionable	1
not many	2
mild/less strong/light	9
difficult	1

Qualitative Data for Comments on Ordinary-Classy

APPENDIX 7.9 cont'd

ORDINARY

COLOUR (unspecified)	6
Indistinct/Nondescript/less striking	3
Bright/contrasting	2
Matt, dull	4
Too much gold	1
Light blue / green	1
Brash: red, green	1
few/single colours	3
black, red,	1
white/lack of colour(=boring)	5
poor colour	1
standard colours	1
darker	1
silver not gold lettering	1

LIVERY (unspecified)	8
Nondescript/boring/standard	11
Crude/Tacky/poor/ugly/unartistic	9
Stripes/too many	3
Plain/less detail/dull	7
gimmick/fuss/busy	5
poor logo	1
ordinary pictures/symbols	1
Combined curly & symmetrical design	1
familiar/Old fashioned, 60s	2
standard lettering	1
bold lettering	1
inappropriate typeface	1

PACK DESIGN (unspecified)	2
usual/boring size	1
wider packet	1
small = economy	1

PERSONAL Knowledge (unspecified)	2
ordinary name	2
unknown brand	1
'naff' name	1
'common'/well-known/advertised	1
poor brand image	1

OTHER ASSOCIATIONS:

cheap/for the masses/common	10
average price	1
poor flavour	1
most packs	1

CLASSY

COLOUR (unspecified)	6
Unusual colour	5
Elegant colours	1
Several colours	1
Simple colours	2
Good colours	4
Bright /Rich colours	5
Subtle/delicate/not vibrant	3
White &/or black	2
red	1
Gold	7
Gold edging/embossing/lettering	3
Subtle use of gold/silver	2
deep colours + gold trim	1
Pale colours + silver trim	1
Colour of print (unspecified)	1
LIVERY (unspecified)	5
Muted/not jazzy design	1
Simple design	6
Brighter packs	1
Curly <u>or</u> symmetrical	1
Diagonal stripes	1
Stylish/Elegant/Sophisticated/good	9
not tacky	2
Distinctive/different design	4
Intricate/fancy/decorative	6
Crests, royal warrants etc	7
quality of printing etc	1
glossy finish	1
unusual/fancy lettering	4
good lettering	3
PACK DESIGN (unspecified)	4
distinctive, unusual shape	7
square/squat	4
slender, long cigarettes/pack	4
white tips	1
'light' weight packs	1
PERSONAL Knowledge (unspecified)	3
well-known	1
name (unspecified)	2
name/word associations	3
advertising/marketing	1
classy/foreign name	1
OTHER ASSOCIATIONS:Fashion	2
Designer/smart	1
flavour	1
very few packs/unusual brands	2
expensive/wealthy	7
smoking = not sociable	1

Qualitative Data for Comments on Economical-Expensive APPENDIX 7.9 cont'd

ECONOMICAL

COLOUR (unspecified)	1
bold/indelicate colours (blue/turquoise)	2
not strong colours	1
cheap-looking colours	1
awful colours	1
ordinary colours	1
few colours/two/one	7
too many colours	1
colours not toning in	1
no gold/gilding	2
white packs	2

LIVERY (unspecified)	7
bold/robust/indelicate	1
less flashy/unimpressive/boring	7
tacky/poor quality/'cheap'	13
busy/cluttered	1
uncluttered/simple/plain	11
curly & straight letters/shapes	1
tacky/thick stripes (gold/primary colours)	2
no stripes	1
no 'by appt'/gold crest	2
poor use of crest/logo	1
bold/simple lettering	2
no embossed letters	1
cheap-looking design/lettering	1
1970s-looking	2
dull/poor finish/not shiny	2
few words	1

DESIGN (shape unspecified)	2
boring shape	1
100s/superkings+ (value)	4
standard size/kingsize	2
smaller size	7

PERSONAL Knowledge (unspecified)	5
image/advertising	2
brand name (unspecified)	3
known brand/common	2
unknown makes	2
supermarket brands	2
unimpressive/simplistic/downmarket/naff	1

OTHER ASSOCIATIONS

Classy	1
flavour (unspecified)	1
reflexive 'cheap'	3

EXPENSIVE

COLOUR (unspecified)	4
gold/lots of gold	15
red	3
bold use of colour/bright colour	3
colourful/lots of colours	7
limited colours, toning in	1
unusual/complicated colour	3
luxurious, rich, muted colours	5
darker colours	1
ref. to gold/silver trim etc	8
foil not ink(gold)	1
all black/white	1
LIVERY (unspecified)	6
Unusual/striking	5
simple	1
aesthetically good/smart	5
fancy/cluttered/detail/elaborate design	5
attention to quality of design/printing etc	3
Classy/upmarket/sophisticated	6
glossy finish	1
lettering (unspecified)	1
light weight writing	1
swirling/fancy/elaborate script	3
'by appt'/royal crest/smart logo etc	7
not look-alike crest	1
embossing/dye-stamping	1
crests don't work any longer	1
unchanged design	1
DESIGN (shape unspecified)	3
large/square/International size	10
long/slim	2
kingsize	1
unusual size	7
untipped	1
PERSONAL Knowledge (unspecified)	3
good/expensive advertising	2
who smokes them	2
name/associations	8
esoteric/foreign name	2
upmarket/impressive/designer name	7
poncey wording	1
'super'-	1

