

Community Action on Health are experts in innovative and practical involvement, working with patients, communities and harder to reach groups to gain the insight needed to design the best, most responsive and cost-effective services.

We have vast experience and expertise in gathering the views and opinions of patients, carers and the general public in relation to health services. For example:

- locating new GP surgeries
- services to include in new community health facilities
- visibility of existing health services
- changes to care pathways

We employ various quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques:

- Questionnaires – paper-based and online
- Participatory appraisals
- Drop-in events
- Face-to-face interviews
- Focus groups
- Informal group discussions

We also provide guidance on:

- how services can engage with patients, carers and the public
- developing patient-friendly services
- a patient-focussed approach to delivering health services

For more information about the services we can provide please contact Kieran Conaty on 0191 2263450 or email kieran@caoh.org.uk. Visit our website at: www.caoh.org.uk

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Section 1: Introduction

1.0 Introduction

Community Action on Health is an independent charity working across the North East. We are experts in innovative and practical involvement, working with patients, communities and harder to reach groups to gain the insight needed to design the best, most responsive and cost-effective health and social care services.

1.1 The project and its aims

Fresh North East has commissioned Community Action on Health to carry out research into young people's perceptions of cigarette packaging. This demographic (defined, for the purposes of this report, as aged between 16 and 24) plays a crucial role in any anti-smoking strategy: almost two thirds (65%) of adult smokers in England in 2009 started before they were 18 years old, while only 6% of smokers started at the age of 25 or over¹.

The findings of this research will be used to inform Fresh's response to the Department of Health (DoH) consultation on standardised ('plain') tobacco packaging.

1.2 Objectives

The key objectives of the project are to:

- Gather information about younger smokers' and non-smokers' perceptions of branded and standardised ('plain') packaged tobacco products
- Gauge opinions about the potential deterrent effect of plain packaged cigarettes
- Map consumer perceptions of tobacco products and their ingredients, based on packaging style
- Explore young smokers' relationship with and perceptions of the brands they smoke

1.3 The context

Tobacco marketing and package design have been subjected to increased regulation over the years, most notably since the implementation of the 2003 Tobacco Advertising and Promotion Act (TAPA), which effectively banned 'above the line' tobacco advertising in print and other mass media. In April 2012, the ban on point of sale displays in large stores – embedded in the Health Act 2009 – also came into force.

As advertising restrictions become tighter, packaging plays an increasingly important role in establishing and driving brand image: the fact that the tobacco industry is

¹ Statistics on Smoking, England 2011. NHS Information Centre, August 16, 2011

preparing a vigorous challenge to new Australian packaging restrictions² illustrates manufacturers' belief in the power of their own brand imagery.

This country's Department of Health consultation will seek views on whether legislation affecting tobacco packaging should remain unchanged; plain packaging should be adopted; or another approach altogether should be chosen.

Respondents will also be asked to consider what the specific impact of standardised packaging could be, including whether it could:

- reduce the appeal of tobacco products;
- increase the effectiveness of health warnings;
- impact on the tobacco industry and retailers;
- encourage consumers to buy tobacco products abroad for their own consumption.

1.4 Smoking and young people

Over the last few years, the North East has achieved the biggest drop in smoking in England – from 29% in 2005 to 21.6% in 2011³. At the same time, regular smoking among young people across England has also declined since the mid-1990s (from 13% in 1996 to 5% in 2010)⁴.

However, the proportion of 11 to 15 year olds who are regular smokers varies by region, from 5% in London to 10% in the North East¹ - which means that young people in this region still present a sizeable challenge to anti-smoking strategists.

It is widely accepted that young people and young adults are particularly susceptible to the messages conveyed by different branding; and research carried out by the University of Stirling in 2007⁵ confirmed that TAPA has so far been effective in protecting young people from tobacco marketing and reducing their susceptibility to pro-smoking messages.

The proposed introduction of standardised packaging will take the restrictions imposed by TAPA to another level; and it is hoped that this in turn will have a powerful impact in terms of further reducing the appeal of cigarettes to younger smokers.

This report contains the findings of research examining the responses of young people to existing cigarette packaging, and to the proposed standardised packages.

It examines the views and perceptions of a sample of young people (aged 16-24) living in the North East region in May 2012.

² In December 2012, Australia will become the first country to combat packaging power by requiring all cigarettes to be sold in drab olive packages with graphic health warnings and no logos

³ Smoking prevalence among adults aged 18+ by region and local authority. Updated April 2012 (data from the Integrated Household Survey)

⁴ Smoking, drinking and drug use among young people in England in 2010. NHS Information Centre, July 2011.

⁵ Tobacco marketing awareness on youth smoking susceptibility and perceived prevalence before and after an advertising ban. Moodie, Mackintosh, Brown, Hastings, European Journal of Public Health, Vol 18, Issue 5

Section 2 - Methodology

2.0 Methodology

In order to provide Fresh North East with a rich mixture of experience and opinion, Community Action on Health took a qualitative approach to this research.

We wanted to ensure that our research gave participants the opportunity to consider and discuss their views on existing packaging styles, and the impact standardised packaging might have on their own smoking behaviour as well as on that of other smokers and potential smokers.

We therefore established a programme of focus groups whose primary concern was to deliver a range of personal views and experiences, enabling us to meet the overall objectives of this project.

2.1 Participants

While all participants were recruited from the 16-24 age range, we were keen to ensure that our focus groups represented a range of socio-economic and educational categories.

Research has indicated clear links between smoking prevalence and socio-economic status. In a recent survey, for example, one in three children who were eligible for free school meals had smoked at least once, compared with just one-fifth of children who did not qualify.¹

This supports the assertion in the Marmot Review² that 'smoking accounts for half the difference in life expectancy between the richest and poorest parts of our society'. Marmot also points out that 'smoking-related death rates are two to three times higher in low-income groups than in wealthier social groups'.

Other research³ also shows a clear link between smoking and other forms of risky behaviour in young people, including truancy and exclusion from school. Of pupils who had been excluded from school in the last 12 months, 40 per cent reported that they had smoked in the last week, compared with only 10 per cent of pupils who had never been excluded.

