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Winston Image
Sid Levy 1982

THE WINSTON BRAND IMAGE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

INTRODUCTION	1
I. WINSTON AND MARLBORO: PARALLELS AND SIMILARITIES	5
II. THE SMOKERS	7
III. CIGARETTE BRAND IMAGES	37
IV. IMPLICATIONS	129

INTRODUCTION

The study reported here is a qualitative investigation of attitudes toward the Winston brand family. The study has two primary objectives: (1) to identify the image of the Winston brand, particularly as it is differentiated from the Marlboro brand image, and (2) to describe and understand the smokers to whom these two brands appeal.

Findings are based on personal interviews with 120 respondents in Atlanta, Boston, Houston and San Francisco. All respondents are between the ages of 18 and 60, smoke non-menthol cigarettes, and smoke at least half a pack of cigarettes a day. None has participated in any kind of cigarette research in the past 12 months. The sample is composed of four cigarette brand quotas: 40 Winston smokers, 41 Marlboro smokers, 19 Camel smokers, and 20 Other Brand smokers. Demographic characteristics of the sample are presented in the Sample Description tables on the following pages.

SAMPLE DESCRIPTION
N=120

<u>CITY</u>	<u>N</u>
Atlanta	30
Boston	30
Houston	30
San Francisco	30
TOTAL	120

<u>SEX</u>	<u>N</u>
Men	73
Women	47
TOTAL	120

<u>CIGARETTE BRAND SMOKED</u>	<u>N</u>
Winston	40
Marlboro	41
Camel	19
Other:	
Merit	3
Kent	2
Pall Mall	2
Pall Mall Gold	1
Raleigh Filter King	1
Lucky Strike Filter	1
Parliament Lights	1
Benson & Hedges	1
Barclay	1
Vantage	1
Virginia Slims	1
True	1
Tareyton	1
More	1
Kent Golden Light 100's	1
More Light 100's	1
TOTAL	120

SAMPLE DESCRIPTION (continued)
N=120

<u>AGE</u>	<u>N</u>
18 to 24	42
25 to 34	47
35 to 60	<u>31</u>
TOTAL	120

<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>N</u>
Married	66
Divorced/Widowed/Separated	14
Single	<u>40</u>
TOTAL	120

<u>FEMALE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT</u>	<u>N</u>
Full-time	34
Part-time	20
Not employed	40
No female head of household	<u>26</u>
TOTAL	120

<u>RESPONDENT EDUCATION</u>	<u>N</u>
Some high school	4
High school graduate	45
Some college	52
College graduate	14
Postgraduate	<u>5</u>
TOTAL	120

SAMPLE DESCRIPTION (continued)
N=120

<u>TOTAL ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME</u>	<u>N</u>
Under \$15,000	16
\$15,000 to \$19,999	25
\$20,000 to \$24,999	15
\$25,000 to \$29,999	17
\$30,000 to \$39,999	21
\$40,000 to \$49,999	11
\$50,000 and over	12
No response	<u>3</u>
TOTAL	120

<u>NUMBER OF PEOPLE LIVING IN HOUSEHOLD</u>	<u>N</u>
One	13
Two	23
Three	25
Four	36
Five	15
Six or more	<u>8</u>
TOTAL	120

I

**WINSTON AND MARLBORO:
PARALLELS AND SIMILARITIES**

The main thrust of this study is to understand the image of the Winston brand, particularly as it compares with the image of the Marlboro brand. At a secondary level, the research also notes the image of the Camel brand.

For many people, Winston and Marlboro share many characteristics. The perceived similarities, stemming from various sources, observations and assumptions, include the following:

- Both brands are regarded as old, long-established brands in the cigarette market.
- It is widely assumed that these are two of the most popular cigarette brands.
- Smokers of each brand have frequently smoked the other brand at some point in their smoking history.
- People who do not smoke either brand report that they have smoked one or both in the past, generally giving these up in the move toward lighter cigarettes.
- For many smokers of each brand, the other brand would be a likely second choice, or one they might purchase if their own were not available.
- At a superficial level, the package colors and graphics are cited as resembling each other.
- Underscoring these perceptions is the prevalent view that the two brands are more directly competitive with each other than with other brands.

In spite of these resemblances and parallel positionings, people are able to make distinctions -- some subtle, some more overt -- between the two brands in terms of product characteristics, brand imagery and likely smokers.

The following chapter discusses the differences between Winston smokers and Marlboro smokers. Also included is a briefer discussion of the Camel smoker.

Chapter III will focus on the distinctions that people make between the brands in terms of product characteristics and imagery.

II

THE SMOKERS

This chapter discusses the people who smoke Winston, Marlboro and Camel: their personalities, their orientations toward life, and their attitudes toward smoking.

WINSTON SMOKERS

Winston smokers see themselves as middle-class people who endorse traditional values. They place importance on achieving the conventional goals of different life stages, such as education, marriage and family, and job success. They remember being well disciplined and well behaved as children. With their commitment to generational continuity, they seem interested in maintaining these characteristics and instilling them in their children. They feel that they are responsible and dependable adults with a mature outlook on getting ahead financially and getting what they want and deserve out of life.

"I work in a furniture store warehouse. I like photography and camping. I'm just somebody who tries to achieve the better things. I guess people think I'm a good person. I've got a lot of friends."
(Man, 18-24, Winston Lights)*

"I'm a junior in college majoring in chemistry. I enjoy swimming, boating and especially skiing. I am also an avid reader. I have two brothers and a sister. I would describe myself as outgoing. Other people say I'm responsible, dependable, fun to be with. My childhood was like millions of other middle-class Americans."
(Man, 18-24, Winston Regular)

*Quotations are identified by sex, age, and cigarette brand smoked.

"I sell fittings to nuclear power plants. I like hunting and water sports. I'm not married. I'm easygoing. I like to fill my days having a good time when I'm not at work. Others would say I'm easygoing. As a child, I was a pretty good kid, got along with my folks and with other kids."
 (Man, 25-34, Winston Lights)

They take pride in their middle-of-the-road life style. They want to be regarded as solid types who can be counted on to be consistent and predictable. They avoid extreme positions, preferring the middle ground, exercising cautious reserve about important moves and major decisions. Whether they are in white- or blue-collar occupations, they seem pleased to describe themselves as average or ordinary.

In their social interactions, they like a smooth, unruffled path. They do not like to make waves by antagonizing others or by calling undue attention to themselves. As a result, they feel they are respected and well liked by an acceptably broad circle of friends. This is not to suggest that they think of themselves as weak or indecisive. They feel that they have strength of character and the maturity to conduct themselves with dignity and in socially acceptable ways. In this context, one woman makes the careful distinction that she is "assertive" rather than "aggressive."

"I'm a salesman on the road selling men's and boys' soft goods to the retail trade. My interests are family activities, summer trips, television and sports. We are average middle class. I'm careful about major decision making. People think I'm a good, honest, hard-working person and extremely sociable. I had a good average home life as a child."
 (Man, 35-60, Winston Regular)

"I'm a warehouseman. I like to hunt and fish. Fishing is number one. I'm married and have two kids. I'm just a good ole boy, just regular. I'm just an average blue-collar-type person."
 (Man, 25-34, Winston Lights)

"I'm married and have three kids. I guess I'm an easygoing person. I try not to make a lot of static, go along with things. I guess people feel pretty much the same as I just said, that I'm easygoing. I get along with most people."