OTHER ASSOCIATIONS

lighter weight	1
classy	1
rare packets (specialists only)	2
quality	1
strength	1
cf with 1 brand	1

APPENDIX 7.10

'40 Packets' - Average Rankings of each Packet on 5 dimensions, and Familiarity

<i>Pack</i>	<i>Masc/ Fem</i>	<i>Str/ Mild</i>	<i>Men/ Non-M</i>	<i>Econ/ Exp</i>	<i>Clas/ Ord</i>	<i>Familiarity</i>
1	2.48	2.80	1.97	3.47	2.58	1.08
2	2.98	2.87	1.87	3.37	2.70	1.53
3	2.42	2.48	1.97	2.98	3.30	2.42
4	3.43	3.27	1.87	2.90	3.27	2.57
5	3.62	3.22	1.16	3.07	3.10	2.52
6	3.50	3.12	1.80	2.82	3.13	2.97
7	2.92	3.13	1.93	2.80	3.33	2.93
8	1.23	1.25	1.97	3.13	3.37	2.35
9	3.53	3.07	1.25	3.32	2.83	1.87
10	2.22	2.43	1.98	2.50	3.60	2.15
11	3.28	3.10	1.72	2.48	3.59	2.63
12	3.48	3.45	1.15	2.72	3.33	2.65
13	1.57	1.67	1.98	2.83	3.30	2.37
14	2.00	1.92	2.00	3.17	2.93	2.52
15	3.23	3.15	1.92	3.17	2.93	2.80
16	3.10	3.05	1.30	3.13	2.97	2.64
17	2.13	2.40	1.93	4.07	1.97	1.45
18	3.08	2.92	1.73	3.95	2.08	2.08
19	3.75	3.43	1.82	3.62	2.40	2.65
20	2.03	2.00	1.97	2.98	3.20	2.93
21	2.62	2.42	1.85	2.63	3.43	2.85
22	1.92	1.83	2.00	3.37	3.02	1.07
23	3.37	2.85	1.86	3.28	2.82	1.38
24	3.12	2.80	1.27	3.12	2.95	2.40
25	2.53	3.08	1.90	3.33	2.93	2.23
26	3.75	3.70	1.23	3.37	2.95	2.45
27	3.43	3.62	1.15	3.35	2.93	2.42
28	2.05	1.90	1.98	2.62	3.62	2.88
29	2.97	2.78	1.88	2.98	3.27	2.90
30	1.67	1.48	2.00	3.20	3.23	1.60
31	2.17	2.52	1.95	3.45	2.53	2.00
32	3.67	3.83	1.87	3.58	2.28	2.60
33	3.35	3.27	1.92	3.30	2.60	1.22
34	4.27	3.80	1.90	3.12	2.78	1.60
35	3.72	3.42	1.27	3.22	2.75	1.97
36	3.20	3.18	1.85	2.47	3.33	2.93
37	3.62	3.35	1.80	2.45	3.30	2.93
38	3.18	4.53	1.95	4.63	1.63	2.42
39	2.87	3.28	1.43	4.08	1.85	2.30
40	3.03	3.15	1.88	3.13	2.98	2.23

'40 Packets' - Raw data for Colour Analyses

<i>Pack</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>J</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>Main</i>
1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
3	2	0	0	3	0	82	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
4	2	0	0	0	79	0	0	0	0	0	19	0	0	0	0	5
5	2	0	0	0	79	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	0	0	0	5
6	5	0	0	89	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	4
7	5	0	0	89	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
8	16	0	32	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	48	15
9	0	12	0	68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	0	0	0	4
10	2	0	0	60	0	0	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
11	2	0	0	54	0	0	0	0	0	18	26	0	0	0	0	4
12	1	0	0	72	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	0	0	0	4
13	0	0	94	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
14	2	0	97	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
15	2	0	0	47	51	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
16	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	96	0	0	0	12
17	12	0	0	0	0	0	88	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
18	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	88	0	0	0	0	11
19	2	0	0	78	0	0	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
20	26	0	0	0	0	50	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
21	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	76	0	0	0	0	11
22	3	0	4	61	0	0	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
23	27	0	2	71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
24	2	0	3	62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	0	0	0	4
25	6	0	0	2	0	0	92	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	91	0	14
27	0	7	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	90	0	0	0	12
28	0	0	0	30	0	70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
29	2	0	0	98	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
30	0	0	0	66	0	0	0	0	0	28	2	0	2	0	2	4
31	2	0	98	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
32	2	0	0	60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	38	0	4
33	1	0	0	91	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
34	2	0	0	98	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
35	1	0	0	91	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	4
36	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	98	0	0	0	0	0	10
37	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	98	0	0	0	0	11
38	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	44	13	0	0	0	36	0	0	8
39	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	98	0	0	0	12
40	62	0	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