We convened six focus groups in all, representing young people and young adults from across the North East and different socio-economic and educational backgrounds:

- **Group A:** Young women and men aged 16-20, from a project that provides a range of support and advice services to disadvantaged young parents/parents-to-be and

¹ The relationship between subjective wellbeing, low income and substance use among schoolchildren in the north west of England. Siobhan Farmer, Barbara Hanratty, Journal of Public Health first published online April 26, 2012

² Fair Society, Healthy Lives ('The Marmot Review'). Sir Michael Marmot, February 2010

³ Smoking, drinking and drug use among young people in England in 2010. NHS Information Centre, July 2011

engages them in education, training and employment opportunities. Smokers and non-smokers

- **Group B:** Sixth formers at a post-16 College attached to an academy school situated in one of Newcastle's most disadvantaged wards. Smokers
- **Group C:** Post-16 students attending a Further Education college, in north Tyneside, attended by students from predominantly middle-income families. Smokers and non-smokers
- **Group D:** University students aged 19-24, from Teesside University. Smokers and non-smokers
- **Group E:** Professional and administrative employees aged 19-24, from the Student Loans Company, Darlington. Smokers

We also convened a pilot group, before starting the main body of the research, of smokers and non-smokers aged 16-18, from a Pre-Employment project run by a community-based organisation aiming to improve the living conditions and social, educational and economic opportunities available to the residents of a disadvantaged community in Sunderland.

This group answered a different set of questions, and looked at different products, from the final groups – but we have included their comments on plain packaging in Section 4 alongside those of the other groups.

All in all, we spoke to 41 people, of whom 26 were smokers and 15 non-smokers. Twenty-one people (80.8% of the smokers) smoked every day.

2.2 Focus group format

We were asked to explore different issues for smokers and mixed groups. We therefore developed separate but complementary questions for the two groups to help us examine:

- the reactions of non-smokers and smokers to a range of branded and plain-packaged products, including cigarettes, and
- young smokers' relationships with the cigarette brands they smoke

We arranged open-ended sessions to give each group the time they needed to respond in depth to the questions set. In practice, focus group sessions varied in length from 45 to 100 minutes.

Both sets of focus group questions are included at Appendix 2.

Section 3 – Smokers’ Groups Findings

3.0 Findings

This section provides a summary of the findings of the focus groups attended by groups of smokers. These were groups B and E as described in section 2.1 (Methodology).

The primary aim of these sessions was to consider young smokers’ relationships with the cigarette brands they smoke.

3.1 Your first cigarette

We began by asking participants to describe their first smoking experience, and discovered significant similarities between two very different groups.

Most people seemed to have started smoking around the age of 13, and in most cases peer pressure and alcohol were involved:

“All my mates were just hassling me to try one. I was quite drunk and 13, just tried it and then started smoking” (female, group E)

“I was in my friend’s house, everyone was smoking so I just tried it” (female, Group B, started at 14)

Two boys of Asian origin in Group B started smoking on visits back to their family’s country of origin:

“I went to visit, and people in my village they smoke constantly and once I went to the shops with them and they made me do it . . . I was coughing, coughing, coughing and after that I got used to it”

3.2 Choosing a brand

We asked respondents to tell us which brands they bought when they first began buying their own cigarettes.

This decision appeared to have been made very casually in almost every case – most participants began by buying the ones their friends had been giving them, then progressed to other brands through trial and error:

“When I started smoking, [Marlborough Lights] was just what everyone was smoking at uni” (male, Group E)

“I didn’t have a clue about cigarettes when I first started, so it was just what everyone else was going with” (male, Group E)



“[My sister] used to ask me to buy her tabs for her, she would give me the money . . . and I was kind of used to saying – “ten Richmond Superkings”” (female, Group B)

Some people in the older group had since opted for brands they felt were less harmful:

“The theory is, if it’s less bad for you, you can have twice as many” (male, Group E)

“Now I smoke Lambert Gold, which is not as harsh as Lambert Silver” (female, Group E)



However, most of the younger group members had very little brand loyalty and still tended to smoke whatever they could get hold of:

“My friend’s friend had been to Afghanistan and he brought back 1,000 tabs, and my friend just came up and threw a box at me, so . . .” (male, Group B)

Cost seemed to be a significant driver for both groups.

3.2.1 Attractive and unattractive packaging



When we passed round a selection of packages, responses varied but there was general agreement that the standardised pack was the least attractive. One person said this was because it reminded him of a landmine, but in most cases the perception was that they looked cheap ‘like Morrison’s Better Buy fags’.

Sobranie London Cocktail cigarettes were widely felt to have glamour and novelty appeal, although the younger girls in Group B were more likely to smoke them than older women or men. The Black Devils were generally unpopular, and several people commented unfavourably on their ‘gothy’ image.



Participants in the younger group were attracted to ‘shiny’ packaging, preferring silver packs to white ones ‘because the white ones look plain and old’.

Group E members were more attracted to the Benson & Hedges Slide by its packaging and unusual opening technique.

Asked which pack they would have been most and least likely to try as their first cigarette, both groups expressed indifference, largely because first cigarettes are usually offered by other people:

“I think when I first tried, I don’t even think it was in the box!” (male, Group E)

“We used to just buy them off the ice cream man” (male, Group E)

However, several people said they might not accept a black cigarette as their first smoke, and two people in Group E said they would not have accepted a cigarette from a standardised pack, ‘because it looks like you’re getting a pack of better buy fags’.



We then asked which packs they would now be most and least likely to accept a cigarette from, if offered by a friend.

Group B was more influenced by packaging than Group E, possibly because, as younger and more recent smokers, they were less wedded to particular brands. Sobranie London Cocktails were the most popular choice for Group B, but there was enthusiasm for Silk Cut (‘white and purple goes nice’) and for Benson & Hedges.



One factor in favour of all these brands was the perception that they were expensive, and therefore most desirable if offered by someone else.

Group E tended to use their experience of smoking the cigarette as an indicator of willingness to accept different brands from other people. Silk Cut Super Slims were less popular ‘because there’s not much smoke in them’, and one participant said he would be less likely to accept any Silk Cut because of the holes round the bottom of the filter.

However, this group (Group E) did make some aesthetic choices: Sobranie London Cocktail cigarettes found favour with one female participant and Black Devils were again unpopular. One man identified the Sobranie London Cocktail cigarette as the ones he would be least likely to accept, because of their feminine appeal. Another male said he would be pleased to accept a Benson & Hedges Slide because of the opening method.

3.3 Your brand

We asked participants questions designed to highlight the relationship each person had with their chosen brand of cigarettes.

3.3.1 Brand identity

Our first question was ‘If your brand was a famous celebrity, what sort of person would it be?’