(Man, 25-34, Winston Regular)

"Primarily I'm a housewife. I'm also a visiting nurse. I'm married, with three kids. I'm from a middle-income background. I love crafts, like needlework. I also love gardening. I'm outgoing, assertive more than aggressive. I'm active, realistic."

(Woman, 35-60, Winston Regular)

They are very people oriented. They derive much pleasure from activities that can be shared by all family members. It is important to them to maintain and solidify family togetherness. Making friends generally comes easily to these people. Once a friendship is established, they work actively to stay in touch and to strengthen the relationship.

"My special interests are photography and vacationing in foreign countries. I'm married, with a 12-year-old son. My wife is a child psychologist and we do all of the above together."

(Man, 25-34, Winston Regular)

"I'm the funeral director in charge of a funeral home. Married, two children. I like people. I like to get involved in activities. I'm friendly, outgoing."

(Man, 25-34, Winston Regular)

"I walk a lot and work in the yard. I enjoy traveling. People think I'm likeable. I made a lot of friends over the years where I worked, and I keep in touch. I like people. I like dealing with people."

(Woman, 35-60, Winston Ultra Lights)

Leisure activities are often low-key and passive. Winston smokers do enjoy participating in or watching sports and other high-energy, physically demanding activities. Very often, however, they prefer to focus on quieter pursuits that are contemplative, less active, and that permit some form of creative expression. Men report cooking as a hobby, women enjoy crafts and needlework, and both sexes enjoy reading, movies and television. ✓

"I'm a housewife. Knitting and crocheting are my special interests. I have three children. I'm a quiet person. I was also a quiet child."

(Woman, 25-34, Winston Regular)

"I'm a police officer. I like to cook, a lot of Italian cooking and sauces. I'm married, with three girls. I love the movies and I take my wife to the movies quite often, and I watch a lot of TV."

(Man, 25-34, Winston Regular)

"I go to school and I'm looking for a job. My special interest is cooking. I love it. I live with my brother just now. People think I have a good personality, and of course, I enjoy being with others. As a child, I guess I was a pretty good kid. I was raised in a strict way."

(Man, 18-24, Winston Regular)

Winston people value the smoking pleasure derived from their cigarette. They say they really enjoy smoking, saying it is satisfying and relaxing, leaving them feeling contented. Some harbor a vague desire to quit, mainly for health or physical reasons, but they resist this desire because they do not want to give up the smoking pleasure. The amount they smoke covers the full range, but most feel that they are in control of this activity, varying their consumption according to mood, time of day or involvement in physical activities. Even self-proclaimed heavy smokers do not feel that they are "overdoing" it as long as smoking continues to bring them the desired satisfaction. ✓

"Sometimes I smoke more than other times. I feel content when I light up and am smoking. It relaxes me. I feel satisfied."
(Woman, 18-24, Winston Regular)

"I love to smoke. I don't feel anything about myself smoking. Sometimes I feel I shouldn't smoke because it's bad for you, but I like it too much to quit."
(Woman, 25-34, Winston Regular)

"I'm a heavy smoker, about a pack a day. I kind of wish I could quit, then I start enjoying the cigarette and don't even think about it."
(Man, 18-24, Winston Lights)

"I'm a fairly heavy smoker, about three packs a day. The best way to describe it is I feel more or less contented, just contented and relaxed. I smoke because it satisfies me, satisfies an inner need."
(Man, 35-60, Winston Regular)

"I enjoy my cigarettes. I enjoy sitting down and relaxing with a cigarette. I'm not a chronic smoker. I don't need a butt hanging out of my mouth every minute of the day."
(Woman, 18-24, Winston Regular)

They enjoy the sociability of smoking. Winston people smoke at all times of the day and in a variety of situations. They claim, however, that smoking is most enjoyable when it is done in the company of other smokers. It is as if this shared activity enhances the social interaction and further cements the bonds of friendship.

"I feel I'm a social smoker. I rarely smoke when I'm alone, but when I'm with other people who are smoking, I feel like having a cigarette. I really don't think much about smoking when I smoke. I guess people who don't smoke feel it's a dirty, unhealthy habit."
(Man, 18-24, Winston Regular)

"When I light up a cigarette when I'm around other people and they smoke, too, I feel good to smoke with them. Around my dad, he doesn't like me to smoke in front of him, he plain objects. People probably feel it's bad for a young person to smoke."

(Man, 18-24, Winston Regular)

*is all others
from among
18-24
or 21-24 yr old
getting*

Winston people make an effort to be courteous, considerate smokers. As with all smokers, they are aware of changing attitudes toward smoking and of the greater tendency for non-smokers to express their negative feelings. Winston people try to be sensitive to these issues. If they find themselves around non-smokers, they will either refrain or will excuse themselves to take their cigarette break. Those who feel that disapproval of smoking might interfere with successful business relations will control themselves until they have completed their negotiations. They experience some sense of constriction with this abstinence, but they are willing to go through with it, knowing they will have ample opportunity to smoke at other times.

"I'm a moderate to heavy smoker, between one and two packs a day. I don't think about it, I just do it. If I'm with people who I know resent smoking, I feel guilty, so I 'disappear' for a few minutes."

(Woman, 35-60, Winston Regular)

"It relaxes me. I just enjoy a cigarette. I like the taste of a cigarette, and it gives you something to do with your hands. I don't smoke at my sister's house. They don't smoke any more. When I'm somewhere else, I usually ask and, if I don't see any ashtrays, I usually don't smoke. I know it bothers some people."

(Woman, 35-60, Winston Ultra Lights)

"I smoke socially and when I'm on the phone for business. I don't consciously think about smoking when I do it. Most people

today don't approve of smoking, so I try to lessen it when I'm on business calls."
(Man, 25-34, Winston Regular)

"I really don't have any feelings whether it's good or bad for me. It tends to relax me. I've often wondered if it turns people off. I'm aware people could be offended, and I'm cautious about that."
(Man, 25-34, Winston Regular)

The smoking attitudes of Winston people are consonant with the way they talk about themselves and their life styles. Just as they like to socialize and interact with people, they derive special enjoyment from smoking in the company of other smokers. Their orientation to being courteous smokers goes along with their desire for smooth and easygoing social relationships. They say they derive much pleasure from smoking, but they do not make a "big deal" out of cigarettes. Within the context of their generally well-controlled, middle-ground life style, they position cigarettes as something that is important and enjoyable to them but also as something they can regulate.

MARLBORO SMOKERS

Marlboro smokers think of themselves as unusual, offbeat individuals. They see themselves as interesting individuals who stand out from the crowd, the sort of person others refer to as a "character." They like knowing that they have an unusual, "free-spirited" life style, one that is unfettered by conventional restraints. They are pleased to report that they started making their mark as children, at which time they were mean, hyperactive, bratty or spoiled. From this foundation, they have become adults who make a strong impact on other people.

"I'm a general manager of a wholesale distribution company. I have a wife and two children. My special interests are sports, both watching and participating. I enjoy basketball, racquetball and football. I'm a free-spirited type of individual, ready to assume any challenge presented to me. People think I'm a character."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"I'm in insurance, married, two children. I like fishing and outdoor sports. I'm ambitious and active. Very active as a child, probably a little meaner than I should have been."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"Right now I don't work. I'm trained as a certified nurse's assistant. I like to go out a lot, roller skating, movies, go see friends in Alameda. Other people call me strange, goofy, weird. As a child I was hyperactive. I think I've become calmer."