A = Gold(1) F = Dark Red(6) K = Blue(11)
 B = Silver(2) G = Red(7) L = Green(12)
 C = Black(3) H = Pink(8) M = Yellow(13)
 D = White(4) I = Purple(9) N = Cream(14)
 E = Grey(5) J = Dark Blue(10) O = Orange(15)

'40 Packets' - Raw data for Analyses of Other Aspect of Livery

Pack	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
2	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
3	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
5	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
6	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1
7	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1
8	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
9	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
10	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
11	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
12	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
13	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
14	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
15	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
17	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
18	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
19	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
20	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
21	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
22	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
23	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
24	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
25	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
26	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
27	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
28	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
29	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
30	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
31	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
32	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
33	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
34	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
35	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
38	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
39	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
40	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1

BINARY VARIABLES: 1 = PRESENCE, 0 = ABSENCE

A = EMBOSSED
 B = GOLD/SILVER FOIL
 C = BY ROYAL APPOINTMENT CREST
 D = ANY CRESTS
 E = OTHER LOGO / DEVICE
 F = STRIPES
 G = LETTERING
 H = CURVES (& CURVES & ANGULAR)
 I = ANGULAR

APPENDIX 7.10

'40 Packets' - Raw data for Analyses of Size and Shape

<i>Pack</i>	<i>LENGTH</i>	<i>WIDTH</i>	<i>PACK AREA</i>	<i>L/W RATIO</i>	<i>ADJ. L/W RATIO</i>
1	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
2	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
3	100	57	5700	1.75	.19
4	100	57	5700	1.75	.19
5	100	57	5700	1.75	.19
6	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
7	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
8	73	84	6132	0.87	.69
9	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
10	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
11	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
12	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
13	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
14	100	57	5700	1.75	.19
15	100	57	5700	1.75	.19
16	100	57	5700	1.75	.19
17	95	84	7980	1.13	.43
18	95	84	7980	1.13	.43
19	84	60	5040	1.40	.16
20	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
21	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
22	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
23	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
24	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
25	120	50	6000	2.40	.84
26	120	50	6000	2.40	.84
27	120	50	6000	2.40	.84
28	100	57	5700	1.75	.19
29	100	57	5700	1.75	.19
30	73	86	6278	0.85	.71
31	100	57	5700	1.75	.19
32	100	57	5700	1.75	.19
33	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
34	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
35	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
36	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
37	84	57	4788	1.47	.09
38	100	80	8000	1.25	.31
39	95	84	7980	1.13	.43
40	100	57	5700	1.75	.19

APPENDIX 7.11

Correlation Statistics (non-significant) between the Five Dimensions and Four Colours not included in the text of chapter 7 (Spearman's Rho)

	STR/MILD	MASC/FEM	MEN/NON	ECON/EXP	CLAS/ORD
%GREY	.2289 <i>P</i> =.155	.1780 <i>P</i> =.272	-.1212 <i>P</i> =.456	-.1186 <i>P</i> =.466	.0657 <i>P</i> =.687
%PINK	.0953 <i>P</i> =.559	.2050 <i>P</i> =.204	.1181 <i>P</i> =.468	.2372 <i>P</i> =141	-.2056 <i>P</i> =.203
%PURPLE	.0884 <i>P</i> =.587	.2858 <i>P</i> =.074	.1403 <i>P</i> =.388	.2520 <i>P</i> =.117	-.3102 <i>P</i> =.051
%YELLOW	-.1441 <i>P</i> =.375	.0194 <i>P</i> =.906	.2712 <i>P</i> =.090	.2229 <i>P</i> =.167	-.1357 <i>P</i> =.404

(α =0.05, 2-tailed)

Within-brand 'Strong'-'Mild' comparisons

Brand	Reduced Tar*	Standard Tar*	Difference	Colour-contrast
Beaumont	2.92	3.50	-0.58	red - blue
B&H	2.98	2.48	0.50	blue - red
Berkeley	3.43	2.42	1.01	blue - red
Craven 'A'	3.28	2.22	1.06	blue - red
Dorchester	3.23	2.00	1.23	white - black
Dunhill Int.	3.08	2.13	0.95	blue - red
King George	2.62	2.03	0.59	blue - red
Marlboro	3.37	1.92	1.45	gold - red
More Menthol	3.75	3.43	0.32	cream - green
Oscar	2.97	2.05	0.92	white - red
Raffles	3.67	2.17	1.50	white - black
Silk Cut	4.27	3.35	0.92	white - purple/white
Sky	3.62	3.20	0.42	blue - dark blue

* Average of scores from all participants; higher values = more 'mild'.