The younger group of smokers struggled to understand this question, partly because none of them had yet developed much attachment to, or identity with, any particular brand. Their choices were still very much influenced by availability, cost, and the brands being passed around.

The older smokers who made up Group E understood the question much more easily, but tended to be very downbeat in personifying their chosen brand.

One male who smoked Windsor Blues said their pack would be Rab C Nesbit or Frank Gallagher. A female, who had reluctantly bought Richmonds that morning because Lambert & Butler Gold were sold out, said the Richmond pack would be a 'minger' if it was human.

A male Richmond smoker said their pack would be someone 'strapped for cash roaming the streets'.

3.3.2 Trying other brands

Asked how they would choose an alternative brand to buy if their chosen brand was unavailable, Group E were unanimous in saying they would choose on price alone:

"Next cheapest. I'd just go down the scale and see what else they had"
(male, Group E)

There was a wider variety of responses in Group B. Familiar flavours seemed important to most of the group:

"You'd buy what would taste basically the same (female, Group B)
Richmond, I've smoked them before" (male, Group B)

However, one group member said she would 'go for the longest tab'.

Asked if there were any brands that participants would simply never buy, both groups expressed their distrust of foreign brands:

"Foreign tabs, because they're not – I don't think they taste the same"
(female, Group B)

"Anything that is continental, I just never liked it. It just tastes dry, M&Ms and Camels and all that" (male, Group E)

One participant had been put off by early experience:

"Sovereign because I smoked it when I was young. I never enjoyed it and I just can't smoke them again" (female, Group E)

Some people in both groups declared their aversion to menthol cigarettes.

When we asked participants to put aside considerations of taste and tell us whether there were any packaging designs they would refuse to be seen with, one young woman in Group B mentioned the 'dead boring' Regal box.

Group E participants generally felt they would not be put off by unattractive packaging, although one male said 'I saw one yesterday and just thought No!' However, he could not remember what brand the offending cigarette had been.

3.4 Health impact

We asked participants two questions designed to test their perception of health risks and ways to lessen those risks.

3.4.1 Reducing the harm caused by smoking

Our first question was 'What might you do if you didn't want to quit but wanted to reduce the harm of your smoking?'

Both groups referred to the differing tar content of different brands:

"I went from Mayfair to Mayfair Smooth because it's like two – is it milligrams? – less tar because it sounded healthier" (female, Group E)



"From Lambert Silver to Lambert Gold, just because there is less bad stuff in it" (male, Group E)

"They've got them on the side, the grams of tar, so you can have a look . . . you can get the lights, they're less" (female, Group B)

Another Group B member said she would change to a different brand if she wanted to cut her tar intake as 'lights' were not available in the brand she was smoking.

Only one person said she would cut down rather than switch brands:

"I would cut down and then eventually you would actually be able to stop" (female, Group B)

Another young woman in Group B was at pains to point out that she was not dependent on cigarettes:

"I don't really crave a tab, I do fancy one though . . . sometimes I'm like I don't even need a tab but I'll have it and then I'll just like only have half . . ."

3.4.2 'More' and 'less' harmful brands

We wanted to explore perceptions of the relationship between health risks and pack design.

We passed round a selection of packets to test perceptions of packaging as an indicator of higher and lower health risk, and asked why participants thought the cigarettes were in different coloured packaging.

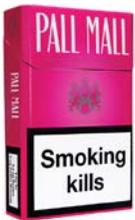
Both groups recognised that pack colours were designed to give out messages about content, but some members of the older group were more concerned with taste implications than health:

“Gold ones are better . . . smooth is the taste” (male, Group E)

However, people in both groups associated different colours with tar content:

“There’s different amounts of tar and stuff like that” (female, Group B)

These are stronger than these ones – stronger for death, they’ve got more stuff in (female, Group B)



“Lambert & Butler – gold is lighter” (Female, Group D)

“The Marlboro Light is less harsh than Marlboros, aren’t they?
Well, it used to be Light but they changed its name to Gold” (male, Group E)

“Pink ones [Pall Mall Pink] are lighter” (male, Group E)

3.5 Standardised packaging

At this point we showed the groups the standardised packaging sample.

3.5.1 The impact on participants

There was general agreement that these were less attractive than the branded packs, although one person in Group B said it might be attractive to ‘an Army person’ because of the colour.

Participants acknowledged the warning signs on the boxes, and several referred to the ‘big yellow warning sign’. One smoker in the Pilot Group referred to the ‘slightly upsetting picture’.

However, when asked if they would be more or less likely to smoke cigarettes from a standardised pack, most people did not feel they would be put off:

“If all boxes are like that, then it will become attractive. The need will take over, it doesn’t matter what the box looks like” (male, Group E)

“As long as it’s the same brand of cigarettes inside it doesn’t really bother me” (male, Group B)

“I don’t think it would bother me” (female, Group B)

“It might make a difference to what brand you buy, but I don’t think it would make a difference to whether you would buy some or not” (female, Group E)



Young women in Group B were most put off by the design:

“They look chatty, the tabs might be chatty so I wouldn’t even try it”

“I think it would bother me . . . dead boring”

However, girls in this group who acknowledged that all cigarettes would be packaged like this simply said they would ‘decorate’ the boxes and keep old branded packs and ‘swap my tabs’.

3.5.2 The impact on other smokers

There was general agreement that standardised packaging would not affect established smokers:

“We all know it’s bad for us, everyone knows, the whole planet knows, it’s just a choice you make” (male, Group E)

“If you want to smoke then you’ll smoke, it doesn’t matter what packaging it is in, they’ll just smoke it” (female, Group B)

One participant suggested that standardised packaging might actually increase brand loyalty:

“You won’t be drawn to the fancy packages, so you’ll just stick to what you know” (male, Group E)

3.5.3 The impact on potential smokers

However, there was some discussion about whether it would deter non-smokers from starting. Two people in Group E had said earlier that they might not have accepted a first cigarette from a standardised package, and several members of our pilot group felt the same:

“I think plain packaging is a good idea, because before kids are old enough to understand about tabs the colour will straight away make them think they are boring” (female smoker, Pilot Group)

“It won’t change the mind of smokers, but kids won’t think of cigarette packs as colourful, and they probably won’t want to try it” (male smoker, Pilot Group)

Other participants were less convinced, pointing out that most people start smoking by accepting other people's cigarettes – and that, among children, these are often loose and unpackaged anyway.