(Woman, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

They talk about themselves in self-congratulatory tones. They are proud of their personal and professional accomplishments and proud of their determination to set goals and achieve them. They come across as self-assured and confident in both business and social situations. The men convey a strong sense of masculinity, saying they are ready and willing to face challenges and to confront new situations. The women bolster their feminine character by supporting women's rights. Both men and women feel that they are liked and admired by others. Occasionally, a touch of arrogance creeps into their self-descriptions, as when they claim that others may dislike them for their unyielding individuality, but maintain that this is of little concern to them. They are proud of their independence and see no need to change the way they are.

"I work in the oil field and am a musician part-time. I've been a musician for the past ten years. I'm married, no kids. I was a great kid. Everyone says I'm a great guy."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"I'm a printer. I like photography, art, woodworking, auto mechanics, sports. I'm intelligent, logical, unemotional, creative, outgoing but reserved. I'm honest and straightforward in a roundabout way. Either people think I'm a very friendly person who's intelligent or they don't like me at all. I was creatively destructive as a child. I was very curious and adventurous in a strange way."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"I'm a senior secretary for the Department of Human Resources. I sew, design clothes for myself and friends. I paint in oils and acrylics. I like camping, traveling, the outdoors. I like to have fun, very independent. I'm going to college at night. Five more quarters until I'll be a registered nurse. I'm a firm believer in ERA."

(Woman, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

Beneath this vaunted self-confidence, there is sometimes a layer of defensiveness and anxiety. As they elaborate on their self-descriptions, some people reveal an undertone of inadequacy that belies the facade of self-reliance and sureness.

"I'm a nurse and I also teach aerobics a few mornings a week. I'm a mother of four children. A lot of people say they like me. I get along with most people, but I don't have that much confidence in myself to say I'm that great."

(Woman, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

"I'm married and go to college part-time. I'm going to be a schoolteacher. Most of the time I'm pretty happy. I was an only child, and I still have days when I want to be alone."

(Woman, 18-24, Marlboro Lights)

They exhibit less people orientation than do the Winston smokers. When they talk about themselves and their leisure time, they rarely discuss the pleasures of being with other people or engaging in group activities. Compared to the Winston group, these Marlboro smokers tend to prefer leisure pursuits that are more active and athletic. They appear to derive a more private and personal pleasure from these hobbies and pastimes. They consider themselves friendly people who get along well with others, but they do not seem to actively seek out social intercourse as a special source of pleasure and enjoyment. In their quest for individuality, they do not want to be dependent on social acceptance. How they perceive themselves is more important than what other people think of them.

"Right now I'm working at Mervin's in the credit department. I do floral arranging on the side. I enjoy horseback riding and bowling and dancing. I have a husband and two children. I consider myself friendly and outgoing. I've been told I have leadership qualities."

(Woman, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"I like to water ski, play softball, dancing, swimming. I like everything. I'm outgoing, stubborn, reserved. I'm somewhat athletic. I really don't know what other people think about me. I don't think about it. It's not that important."

(Woman, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

"I'm a video photographer and my interests are music, photography and scuba diving. I'm single. I'm pleasant, mostly happy."

quiet but aggressive. I was a brat and sort of a rebel as a child."

(Man, 35-60, Marlboro Regular)

"I work for a chemical company. Married, one child. I like fishing and hunting. I'm easygoing, nice guy, work hard. I was a mischievous child."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

Pure enjoyment is not their main rationale for smoking. They are likely to say that they smoke for reasons other than the pleasure of the taste.

-- There can be an outright denial that smoking is an enjoyable activity:

"I'm a reluctant smoker. I don't feel one way or another when I light up a cigarette. Sometimes I don't even enjoy the taste of a cigarette. To non-smokers it may be unattractive. To smokers, I don't think it means anything."

(Man, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

-- Some claim they smoke to calm down, to combat their nervousness:

"I smoke for a release from tension rather than for enjoyment. I feel calmer when I light up a cigarette. I don't know how other people view me when they see me smoke."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

-- Some, especially women, feel that cigarettes curb their appetite, so they rely on them for weight control:

"I enjoy smoking, but I wish I didn't enjoy it so it would be easier to quit. But if I quit, I'll gain 20 pounds. Smoking

curbs my appetite. I don't care what people think when I smoke."

(Woman, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"I'm a nervous smoker. If I didn't have cigarettes, I would eat. I don't think about myself when I light up. It's just automatic for me. To some people I guess it doesn't look too good. It's not particularly feminine to smoke."

(Woman, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

-- Younger people like to believe that smoking is sophisticated. They feel that smoking cigarettes labels them as mature, worldly, as people who are in control of themselves and their destiny:

"When other people see me smoke, they probably feel that I like to punish myself or that I'm addicted. They also might see me as being worldly. I always associated cigarettes with someone who is older than I am."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"I'm not a social smoker, more of a nervous smoker. I feel good about myself when I light a cigarette. It's part of my image, which is a perfectionist. I'm in command of my presence."

(Man, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

As troubled smokers, they attach various negative meanings and side-effects to smoking. They are well aware of the publicity regarding the health hazards. They worry that they are being self-destructive by continuing to smoke. Some have tried to quit and have failed; others claim they would like to stop if they had the self-control. They feel guilty and anxious when family members criticize their smoking and ask them to quit. Some are upset over the expense involved in smoking. Women worry that smoking is not a feminine activity. All in all, Marlboro smokers -- much more so than Winston smokers -- associate smoking with unpleasant and unattractive characteristics.

"I'm a nervous smoker and I smoke when I'm nervous. When I light up a cigarette I think I wish I didn't need it. I know it's bad for me, not healthy, and it's very expensive. I've tried to quit but I can't. I know other people don't like it. They think it's a disgusting habit."

(Woman, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

"If I'm nervous I'll smoke more than normal. My children want me to not smoke, and I'm trying to convince them not to smoke. I know what it does to you and would like to keep them from starting to smoke because of the risk to their health."

(Man, 35-60, Marlboro Regular)

"I'm a regular smoker. I feel terrible when I smoke. It tells people I really don't care about myself."

(Woman, 35-60, Marlboro Lights)

"How much I smoke depends on what's happening in my life. When my daughter is around, I feel pretty bad. She's always asking me to stop. I imagine I will quit smoking. Right now, it's a crutch I don't want to give up. When my daughter is around I feel a little guilty. Some people look upon it as a filthy, disgusting habit, some don't think too much about it, and some think of it as a weakness."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

Marlboro people are more likely to be aggressive smokers. Perhaps because they see so many negative aspects to smoking, they feel the need to justify and rationalize their continuation of it. One way of doing this is to call upon their individuality and independence and proclaim their right to do what they want. They realize that other people disapprove of smoking, and they do make some effort not to antagonize non-smokers. Nonetheless, they ultimately say that if they really feel like smoking, they will do so no matter what the circumstances.