“I don't think what packet it's taken out of, to someone who isn't clued up on cigarettes, is going to be relevant. At the end of the day it's still a cigarette” (female, Group E)

Some people felt that, regardless of the packaging used, cigarettes themselves were the real attraction, especially for younger smokers for whom smoking feels cool and sophisticated:

“I still think the things associated with it like the, you know, when you're young and everybody is doing it and you think, Oh God, they still get the same impression, it's not the packet that's made them look cool, it's the cigarette that they're having that's made them look – oh yeah, that's quite an attractive thing to do” (female, Group E)

Asked whether they thought social or occasional smokers would be deterred by standardised packaging, some people felt it might:

“If you smoked just occasionally and you've got to go out and buy a box that looks like that, you're not going to smoke that much any more, you know what I mean? You would just stop. You can't be bothered to go and buy a box that might have horrible tabs in it” (female, Group B)

However, others were less convinced:

“If you want a fag you want a fag regardless of what box it comes out of, so if you are a social smoker you are likely to just go out, when your mates go outside to have a tab and they give you one so box branding doesn't matter” (male, Group E)

“And even if a social smoker was to buy the cigarettes, I think . . . the warnings aren't as relevant to them because ‘I don't smoke as many so it's not going to do this to me because I'm only smoking tonight’” (female, Group E)

Section 4 – Mixed Groups Findings

4.0 Findings

This section provides a summary of the findings of the focus groups attended by mixed groups of smokers and non-smokers. These were groups A, C and D as described in section 2.1 (Methodology).

The aim of these discussions was to gauge the responses of non-smokers and smokers to a range of branded and plain-packaged products, including cigarettes; and also to consider young smokers' relationships with the cigarette brands they smoke.

4.1 Packaging of other products

We began by inviting participants to comment on four distinctively packaged products: Lynx Dark Temptation deodorant, Smint sweets (raspberry and lemon flavour), Relentless energy drink and Freddo chocolate.

4.1.1 Describing packaging

We asked people to comment on each of the products in turn by offering words that came into their heads when they looked at each one.

There were some clear consistencies in descriptive terms used across all groups – Lynx Temptation was described as 'chocolatey', for example, by participants in Groups A and D, while people in all groups said 'goth' or 'gothic' when asked to describe Relentless.

The similarities between Relentless and beer cans were noted by one person in Group D and there was confusion expressed by two people in Group C about whether energy drinks carry age restrictions.

Similarly, people in every group said 'kiddy', 'cartoony' and 'childlike' in their responses to Freddo chocolate, and one person in Group D responded with affection to a brand with nostalgic appeal:

"It's a classic. You can't change it because otherwise people wouldn't buy it any more" (female, Group D)

Some participants found it difficult to separate their accumulated knowledge of a product from their immediate response to its appearance: one participant in Group C said the Lynx pack looked 'hygienic', but explained that this was 'because it's a deodorant'.

4.1.2 Target markets

All participants recognised clear gender targeting: Relentless and Lynx were both identified as men's or boys' products, largely because of their dark colouring.

However, a Group D member suggested that the style of the Relentless can would not deter women who saw themselves as Goths. One male in Group D said that the Relentless can would appeal to people leading a 'rock and roll lifestyle'.

Participants in Groups A and C referred to the recently launched Lynx range for women, and remarked on the use of different colours to attract women and girls. There were some comments on perceptions of Lynx quality in light of its pricing – a male smoker from Group D described it positively as 'good stuff for poor people'.

The Smint packaging was universally described as 'girly', a quality largely attributed to the predominance of pink in this particular flavour's packaging. Two males in Group D confirmed that they would not buy the product because of this.

However, there was disagreement about its target age. Most people felt that it was aimed at children and teenagers, but one female in Group A said

“the packaging is too complicated for young children”

and suggested that it was a teenager's product.

4.2 Cigarette packaging

Having 'warmed up' participants by considering the branding and targeting of other products, the focus groups began to concentrate on cigarette packaging.

4.2.1 Describing packaging

We showed participants in each group a number of cigarette packs:

Benson & Hedges Silver Slide
Silk Cut Super Slims
Vogue Menthol
Standardised ('plain') packaging
Black Devils
Sobranie London Cocktail

Participants were asked what words they would use to describe each pack, and how they felt about each brand.

Benson & Hedges Silver Slide



This was widely described as 'cool', and there was enthusiasm for the side-opening pack:

"It's quite cool the way it opens" (male non-smoker, Group D)

"You'd feel like a ninja giving someone a fag" (male smoker, Group D)

"All cigarette boxes should look like this" (female smoker, Group A)

"I used to love it when I had a 'Lambert' one that used to slide" (female smoker, Group C)

Silk Cut Super Slims

These small packs containing very slim cigarettes were universally regarded as feminine in style, and attracted a number of comparisons with cosmetics:



"They're easy to put in your bag, aren't they? Be handy to put in your purse when you go out" (female smoker, Group C)

"Looks like perfume" (male social smoker, Group D)

"My Fergie perfume is in a box like these" (female non-smoker, Group A)

Vogue Menthol



This white pack with the name in freehand script and slim cigarettes inside was variously described as pretty, old-fashioned and minimalistic. One participant believed the word 'Vogue' gave the brand a 'seventies' feel.

Standardised 'plain' packaging

These were immediately acknowledged as having been designed for minimal attractiveness and maximum deterrent effect.

"I guess it's aimed at stopping people smoking" (male smoker, Group D)

"It looks like the government make brands to try and stop people from smoking" (male social smoker, Group D)

Several people said the packaging looked 'military' and one female non-smoker said it reminded her of explosives.



Black Devils



These black cigarettes attracted a lot of comment and sharply differing views.

One female smoker in Group D described them as ‘gorgeous’ and said ‘I absolutely love them’, while a female non-smoker in the same group said ‘If I were going to smoke, I’d get some of them’.

There was universal agreement that these cigarettes ‘stand out’, but not everyone was attracted to them:

“They look like you’re gonna die before you even smoke them” (female smoker, Group A)

Participants in Group C described them as ‘dull’, ‘scary’ and ‘minging’.

Sobranie London Cocktail

These long, slim, colourful cigarettes drew strong reactions, particularly among young women, regardless of whether they smoked:



“I want some!” (female non-smoker, Group A)

“You should frame these, not smoke them” (female smoker, Group A)

“You’d look a lot cooler when you’re smoking” (female non-smoker, Group C)

“I think they would make you look quite classy” (female non-smoker, Group D)

However, they drew little enthusiasm from male participants, and three male participants in the Group D described them as ‘childish’. One female smoker in the same group said they were ‘horrible’.

4.2.2 Target markets

We asked what kind of smoker would choose to smoke each pack.

Benson & Hedges Silver Slide

This packaging was generally felt to hold wide appeal in terms of age, class and gender – although one male smoker in Group D pointed out that it would have to be bought by ‘someone who can afford £6.80 a pack’ and a female non-smoker in Group C said:

“Because they’re different and they look better, people could charge more as well because they know they’d buy them”

Two female smokers in Group C agreed that:

“They are for people like us because of the way the packet opens”

Silk Cut Super Slims

This packaging was universally agreed to be aimed at women, although there was less agreement about the age and class of the target market:

“Very old, like grandma types” (female non-smoker, Group B)

“People in their 40s and 50s” (female, Group A)

“Definitely for a poshy” (female smoker, Group C)

“A cool and trendy person” (Female non-smoker, Group C)

One male non-smoker in Group D had an interesting view of the rationale for smoking these very slim cigarettes:

I guess they’re designed to be for people that are wanting to cut down on how much they smoke so they smoke one of these. Obviously, they’re a lot smaller, for older people who are trying to look after their health as they’re getting older.

Vogue Menthol

These cigarettes were generally agreed to be aimed at a female, fairly affluent market, aged 30 or older.

They generated the least discussion of all the brands, although one male non-smoker in Group D acknowledged the very careful targeting that must have gone into a relatively unusual design:

“It’s kind of like they’ve put that much effort into it and they know they’re going to a market where people care”

Standardised ‘plain’ packaging

There was general agreement that standardised packaging was not actively designed to appeal to anyone. However, some people in group A felt they might in fact appeal to some consumers:

“Men, because of the male colours” (male non-smoker, Group A)

“People in the army because of the colour” (female smoker, Group A)

Black Devils

This packaging style, which had drawn very mixed responses in terms of its attractiveness, continued to divide participants when they were asked who might smoke them.

Group D members were the most positive in their response:

“If you saw someone smoking them you’d definitely be intrigued” (male social smoker)

“Black’s kind of a universal colour, like anyone can go for it without being too girly or manly” (female smoker)

“They do look different, they do stand out” (male non-smoker)

This was in sharp contrast to Group A, who had very negative views of the target market:

“Dirty old men who sit in pubs and drink all day long” (female smoker)

“Who would want to be seen smoking a black fag?” (female smoker)

The further education students in Group C took a similar view:

“I don’t think it would be cool, they look minging” (female smoker)

“Older men, I’d say forties” (female smoker)

Sobranie London Cocktail

These cigarettes were unanimously regarded as expensive women’s cigarettes:

“They’re aiming it at women who go out drinking cocktails” (female smoker, Group C)

“They’re for people like me because of the colour” (female non-smoker, Group A)

I don’t think they are for smoking all the time, they’re for a night out or a treat (female non-smoker, Group D)

4.3 Peer pressure

We asked participants to identify the packaging that would attract them most if a friend offered them a cigarette, and the packaging they themselves would feel most confident about offering to other people.

4.3.1 Accepting cigarettes from other people



All the young women in Group A, and several women in each of the other groups, chose the Sobranie London Cocktail as the cigarette they would most like to be offered. Perhaps not surprisingly, most of the men said these were the brand they would be least likely to accept – although one male non-smoker in Group D chose these as his favourite.

Black Devil cigarettes divided groups C and D: the undergraduate group were the most likely to prefer these (one male non-smoker described them as ‘intriguing and funky’) although overall they came second to the standardised packs in each group’s list of cigarettes they would be least likely to accept.

Of the more conventional brands, the Benson & Hedges Silver Slide was popular, largely because of its dispensing method:

“I just think it’s quite cool how it pushes out. It’s just something new”
(male non-smoker, Group C)

4.3.2 Offering cigarettes to others

Asked, if money was no object, which cigarettes they would like to be seen offering round, non-smoking females (and some female smokers) chose the Sobranie London Cocktails, largely for their novelty value.

Overall, however, the Benson & Hedges Slide were popular across the genders and age range in Groups A and D. This seemed to be because they offered a combination of a ‘normal’ cigarettes in a stylish package.

Nobody chose the standardised pack.

Not everyone was convinced that cigarette packaging was important to smokers; one female smoker in Group D said

“No-one really sees the package do they, you just get one out and smoke it. No-one’s really bothered about what you’re smoking”

4.4 Comparing packaging

We then asked participants to vote, using stickers on display boards, on a different list of cigarettes, indicating which brands they felt met a range of criteria. See Appendix 4.

4.4.1 Highest and lowest tar

The plain packaging was judged by most participants to contain cigarettes with the most tar, followed by Marlboro Reds and Lambert & Butler Silver.

Vogue cigarettes came top of the 'lowest tar' list with almost all of the votes. Of the other brands, only Marlboro Reds (3 votes) and Benson & Hedges 14s (1) received votes from any participants.



4.4.2 Most and least attractive

Opinions about the most attractive brand varied from group to group: everyone in Group C voted for Vogue, while other participants were evenly split between Lambert & Butler Silver, Marlboro Reds and Benson & Hedges 14s.

However, the standardised packaging almost achieved a clean sweep in the 'least attractive category, with only two votes (from Group D) going to Vogue.

4.4.3 Most and least harmful

Standardised packaging attracted most of the votes for most harmful brand.

Vogue was by some distance the most popular choice for least harmful brand. Interestingly, two non-smoker females in Group C refused to vote on harmfulness, on the grounds that 'all cigarette brands are as harmful as each other'.

4.4.4 Most and least likely to try

When asked to identify most likely to try, there was much less consensus here, although broadly speaking Group C favoured Vogue again while most of the votes in Group D went to Marlboro Lights.

Standardised packaging again scored heavily as the brand people were least likely to try. Two people in Group D chose Vogue, illustrating again the extent to which this brand had divided opinion.

4.4.5 Most and least likely to buy

The voting in most likely to buy closely matched the choices made about brands people were most and least likely to try: Vogue was again the leader in Group C, while most people in Group D opted for Marlboro Reds.

Standardised package was the clear leader in the 'least likely to buy' category, although this time three people in Group D chose Vogue, one opted for Benson & Hedges 14s and three people from Group C said they would not buy Lambert & Butler Silver.



4.4.6 Most and least intrusive picture warning

Again, standardised packaging was most people's choice for the most noticeable health warning, although one person in Group D chose Vogue and another chose Lambert & Butler Silver.