"I have to say I'm a heavy smoker, two to two and a half packs a day. I feel fine about myself when smoking, feel no different. I could care less what others think."
(Man, 35-60, Marlboro Regular)

"Sometimes I'm a really heavy smoker and sometimes I leave it alone. I leave it alone because of physical fear, makes me feel dragged down and my throat hurts. When I do it, I really want it. It's a physical urge. About other people, my first thought is I don't really care what they think. My second thought is I might be annoying someone who doesn't smoke, but if I really want one I'll light up anyway."
(Woman, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"I'm a moderate smoker, been smoking for ten years. I've tried to quit but went back. I feel like I'm probably cheating myself, probably not good for me. I feel like one that will die sooner than I'm supposed to. It's socially acceptable. Some might think it's a bad habit, but I don't care."
(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

In summary, Marlboro smokers tend to think quite highly of themselves, and they need to work at convincing themselves and others that they are indeed unusual and special, since this stance frequently is a facade for insecurities. In a parallel fashion, they are committed to smoking, but they justify this commitment with a variety of rationales. At the same time, they undergo anxieties over their reliance on smoking, and this leads to a certain amount of aggression that is directed both at themselves and at others.

CAMEL SMOKERS

The smaller sample of Camel smokers does not permit as full a description of their personalities and smoking attitudes. The following summarizes the main themes in the self-descriptions of these people.

Camel smokers convey a low-key maturity and contentment with life. They are neither boastful nor apologetic. They seem accepting of themselves and their life style. They come across as calm and quiet people, probably more reserved than outgoing. Life is full but tends to be more serene than exciting; it seems to run smoothly rather than having peaks and valleys. They tend to take things as they come, striking a balance between vigorous activities and quieter pursuits. They are content with their own achievements and accomplishments, satisfied and successful in their occupations, proud of their families. The men are comfortable with their masculinity. Many of them are in blue-collar jobs, occupations that probably help to define and reinforce their masculinity.

"I sell overhead bridge cranes and material-handling equipment. I travel in five states. I like to hunt, fish, watch football. My wife likes to sew and go camping. I'm an extrovert, trustworthy. People have confidence in me that I'm knowledgeable."
(Man, 25-34, Camel Regular)

"I'm a construction worker and operate large equipment, such as Caterpillars, earth-moving equipment, cranes. I'm married and have two children, both in high school. I'm hot-tempered, and a lamb at other times. I know what I want and usually get my way. As a child I was always high-spirited and got what I wanted."
(Man, 35-60, Camel Regular)

"I'm in photography now, but I used to drive a truck and I was a mechanic for 13 years. I like camping, boating and hiking. I'm married with two grown children and two grandchildren. I'm quiet and don't say too much. I've been told I listen more than I talk. I was about average as a child."
(Man, 35-60, Camel Lights)

"I'm a cost engineer for eight years. Married, with three girls. People think I'm a stick-in-the-mud. I raise my children with discipline. I like to think I do the things I do well. I was independent as a child. There were nine kids in the family and I started working early."

(Man, 25-34, Camel Filter)

"I'm a head teacher of a day-care center. I like to swim and read. I'm an outgoing person and have a lot of friends. As a child I was very average. I had a lot of fun and a lot of friends, and I enjoyed life."

(Woman, 35-60, Camel Regular)

"I work part-time at a fashion college, doing bookkeeping. I like needlework, crocheting, needlepoint. I'm married, no children. I've been told that I'm just a nice person. I'm usually pretty calm and have a cool head. I get along with people pretty easily."

(Woman, 25-34, Camel Lights)

They tend to be casual in their attitudes about smoking. They have a strong commitment to smoking in general and to this brand in particular, especially those who smoke the non-filtered Camels. They enjoy smoking but otherwise do not seem to think about it very much. They acknowledge the health concerns, but these do not seem major enough to motivate them to quit. Still, there are some who would like to cut down or stop completely. They are aggressive enough to proclaim and maintain their right to smoke, but they try to be considerate and not offend non-smokers.

"I smoke about one and a half packs a day, unless I'm under pressure, then I may smoke more. I enjoy smoking. It's one of the few bad habits I have. I don't drink or gamble, so I have just one bad habit. A lot of my friends don't smoke and my wife doesn't either, so they probably don't like to see me smoke."

(Man, 35-60, Camel Lights)

"I smoke too much, about two packs a day. When I light up a cigarette I wish I didn't smoke, but I don't want to quit bad enough to go through the effort. All my friends smoke, so I don't think they think anything about it."

(Woman, 25-34, Camel Lights)

"I smoke because I enjoy the taste of it. Sometimes I feel good about it. Other times I worry about smoking because of the health problems it creates. Occasionally when I'm in a crowd of non-smokers, I feel apologetic almost, but not to the point where I would give up my right to smoke. I guess I try to be fair about it. I would not smoke in public places where others would be disturbed by it."

(Man, 25-34, Camel Regular)

"To be very honest, I've been trying to cut down. I wouldn't call myself a heavy smoker. I usually don't think about it. Now, with so many people quitting, it may put some negative light on me to be smoking."

(Woman, 25-34, Camel Lights)

"I smoke about a pack a day and enjoy it. I like it when I light up a cigarette. It relaxes me because my job is one with a lot of tension. I don't care what other people think of me when I'm smoking. If they like it, fine; if they don't, I don't care, but I don't smoke when people don't like it."

(Man, 35-60, Camel Regular)

* * * *

Tables 1 through 4 on the following pages present some quantitative findings on other life style characteristics of the four smoker groups: Winston, Marlboro, Camel and Other Brands.

As shown in Table 1, there is much overlap in the television programs preferred by these groups. Winston smokers name a greater number of TV shows, suggesting that they probably watch more television than do Marlboro smokers. Winston people also are more interested in a wider variety of comedies and dramatic programs.

In magazine readership (Table 2), Winston smokers express greater interest in publications that help them out with their crafts and hobbies. They show a stronger preference for more "serious" reading, such as *National Geographic*. They name more "offbeat" magazines that are "message" oriented (*Self*, Christian literature). All these choices are in keeping with the contemplative nature of Winston people. In men's magazines, Winston people name *Playboy* and *Gentleman's Quarterly*, while Marlboro people also include the bolder *Penthouse* and *Hustler*. Camel smokers name more sports publications than other smoker groups.

There are no main themes in the organizations that respondents belong to (Table 3), except for a trend for Winston smokers to be less avid joiners than Marlboro people. In spite of their professed individuality, Marlboro smokers probably enjoy the complimentary feedback they could receive from groups.

Table 4 lists the interests and hobbies that the respondents enjoy. Winston smokers more often name quieter, less aggressive activities, such as reading and photography. Marlboro smokers more often name energetic and vigorous interests, such as camping, sports, bowling.

TABLE 1

RESPONDENTS' FAVORITE TV SHOWS

(Each show listed below was mentioned once, unless otherwise indicated)

WINSTON SMOKERSComedy

M*A*S*H (6)
 Barney Miller (5)
 Love Boat (2)
 Andy Griffith (2)
 Three's Company (2)
 Saturday Night Live (2)
 Gimme A Break
 Diff'rent Strokes
 Dukes of Hazzard
 Fridays
 Burns & Allen
 Our Miss Brooks
 Abbott & Costello
 LaVerne & Shirley
 Happy Days
 Soap
 Too Close for Comfort
 "Comedies"

Drama

Hill Street Blues (8)
 Fame (2)
 Fantasy Island (2)
 Quincy (2)
 Little House on the Prairie
 Lou Grant
 Trapper John
 Time Machine

Police/Detective

Hart to Hart (2)
 Police Squad
 CHIPS
 Fall Guy
 Magnum P.I.