The least noticeable health warning was almost universally felt to be on Marlboro Reds.

4.5 Health impact

We passed round pairs of cigarette packages (in each case, two different versions of the same brand) and asked people to discuss their perceptions of the difference between the two.

4.5.1 Why some boxes are in different colours

There was some comment about using variations in design to attract men and women to variations of the same brand, and some participants in each group said they felt silver packaging looked more 'upper class'.

Overall, however, people felt that lighter colour schemes indicated 'lighter' cigarettes – which they explained as 'less tar' and 'healthier' than 'normal cigarettes'.

4.5.2 Health messages communicated by different designs and colours

When we asked whether some cigarettes were less harmful than others, smokers and non-smokers tended to respond differently:

"The Marlboro Golds are less harmful than the Marlboro Reds" (female smoker, Group D)

"The Lambert & Butler Gold ones are less harmful, and the white ones for the Bensons" (female smoker, Group C)

"They're all bad for you. I know some of them do stop it from coming through, but you're still breathing in that smoke that when you blow it out it will be sitting in the room with you" (female non-smoker, Group C)

4.6 Packaging as marketing

We invited our groups to discuss the importance of packaging to the choices they made, for other products as well as cigarettes.

4.6.1 Packaging to promote new products

We asked people to tell us how important they thought packaging is in persuading consumers to try new products (not necessarily cigarettes, although inevitably the conversation drifted back to smoking).

“I think it’s very important, because it’s your first impression” (female smoker, Group C)

“I think it’s down to personal opinion because everybody has their own favourite colour so you might purely go by that” (male smoker, Group D)

“If you haven’t smoked before, you’d go for the packaging” (female non-smoker, Group D)

“People look at the pack before they look at the product” (female smoker, Group A)

4.6.2 Experience of being attracted by packaging

Although some participants had been reluctant to admit to being influenced by cigarette packaging, most people readily accepted that they had been persuaded by attractive packaging to try other new products, or put off by unattractive packaging.

“Relentless is a good example. Before Relentless came out, it was just basic energy drinks. When you look at Relentless, it looks new, it looks exciting” (male smoker, Group D)

“My mam bought a cottage pie yesterday and I wouldn’t eat it because the picture looked horrible on the front of it” (female smoker, Group C)

4.6.3 Perceptions of tobacco companies’ investment in marketing

Participants were very clear about the reasons behind tobacco companies’ heavy investment in brand development and package design:

“They want people to buy them, as with any product” (female non-smoker, Group D)

“If it looks better people will buy it” (female smoker, Group C)

“So people will buy fags! (female non-smoker, Group A)

4.7 Standardised packaging

At this point we reintroduced the standardised packaging sample, explained the Australian decision and asked people to consider the role and impact of plain packaging.

4.7.1 The impact on smokers

Although there was general agreement that the packaging was unattractive, no smokers thought the packaging would have an impact on their own smoking:

“If you want to go out in the pouring rain and have a fag, you do it because you want to, because you can. And so by putting everything into the same standardised packaging . . . all it’s going to take is longer for a shop attendant who doesn’t smoke to find the fags. That’s all it’s going to do” (male smoker, Group D)

“I think it’s not going to stop me at all. I’ll just throw the box away” (female smoker, Group C)

“It’s overcontrolling isn’t it? Nanny state” (male smoker, Group D)

“I will still smoke. I smoke because I want to, not because of the shiny packaging” (male smoker, Group D)

4.7.2 The impact on potential smokers

There were mixed views on whether plain packs would deter potential smokers. Some people referred back to their own experience of smoking and felt packaging had not played a significant part in encouraging them to start:

“I didn’t start because of what the box looked like. I started because my friends did it and now I can’t stop” (female smoker, Group A)

“If one 15 year-old starts smoking he’s just going to say – to pressure other people into it” (female smoker, Group C)

“If they want to cut down on smoking, or cut down on people starting to smoke, it’s not so much packaging change but you need to either put more price on it or tax it more” (male smoker, Group D)

Some participants felt that, after an initial impact, standardised packaging would lose its power to shock:

“I think people will become desensitised by that packaging, after so long. It might be a shock at first but after a while you will see it all the time and you might just think, ‘well, it’s just a fag packet’ and at the end of the day, you won’t get such a shock from it” (female non-smoker, Group D)

There was even a suggestion that, by making cigarettes look unacceptable and dangerous, the Government risks making them actually seem more attractive to young people:

“Trying to make it more socially unacceptable, kids smoke because they think they’re cool; like you say, it looks like explosives, imagine how cool that’s going to seem. You’re just making it more dangerous, and kids are attracted to that” (male smoker, Group D)

Other people, however, were more positive:

“I think especially for younger kids looking at it, I think that’s quite offputting and they’ll be like ‘oh no I don’t want to try that, but having a shiny packet or pink packet or ones that are coloured, they’ll be like ‘ooh’” (female non-smoker, Group D)

“I can see it stopping other people who are starting smoking, it will put them off. It’s just an unattractive packet. It’s got – I mean, compare it to the Lambert & Butler one which is particularly shiny” (male smoker, Group D)

“The pink one doesn’t look harmful at all, but that packaging looks harmful and it’s like ‘what the hell is that, I don’t want it anywhere near me” (female non-smoker, Group D)

And, while some people thought that social smokers would be unaffected (‘ a fag’s a fag’ – female smoker, Group A), others thought that they might well be turned off by the unattractive packaging:

“Social smokers mainly take their tabs with them out on the drink. I don’t think they would – they’d take one look at that and think ‘nah’” (female smoker, Group C)

The next section of this report examines the findings of all five focus groups and considers some conclusions.

Section 5: Summary

5.0 Summary

This section analyses the responses of the focus groups we spoke to, and identifies key messages in their responses to standardised packaging.

5.1 Susceptibility to packaging and brand image

- 5.1.1 Although the smokers' groups were a little reluctant to discuss the branding of their own cigarettes, all participants displayed a clear understanding of branding and the importance of packaging, and an appreciation that 'first impressions' of a product were important.

The smokers' groups in particular claimed not to be influenced by packaging, particularly in their cigarette brand choices – but younger group members belied this by saying they would 'decorate' standardised packs, save a more attractive pack to use instead, or keep their cigarettes in a tin or other case. The appearance of their pack clearly mattered more than they would admit.

- 5.1.2 Smokers in Group E also demonstrated more susceptibility to branding than they would admit to, in their attitude to 'light' cigarettes. By virtue of age, most of this group of 19-24 year old administrative and professional people had been smoking for some time and it was clear from their conversation that all were aware of the harmful effects of smoking.

However, although generally well-educated, most had succumbed to the messages tobacco companies use to suggest 'lighter' or 'less harmful' cigarettes; people in this group talked about light cigarettes being less damaging and only one member suggested that the only way to reduce the harmful effects of smoking would be to stop.

5.2 The importance of early smoking experience

Smokers who described their first cigarette identified a significant fact – that first-time smokers rarely buy their first cigarette themselves, and are often unaware of its brand. If first cigarettes are handed out by their owner or bought loose from the 'ice cream man', their branding is much less important than the tobacco content.

Brand loyalty among smokers appears to develop after the habit has become established, which many of the smokers we spoke to believe will lessen the impact of standardised packaging.

5.3 The appeal of the pack

While most people did not believe that packaging had affected their choice of cigarette as much as price or what their peer's were buying, their responses to the packs we showed them tended to contradict this; most participants had strong views on the attractiveness or otherwise of various packs, and on who might smoke them.

5.4 The impact of standardised packaging

Given that standardised packaging is designed to look unattractive, menacing and cheap, it was clear from participants' responses that the proposed design easily achieves this aim; nobody in any of our groups found it appealing.

However, most people also felt that established smokers would not be persuaded by unattractive packaging to stop smoking – which accords with the findings of other research into the subject.

The suggestion that standardised packaging might help to deter potential smokers received considerable support; but a number of key factors highlighted significant doubts about this:

- 1) The younger smokers and non-smokers in our survey (particularly Group C), demonstrated that as children they were aware of the dangers of smoking, its unpleasant smell and the warning pictures that are already on packs. They did not like the look of the standardised packs, but were not shocked by the pictures
- 2) The anonymity of most people's first cigarette (see above, 4.2) presents the possibility that many young people do not make a brand choice until after they are 'hooked', so would be less affected by the packaging
- 3) The air of danger surrounding many first smoking experiences might actually make the packs more, not less attractive. This perverse attractiveness may in fact be particularly strong for children and young people already tending towards risky behaviour – precisely those children who were identified in a recent report¹ as most vulnerable to tobacco addiction
- 4) Anti-smoking strategies continually struggle against a powerful factor that cinema, television and the music industry have consistently reflected over the years: the visual appeal of smoking. 'It's not the packet that's made them look cool, it's the cigarette that they're having'
- 5) Participants believed that, if the standardised packs would appeal to anyone, it would be males. Females of all ages found the packs unattractive – but several young females said they would personalise their packs, presenting the risk that some kind of street fashion for girls might develop around personalising standardised packs
- 6) Most of the people who believed standardised packaging would deter potential new smokers were themselves non-smokers, who by definition had already demonstrated their receptiveness to anti-smoking messages by not taking it up.

¹ Smoking, drinking and drug use among young people in England in 2010. NHS Information Centre, July 2011

Smokers, who had taken up smoking in spite of the health warnings, were less convinced.

5.5 In conclusion

It is clear, from this and other research into smoking habits and tobacco marketing, that standardised packaging is unlikely prove to be a 'magic bullet' that eradicates smoking overnight; and it has never been expected to achieve this.

Furthermore, the fact remains that while the proposed package design is unattractive, the contents are the same; many of our focus group members felt that cigarettes themselves have their own appeal, against which package design is largely powerless.

However, the tobacco manufacturers' opposition to the proposals and the fact that the proposed standardised package design has achieved its aim of removing any suggestion of attractiveness from the packs – if not the cigarettes themselves (see point 4 above) – would suggest that it may well have an impact on smoking behaviour once introduced.

Opinions are divided as to who will be most affected by standardised packaging: smokers who feel that 'at the end of the day it's still a cigarette' are the least convinced. And the risk remains that standardised packaging will have the least impact on young people at the most vulnerable end of the spectrum, meaning that the search for other approaches must continue.

But the support for the view that some potential new smokers may be deterred from starting does offer some hope for the strategy.

If standardised packs have some positive impact on the smoking choices of some young people, they may well be worth implementing.

Appendices

Appendix 1 - Participant profile

Gender

	Number of respondents	% of respondents
Female	25	61.0
Male	16	39.0
Transgender	0	0.0
Not answered	0	0.0
Total	41	100.0

Age

	Number of respondents	% of respondents
16	5	12.2
17	8	19.5
18	9	22.0
19	0	0.0
20	6	14.6
21	4	9.8
22	3	7.3
23	4	9.8
24	2	4.9
Total	41	100.0

Location

	Number of respondents	% of respondents
Darlington	4	9.8
Middlesbrough	10	24.4
Newcastle	8	19.5
Washing	1	2.4
North Tyneside	5	12.2
Sunderland	9	22.0
North Yorkshire	1	2.4
Yarm	1	2.4
Durham	1	2.4
Bishop Auckland	1	2.4
Total	41	100.0

Ethnicity

	Number of respondents	% of respondents
White British	39	95.1
White Irish	0	0.0
Any other White background	0	0.0
Mixed White and Black Caribbean	0	0.0
Mixed White and Black African	0	0.0
Mixed White and Asian	0	0.0
Any other Mixed background	0	0.0
Chinese	0	0.0
Asian or Asian British – Indian	0	0.0
Asian or Asian British – Pakistani	1	2.4
Asian or Asian British – Bangladeshi	1	2.4
Any other Asian background	0	0.0
Black or Black British - Caribbean	0	0.0
Black or Black British - African	0	0.0
Any other Black background	0	0.0
Any other ethnic group	0	0.0
No response	0	0.0
Total	41	100.0

Are you a smoker?

	Number of respondents	% of respondents
Yes	26	63.4
No	15	36.6
Total	41	100.0

What brand do you smoke?* **

	Number of respondents	% of respondents
Amber Leaf Tobacco	1	3.3
John Player Special	6	20.0
John Player Special - Blue	1	3.3
Lambert & Butler	2	6.7
Lambert & Butler - Gold	2	6.7
Malboro Red	2	6.7
Mayfair	1	3.3
Mayfair Smooth	2	6.7
Pall Mall	1	3.3
Regal	1	3.3
Richmond	7	23.3
Richmond - Menthol	1	3.3
Superkings - Menthol	1	3.3
Windsor Blue	2	6.7
Total	30	100.0

*Some people named more than one brand

**One group were not asked this question

How often do you smoke?