Science Fiction/Adventure

Battlestar Galactica

WINSTON SMOKERS (continued)News

60 Minutes (5)
 20/20 (3)
 News (2)
 PM Magazine

Educational/Public Broadcasting

National Geographic Specials (2)

Soap Operas

General Hospital
 All My Children
 "Soap operas"

Prime-Time Soap Operas

Dynasty (3)
 Dallas (2)

Other

Movies (4)
 Sports (4)
 Phil Donahue
 Cartoons
 HBO
 Football
 Music TV

TABLE 1 (continued)

RESPONDENTS' FAVORITE TV SHOWS

(Each show listed below was mentioned once, unless otherwise indicated)

MARLBORO SMOKERSComedy

M*A*S*H (8)
 Gomer Pyle
 Carol Burnett
 Love Boat
 Andy Griffith
 Saturday Night Live
 Greatest American Hero
 Barney Miller
 Taxi
 WKRP in Cincinnati
 Johnny Carson

Drama

Hill Street Blues (7)
 Quincy (2)
 Lou Grant
 Fame

Police/Detective

Magnum P.I. (2)
 Fall Guy (2)
 Columbo
 Police Story

Science Fiction/Adventure

Star Trek

News

60 Minutes (2)
 20/20
 Financial News Final
 Wall Street Week

Soap Operas

Soap operas (2)
 All My Children

MARLBORO SMOKERS (continued)Prime-Time Soap Operas

Dynasty (3)
 Dallas (2)
 Falconcrest
 Knot's Landing

Educational/Public Broadcasting

Nova
 Sesame Street

Other

Movies (2)
 Football games (2)
 Monday Night Football
 Baseball
 Sports
 People's Court
 Horror movies
 Disaster movies
 John Wayne movies
 HBO
 Smurfs

None (3)

TABLE 1 (continued)

RESPONDENTS' FAVORITE TV SHOWS

(Each show listed below was mentioned once, unless otherwise indicated)

CAMEL SMOKERSComedy

M*A*S*H (7)
 Barney Miller (3)
 All in the Family (2)
 Taxi (2)
 Beverly Hillbilles (2)
 Sanford & Son

Drama

Hill Street Blues (2)
 Lou Grant
 Bonanza

Police/Detective

Knight Rider
 Magnum P.I.
 Hart to Hart
 Untouchables
 Perry Mason
 Rockford Files

Science Fiction/Adventure

The Phoenix

Educational/Public Broadcasting

Nova
 National Geographic Specials

Prime-Time Soap Operas

Dallas

News

60 Minutes
 20/20

Other

Movies (3)
 Monday Night Football (2)
 Cable movies
 KQED
 MTV
 Sports
 Animal shows
 Musical specials
 American Sportsman
 Football games

"OTHER" SMOKERSComedy

M*A*S*H (6)
 All in the Family (2)
 Three's Company (2)
 Muppets
 Barney Miller
 Happy Days
 LaVerne & Shirley
 Taxi
 Facts of Life
 WKRP in Cincinnati
 Sanford & Son
 Dukes of Hazzard

Drama

Hill Street Blues (2)
 Quincy
 Fantasy Island

Police/Detective

Fall Guy
 Knight Rider

Science Fiction/Adventure

Battlestar Galactica

Educational/Public Broadcasting

Nova (2)
 Masterpiece Theater
 Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau

Soap Operas

General Hospital

Prime-Time Soap Operas

Dynasty (2)
 Dallas
 Knot's Landing

News

60 Minutes
 News

Other

Sports
 Comedy
 Cartoons

TABLE 2

MAGAZINES THAT RESPONDENTS READ

(Each magazine below was mentioned once, unless otherwise indicated)

WINSTON SMOKERSNews

Time (8)
Newsweek (2)
Life (2)

Educational/Literary

National Geographic (8)
Reader's Digest (4)
Science Weekly

Shelter/Service

Better Homes & Gardens (3)
Woman's Day (3)
Good Housekeeping (2)
McCall's (2)
Family Circle (2)
Ladies Home Journal
1001 Decorating Ideas
Colonial Homes

Women's

Cosmopolitan (4)
Redbook (2)
Vogue
Glamour
Playgirl

Men's

Playboy (2)
Gentleman's Quarterly (2)

Sports

Sports Illustrated (6)
Outdoor Life
Alaska
Georgia Sportsman
Georgia Outdoors

WINSTON SMOKERS (continued)Business/Professional

Business Week
Nation's Business
U.S. Business

Craft/Hobby/Cooking

Hot Rod (2)
Car Craft (2)
Ham
Road & Track
Car & Driver
Guns & Ammo
Street Rod
Cuisine
Organic Gardening
Photography
Modern Photography

Entertainment

People (3)
True Story
Teen Angle
National Enquirer
Mad Magazine

Other

Lifetime
Rotarian
Voice of Victory
Self
Mother Earth News
Texas Monthly
Christian literature

None (4)

TABLE 2 (continued)

MAGAZINES THAT RESPONDENTS READ

(Each magazine below was mentioned once, unless otherwise indicated)

MARLBORO SMOKERSNews

Time (6)
 Newsweek (2)
 Life (2)
 U.S. News & World Report

Educational/Literary

Reader's Digest (9)
 National Geographic
 Forum
 Psychology Today

Shelter/Service

Better Homes & Gardens (3)
 Family Circle (3)
 Good Housekeeping (3)
 Woman's Day (2)
 Ladies Home Journal (2)
 McCall's
 Consumer Reports
 Southern Living
 Country Living
 1001 Home Decorating Ideas
 House Beautiful

Women's

Cosmopolitan (5)
 Redbook (3)
 New Woman
 Woman's World

Men's

Playboy (6)
 Penthouse (3)
 Gentleman's Quarterly (3)
 Hustler

MARLBORO SMOKERS (continued)Sports

Sports Illustrated (7)
 Texas Fisherman (2)
 Field & Stream
 Western Outdoors

Business/Professional

Forbes
 Business Week
 Emergency Medical

Craft/Hobby/Cooking

Guitar Player
 Popular Electronics
 Popular Science
 Darkroom
 American Photography
 "All video magazines"

Entertainment

People (5)
 True Story
 National Enquirer

Other

New World
 None (4)

TABLE 2 (continued)

MAGAZINES THAT RESPONDENTS READ

(Each magazine below was mentioned once, unless otherwise indicated)

CAMEL SMOKERSNews

Time (3)
 Newsweek (2)
 Life
 U. S. News & World Report

Educational/Literary

GEO
 National Geographic
 Science World
 Writer's Digest
 Reader's Digest

Shelter/Service

Good Housekeeping (2)
 Better Homes & Gardens

Men's

Esquire
 Penthouse
 Playboy

Sports

Field & Stream (3)
 Outside
 Southern Outdoors
 Sports Illustrated
 Inside Football
 Baseball Digest
 Western Outdoors
 Backpacker
 American Hunter
 Outdoor Life
 Outdoors

Business/Professional

Fortune
 Business Week

CAMEL SMOKERS (continued)Craft/Hobby/Cooking

Photography
 Automobile
 Popular Science
 Van Magazine
 Guitar Player
 Treasure magazines

Entertainment

People
 TV Guide
 Rock

None (1)

TABLE 2 (continued)

MAGAZINES THAT RESPONDENTS READ

(Each magazine below was mentioned once, unless otherwise indicated)

"OTHER" SMOKERSNews

Time (7)
Newsweek (2)
Life

Educational/Literary

Reader's Digest (3)
Science magazine

Shelter/Service

Family Circle (3)
McCall's (2)
Better Homes & Gardens (2)
Good Housekeeping
Southern Living
California
Woman's Day

Women's

Cosmopolitan (2)
Redbook

Men's

Playboy (2)
Penthouse

Sports

Field & Stream
Outdoor Life
Golf Digest
Sports Illustrated

Business/Professional

Money (2)
Nation's Business
Fortune
U. S. News & World Report
Money Maker
Wall Street Journal
Security Distributing
Marketing

"OTHER" SMOKERS (continued)Craft/Hobby/Cooking

Popular Electronics
Popular Science
Photography magazines

Entertainment

People (2)
Us
True Story
National Lampoon

None (2)

TABLE 3

ORGANIZATIONS THAT RESPONDENTS PARTICIPATE IN

(Each organization below was mentioned once, unless otherwise indicated)

WINSTON SMOKERSProfessional

Professional Association of
Driving Instructors
Union
Professional associations

School/Educational

PTO (2)
Science club

Religious/Church

Knights of Columbus (2)
Church group
Hadassah
B'nai B'rith
Church

Sports/Athletic

Little League
Scuba Diving

Civic/Service

Rotary Club
Chamber of Commerce
Clean Pearland Committee
Lioness

Military

Fleet Reserve Military

Other

EMT Organization
UGA Alumni Association
Beer Can Collectors Club

None (28)

MARLBORO SMOKERSProfessional

American Production Inventory
Control Society
Atlanta Society of Financial Analysts
Safeway Employee Association
NALU

School/Educational

PTA (4)
PTO
Band Boosters
Burbank Pre-School

Religious/Church

B'nai B'rith
Church Guild
Church

Sports/Athletic

Fish & Game Club

Civic/Service

Service organizations
Newcomers Club
American Heart Association
American Red Cross
Child Development Club
Girl Scouts

Military

California Air National Guard

Fraternal/Honorary

Sigma Chi Epsilon
Kappa Alpha Fraternity Alumni

Other

Equity Players Club
Climc

None (21)

TABLE 3 (continued)

ORGANIZATIONS THAT RESPONDENTS PARTICIPATE IN

(Each organization below was mentioned once, unless otherwise indicated)

CAMEL SMOKERSProfessional

Associated Photographers
International
Union

Religious/Church

Church

Sports/Athletic

Bass Anglers Sportsman's Society
Western B.A.S.S.
National Rifle Association
Football team

Civic/Service

Boy Scouts of America
Eagles
Girl Scout leader

Military

Army ROTC
Circle Trigon (ROTC extra-
curricular outdoor group)

Other

SMARC

None (8)

"OTHER" SMOKERSProfessional

PATCO
Greater Houston Alarm Association
National Burglar and Fire Alarm
Association

Religious/Church

Catholic Church (2)
Church
Youth Ministry

Civic/Service

Jaycees
Moose

Military

American Legion (2)
VFW

Other

Garden Club

None (11)

TABLE 4

RESPONDENTS' INTERESTS AND HOBBIES

(Each item listed below was mentioned once, unless otherwise indicated)

WINSTON SMOKERS

Reading (8)
 Photography (5)
 Sports (5)
 Camping (4)
 Swimming (4)
 Skiing (3)
 Hunting (3)
 Fishing (3)
 Golf (2)
 Soccer (2)
 Water skiing (2)
 Water sports (2)
 Bowling (2)
 Driving (2)
 Cars (2)
 Coin collection (2)
 Backpacking (2)
 Travel (2)
 Dancing (2)
 Cooking (2)
 Crafts (2)
 Needlepoint (2)
 Gardening (2)
 TV sports
 Baseball
 Football
 Tennis
 Auto racing
 Auto repair
 TV watching
 Music
 Knitting
 Crocheting
 Woodworking
 Yardwork
 Handguns
 Walking
 Running
 Singing
 Working
 Playing
 Partying
 Movies
 God's ministry

MARLBORO SMOKERS

Camping (6)
 Sports (6)
 Music (5)
 Bowling (5)
 Photography (4)
 Swimming (4)
 Sewing (3)
 Reading (3)
 Golf (3)
 Fishing (3)
 Basketball (2)
 Water skiing (2)
 Scuba diving (2)
 Hunting (2)
 Traveling (2)
 Dancing (2)
 Cooking (2)
 Plants (2)
 Ceramics (2)
 Crafts (2)
 Reading (2)
 Athletics
 Football
 Water sports
 Tennis
 Skeet-shooting
 Soccer
 Skating
 Skiing
 Sailing
 Jogging
 Racing cars
 Motorcycles
 Horseback riding
 Softball
 Stereo
 Listening to music
 Piano
 Theater
 Plays
 Watching TV
 Macrame
 Knitting
 Pottery

TABLE 4 (continued)

RESPONDENTS' INTERESTS AND HOBBIES

(Each item listed below was mentioned once, unless otherwise indicated)

MARLBORO SMOKERS (continued)

Needlepoint
 Oil painting
 Woodworking
 Floral arranging
 Embroidering
 Gardening
 Movies
 Law enforcement
 Pool
 Hairdressing
 Talking
 School band parent activities
 Parties
 Emergency medical services

None (1)

CAMEL SMOKERS

Fishing (4)
 Music (4)
 Camping (3)
 Hunting (3)
 Photography (2)
 Movies (2)
 Reading (2)
 Football (2)
 Bowling (2)

Sports
 Skiing
 Swimming
 Baseball
 Camping
 Hiking
 Going to races
 Auto racing
 Gardening
 Carving
 Making fishing poles
 Needlework
 Playing guitar

CAMEL SMOKERS (continued)

Scouts
 ROTC
 Children
 TV
 Writing
 Guns, ammunition
 Old cars
 Treasure hunting

"OTHER" SMOKERS

Fishing (5)
 Golf (4)
 Sewing (3)
 Sports (2)
 Bowling (2)
 Football (2)
 Woodworking (2)

Spectator sports
 Water sports
 Water skiing
 Tennis
 Horseracing
 Baseball
 Hunting
 Kite-flying
 Bicycling
 Exercise
 Motorcycles
 Cars
 Working on motorcycles
 Working on cars
 Chess
 Lapidary
 House decorating
 Crafts
 Upholstery
 Ceramics
 Flowers
 Gardening
 Doing things with hands
 Dieting

TABLE 4 (continued)**RESPONDENTS' INTERESTS AND HOBBIES**

(Each item listed below was mentioned once, unless otherwise indicated)

"OTHER" SMOKERS (continued)

Traveling
Shopping
Talking to people
Partying
Square-dancing
Children
TV
Electronics designs

III

CIGARETTE
BRAND IMAGES

This chapter discusses the ways that smokers perceive and conceptualize the Winston and Marlboro brands. The discussion deals at a secondary level with the Camel brand. Other brands, which were touched on tangentially in the interviews, are dealt with at a lesser level.