	Number of respondents	% of respondents
Every day	21	80.8
A few times a week	3	11.5
Once a week	0	0.0
Once every two weeks	1	3.8
Once a month	1	3.8
Total	26	100.0

Appendix 2 - Smokers Group Questions

Introduction

- Introduce selves and project (about how products are marketed to attract young people's attention, want to know what they think about certain products, likes and dislikes)
- Outline format of discussion, tape-recorder, confidentiality

Section 1 – Your First Cigarette

1. Tell us about your first cigarette...
Prompts: Age, location, where did you get it from, what brand was it, who were you with, why did you try, what was it like?
2. When you started buying packs regularly what brand did you buy and why?
Prompts: friends, packaging, first cigarette experience, had tried them
3. Do you smoke the same brand now as when you started smoking?
4. Why did you continue smoking / change to this brand?
Prompts: less strong/ harmful
Smooth taste
5. Do you think it's better for you than another type of cigarettes/ How do you know this?

Pass around all cigarettes packets including plain packs

6. Which packs do you find the most attractive? Why?
7. Which packs would you have been more likely and less likely to try as your first pack and why?
8. If your friend offered you a cigarette which pack would you most and least likely to say yes to? Why?

Section 2 – Your brand

9. If your brand was a famous person/soap star what would they be like?
10. If you went to buy your brand but the shop didn't have any, how would you decide on another brand?
Prompts: the way it looked, have tried them before and like the taste, whatever they had in 10s/20s,
11. Are there any brands you wouldn't buy no matter what? Why?

Section 3 – Health Impact

12. What might you do if you didn't want to quit but wanted to reduce the harm of your smoking?
Prompts: changed to a different brand, only bought 10s. Why?

Pass around silver/white and gold red packs

13. Why do you think they are in different coloured boxes?

14. Do you think some are less harmful than others? Which ones and why?

Section 4 – Plain Packaging

Pass around the plain packaged cigarettes.

15. The Government are talking about introducing standard packs for tobacco
- Are these packs as attractive as the other packs we've seen today?#
 - Would you be less likely/ more likely to smoke one of these
 - What do you notice most about the plain packs

16. What difference do you think this will make to:
- Young people who don't smoke? Why?
 - Young people tempted to start smoking? Why?
 - Young people who smoke occasionally / socially? Why?

Appendix 3 - Mixed Groups Discussion Guide

Introduction

- Introduce selves and project (about how products are marketed to attract young people's attention, want to know what they think about certain products, likes and dislikes)
- Outline format of discussion, tape-recorder, confidentiality

Section 1 – Product Packaging discussion

(Lynx , Smint dispenser, Relentless, Freddo)

Pass around these products one at a time and ask the following questions:

1. What words would you use to do you describe this pack?
2. Who do you think this product is aimed at? Why do you think that?
Prompts:
Girls/boys – why?
Age – why?
Rich – why?
Poor – why?

Section 2 – Cigarette Packaging

I particularly want to focus this group on cigarette packaging.

Pass around branded and the plain pack cigarettes take some time to have a look at them, see how they feel in your hand, some of them open in different ways.

Questions:

3. What words would you use to do you describe this pack?
4. What kind of smoker would smoke this pack?
Prompts:
Girls/boys –
Age –
Rich or Poor –
Popular?
Cool? Trendy?
Confident?

Peer Pressure

5. If your friend offered you a cigarette which pack would are you most and least likely to say yes to? Why?
6. If you were offering cigarettes to your friends which pack would you be most and least likely to pass around? Why?

Comparison Activity

Using the boards and your voting cards please tell me your opinions on the following:

7. Which cigarette has/is the:
 - Most and least tar?
 - Most and least attractive?
 - Most and least harmful?
 - Most and least likely to try? (smokers and non-smokers)
 - Most and least likely to buy?
 - More noticeable and less noticeable picture warning?
8. Why? (discussion)

Section 3 – Health Impact

Pass around silver/white and gold red packs

9. Why do you think they are in different coloured boxes?
10. Why might someone smoke the white/silver box as opposed to the red box?
11. Do you think some are less harmful than others? Which ones and why?

Section 4 – Packaging as Marketing

Refer back to past discussion people made based on how the products and the cigarettes looked.

12. How important is packaging in getting people to try new products?
13. Have you ever tried a new product because of how the packaging looked?
14. Why do you think tobacco companies spend money on designing tobacco brands and packaging?

Section 5 – Plain Packaging

Pass around the plain packaged cigarettes.

15. The Government are talking about introducing standard packs for tobacco
 - a. What do you think about this idea?
 - b. Why do you think they want to do this?
16. What difference do you think this will make to:
 - a. Young people who don't smoke? Why?
 - b. Young people tempted to start smoking? Why?
 - c. Young people who smoke occasionally / socially? Why?

Appendix 4 – Comparing packaging voting results

Tees University

	Plain packaging	Lambert and Butler silver	Benson and Hedges 14's	Marlboro Reds	Vogue	Benson and Hedges Silver Slide
Most Tar	3	2	0	5	0	0
Least Tar	0	0	0	0	10	0
Most attractive	0	3	3	4	0	0
Least attractive	8	0	0	0	2	0
Most Harmful	5	1	0	4	0	0
Least Harmful	0	0	0	0	10	0
Most likely to try	0	2	0	6	2	0
Least likely to try	8	0	0	0	2	0
Most likely to buy	0	2	0	7	1	0
Least likely to buy	6	0	1	0	3	0
Most noticeable health warning	5	1	0	0	1	3
Least noticeable health warning	1	0	0	9	0	0

10 participants in total

**Tyneside
Metropolitan
College**

	Plain packaging	Lambert and Butler silver	Benson and Hedges 14's	Marlboro Reds	Vogue	Benson and Hedges Silver Slide	All harmful*
Most Tar	6	2	0	0	0	0	
Least Tar	0	0	1	3	4	0	
Most attractive	0	0	0	0	8	0	
Least attractive	8	0	0	0	0	0	
Most Harmful	6	1	0	0	0	0	1
Least Harmful	0	0	4	0	0	2	2
Most likely to try	0	0	1	0	6	1	
Least likely to try	8	0	0	0	0	0	
Most likely to buy	0	0	1	0	6	1	
Least likely to buy	5	3	0	0	0	0	
Most noticeable health warning	8	0	0	0	0	0	
Least noticeable health warning	0	0	0	8	0	0	

*These participants felt that all the cigarette brands were as harmful as each other so could not choose a specific brand

8 participants in total