A. WINSTON

This brand has a diffused image. There are definite ideas about Winston, but they are not well integrated or cohesive. It is not well defined in people's minds as to what it stands for or at what kinds or smokers it is aimed. However, the imagery does have some recognized and sometimes incompatible components:

- It is a masculine cigarette. The widely held assumption that this brand is appropriate for men comes from several sources. It is considered a comparatively strong-tasting cigarette. Those who smoke or know about Winston Lights and Ultra Lights realize that these are milder and lower in tar and nicotine. For the most part, however, when people think of Winston, they usually think of the regular version in the red pack. (This is also the case with Marlboro.) Winston is not thought to be as strong as such brands as Camel or Pall Mall, but it clearly is stronger than many others, especially with the proliferation of low tar and nicotine brands. People who think of cigarettes mainly in terms of taste feel that this potency makes the brand seem especially suitable for men.

When people think of Winston in the abstract, their ideas are somewhat vague, mainly because they do not have clear memories of the promotion. They recall or assume it to be male oriented, with outdoor scenes, rugged activities and hard-working men. People bring up the association of Winston with car racing, and such a definitely masculine symbol as the racer strengthens the male imagery.

The perceived similarity of this brand to Marlboro contributes to this masculine image. Marlboro is so closely intertwined with machismo that any brand that resembles it (and competes so directly with it) must of necessity be oriented toward male smokers.

"Winston gears more toward stock-car racing, with a picture of a strong-type guy around the racetrack. I wouldn't say it leans at all toward women. It suggests the cigarette is strong."

(Man, 25-34, Winston Lights)

"The Winston ads show people working outside. It would be an outdoor-type cigarette."

(Man, 18-24, Winston Regular)

"I think the Winston advertising shows a man with a hard-hat on, smoking Winston."

(Woman, 18-24, Winston Regular)

"Winston advertising usually has some kind of nature scene. Pictures of mountains and a guy sitting by a stream. Mainly getting tobacco pleasures in the wilderness."

(Man, 18-24, Winston Lights)

-- Winston also seems appropriate for women. This seemingly paradoxical component occurs primarily when the brand is being compared with Marlboro. Some people believe that Marlboro is stronger and harsher than Winston, so they believe that a women would be more apt to smoke the latter.

When people think of the two brands at the same time, they feel that Winston is more suitable for a woman mainly because the Marlboro advertising is so exclusively male. Since people cannot always recall the Winston promotions, they do not have such a clear-cut conviction that this brand might be aiming only at men.

People often have the impression that Marlboro represents rough-and-tough and rugged men, so they draw the contrast that Winston must be more refined. This esthetic notion implies that a woman would be happier smoking it instead of Marlboro.

Occasionally, people feel that the Winston name is more feminine than the Marlboro name. "Winston" is shorter, easier to say; "Marlboro" is more of a mouthful, requiring more energetic mouth movements to pronounce. Also, the initial W and M letters may suggest "women" and "men."

"Winston seems to stand for a wider range of people, middle-class and working people. Marlboro seems to appeal only to the macho cowboy, shoot-em-up, Wild-West types. Women would be more apt to smoke Winston because of Marlboro's advertising."
(Woman, 25-34, Camel Lights)

"I think they are a lot alike in taste, but the image is different. Winstons I always picture a more urban setting, more sophisticated smokers. I can't picture women smoking Marlboros."
(Man, 25-34, Camel Regular)

"Winston is a strong cigarette, but with class. Marlboro is strong as in strength, macho, male strength. I see a woman at

-- The brand seems conservative and middle-of-the-road, with a higher status overlay. There is an "averageness" about Winston that makes it seem compatible with the Middle Majority. The cigarette is not thought to aim at nor be suitable for extreme or unusual types of people. Rather, it is associated with average, down-to-earth people with middle-of-the-road life styles. Winston smokers are solid and dependable, not flighty or erratic.

It is identified as a very popular cigarette, and this widespread usage also underscores its appeal to typical, mass-market consumers.

The same ideas that push Winston toward being appropriate for women also operate to give it a somewhat higher status aura than Marlboro. Associations to Winston Churchill give it a sense of the elite and aristocratic. When Marlboro is inextricably linked to the rugged, rural outdoorsman, Winston then is moved indoors, to an urban setting, where it would be the choice of more sophisticated, and perhaps more conservative, smokers.

The lack of consensus on the strength of Winston's taste also feeds into this image component. When people think of it as milder than Marlboro, this leads them to link Winston with urbane, cultivated smokers who would wish to avoid a harsh cigarette.

"Marlboro is a more active and more rugged cigarette. I think of it as being a little stronger cigarette. Winston is also rugged, but more traditional. The average guy would smoke it. It's less strong than Marlboro."

(Man, 25-34, Benson & Hedges)

"I see Marlboro as a milder cigarette. Winston is a more full-bodied cigarette. People who want the man's cigarette of the Wild West would choose Marlboro. Winston people would be down-to-earth, everyday people. That's a way of life. You can't all go off and be cowboys. Somebody has to hold the fort."
 (Woman, 35-60, Winston Ultra Lights)

"Personally, I think Marlboro is a stronger tasting tobacco. Even their Lights are strong. I don't think just anyone could smoke Marlboro. Winston would appeal more to the masses since it's milder."
 (Woman, 25-34, Winston Lights)

"The name makes me think of a relaxing cigarette, a sophisticated name. Straightforward, honest cigarette."
 (Man, 25-34, Winston Regular)

"Marlboro is a little more outgoing, a little wilder and a little crazier. Winston is hard-working, but it has its playtime, a little more conservative."
 (Man, 18-24, Merit Regular)

"The names and advertising are the only difference. They actually taste the same. Winston goes with the better class of people and Marlboro goes with the rugged people."
 (Man, 35-60, Camel Regular)

-- There are also lower status implications to the Winston brand. This image dimension is offered mainly by people who associate Winston advertising with pictures of men identified as blue-collar workers. This association moves the imagery away from women and brings it down from its link with higher status smokers.

People who believe that Winston is strong-tasting (especially Marlboro smokers) feel that such strength is enjoyed, or tolerated, by lower status tough guys.

"Their ads have steelworkers and loggers and guys like that. It seems to lean toward the construction worker, like they're manly, rugged. I don't get much feeling from them. The ads are not why I smoke Winston. It's the cigarette itself that I like."

(Man, 25-34, Winston Regular)

"Winston advertising appeals to the blue-collar workers. They are saying that Winston is made for the average Joe. It doesn't really affect me because I'm not a blue-collar worker."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"With Winston, I think of the rough, tough guy hooked on tobacco. Lower-class people."

(Man, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

-- Winston is for older people. This idea comes from awareness that Winston is a long-established brand, one that has been around longer than many others. It is felt that older people started with Winston when they were young and remained loyal to the brand. Part of this also relates to the idea that these older smokers are probably conservative types who would not be prone to switch to newly introduced cigarettes. The implication is that younger smokers would more likely choose a brand other than Winston.

"There are two groups of people who would smoke Winston. One is the working class, lower class, and the other is the older, over-45 age group who know Winstons have been around a long time. Their conservatism causes them to stick with what is known and tried. Younger people smoke something else, like Marlboro."

(Woman, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

"Winston is an older brand. People from the generation of the conservative Establishment would smoke Winston because the cigarette was popular then."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"Winston is an upper-middle cigarette that appeals to the conservative person with money. It's for the over-45 group. I would say Marlboro is for the young, the women's libbers, athletes and college students."

(Man, 35-60, Raleigh Filters)

Winston smokers derive much taste satisfaction from this brand. Among those who smoke Winston regulars, the taste descriptions of the cigarette range from mild to strong, but all claim that it is smooth and satisfying. They often feel that Marlboro would be their second choice if Winston were not available, although they tend to find Marlboro somewhat harsher in taste.

"It's a slow-burning cigarette with lots of flavor and it satisfies one's hankering for a cigarette. I might get a Marlboro if I couldn't get a Winston. I haven't really tried any other cigarette recently."

(Man, 18-24, Winston Regular)

"It's smooth. It doesn't bite. It's not a sharp, burning taste, just a nice, full taste, a rich taste."

(Woman, 35-60, Winston Regular)

"Winston and Marlboro are similar to the point that they both deliver a lot of taste, but Winston is not as harsh. Marlboro would have a bite or harshness to it. People smoke Winstons who want taste but no harshness. People who want the extra kick, the strong, harsh taste, would choose Marlboro."

(Man, 18-24, Winston Regular)

Winston smokers seeking a lighter and milder cigarette tend to stay in the Winston family, moving from Winston regulars to the Lights and to the Ultra Lights. They seem well satisfied with their new cigarette. Further demonstrating loyalty to the brand family, those who smoke the lighter brands say they would probably choose another Winston brand as their second choice.

"I was smoking the Winston regulars and got to wheezing, so I switched to the Lights. I just always smoked Winstons and wanted to stay with them."

(Man, 25-34, Winston Lights)

"They're good. They just taste good, a good flavor, and they don't stink when they're burning. If I couldn't get them, I'd get the Winston red pack. I know what it would be like to smoke."

(Man, 25-34, Winston Lights)

"It's a mild cigarette, but it still has flavor to enjoy. You can really taste the difference if you go back to a regular cigarette. I like them because they are lower in nicotine. If I couldn't get mine, I'd buy Winston Lights. I used to smoke those and I like them, too."

(Woman, 35-60, Winston Ultra Lights)

Marlboro smokers also describe the Winston taste as ranging from mild to harsh, depending on how they describe their own cigarette. Nonetheless, they find enough similarity between the two brands that they often would pick Winston as a second choice.

"Marlboro has a rich flavor. It's a pretty harsh taste, but it has the best aftertaste. You have to condition your throat to the taste. Winston tastes similar. The flavor is a little milder and tastes a little synthetic, but it's still pretty close in taste."

(Woman, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"I'd say Winstons are the closest. They are a little stronger, though. If I couldn't get Marlboro I'd get Winston."

(Woman, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"Marlboro is a mild cigarette. It burns evenly and is easy to find in any store. Winstons are similar. The packaging is similar and it's mild like Marlboro. I'd pick Winston over any other brand if they have no Marlboros."

(Man, 35-60, Marlboro Regular)

The Winston name elicits various associations. The two most common are to the city of Winston-Salem, suggesting "real tobacco" and brand longevity, and to Winston Churchill, suggesting an upper-status, aristocratic element. Some are reminded of a man's name, which makes the cigarette seem masculine and strong. Others pick up on the first syllable, saying this indicates that the cigarette is a "winner."

"Winston reminds me of a regal name. I associate it with Winston Churchill."

(Man, 35-60, Marlboro Regular)

"Winston-Salem is a town in North Carolina somewhere. Probably has something to do with the original tobacco growers."

(Man, 25-34, Winston Regular)

"The name has an English, aristocratic connotation and makes me think of a person such as myself -- energetic, lively."

(Man, 35-60, Winston Regular)

"Winston sounds like a man's name. It suggests a man's cigarette, strong in taste."

(Man, 18-24, Winston Regular)

"I've always connected the 'win' in 'Winston' with being a winner."

(Man, 25-34, Winston Lights)

The Winston package is neat and subdued. During the interview, respondents were shown the regular packs of Winston and Marlboro. On the Winston pack, alternating red and white bands suggest balance and symmetry. To some people, the design is too orderly, suggesting an uptight conservatism and an absence of flair in design. To some, the package is unpretentious, indicating a "normal," simple cigarette; to others, it seems ordinary and dull, indicating an uninteresting, common cigarette. When the two are compared, the Marlboro package seems livelier, more innovative and imaginative.

"The Winston package is eye-catching, bright colors, straight lines. A conservative design. It's a cigarette for conservatives. The Marlboro package is also bright and eye-catching. It has broken lines and broken patterns, more flamboyant, much more liberal."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"It's a simple package, no frills. The color is a deep red, so it stands out."

(Woman, 18-24, Winston Lights)

"The Winston pack is plain and ordinary. The emblem could be bigger. The Marlboro pack is rugged eloquence. The PM crest is large and easy to see, looks royal."

(Man, 35-60, Marlboro Lights)

"The Winston package looks like it has just normal, ordinary type of cigarettes. The Marlboro is a classier package. I don't know if it's the crest or what, it just looks classier."

(Woman, 18-24, Winston Regular)

"The Winston is a more common package, nothing flashy about it. I don't think they used much imagination on it. The Marlboro package is different, shows imagination, a little more salesmanship involved."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"The Winston pack is eye-catching. It's kind of on the old-fashioned side, no fancy pictures, no fancy printing."

(Woman, 25-34, Camel Lights)

Awareness of Winston advertising seems muted. A few people recall that the promotion has featured construction workers, but most are unable to remember any specifics about Winston advertising. Some reach back in time and remember the "like a cigarette should" slogan.

"The Winston ads show guys enjoying a cigarette after a job well done, like construction workers."

(Man, 18-24, Winston Regular)

"The Winston ads say it tastes good. The ads are sophisticated, saying that the cigarette should be fulfilling. I really haven't seen too many Winston ads."

(Woman, 35-60, Winston Regular)

"I've seen the ads in magazines but I can't even recall what it was. I remember the red-and-white pack of cigarettes, but that's all."

(Woman, 18-24, Winston Regular)

"I've been smoking them about six years. A lot of my friends smoke them. They used to have a commercial that said, 'Winston tastes good like a cigarette should.'"

(Man, 18-24, Winston Regular)

Respondents were shown print ads for Winston and Marlboro and asked to comment on and compare them. Those who prefer the Winston approach are drawn to the urban setting, with the hard-working men representing the no-nonsense, middle-ground image of this brand. The models in the ads are shown interacting with each other, conveying a sociable conviviality that is missing in the loneliness of the

Marlboro ads. Men in blue-collar occupations find it easier to relate to these models. Women can be attracted to the Winston men, describing them as young and virile.

"Winston fits the no nonsense, no frills and good taste of the cigarette. Workers like them. Marlboro has been doing this cowboy thing for years. Winston appeals to the city person."

(Man, 25-34, Winston Regular)

"I prefer the Winston ads. They have people interacting. I associate the one individual as being lonely, out in the country, a lonely life."

(Man, 35-60, Barclay)

"Winston has a good approach. I can relate to a picture where someone can get their hands dirty. That's the kind of work I do. I'm not around horses or cattle or cowboys."

(Man, 35-60, Camel Lights)

"The Marlboro ads are real nice and pretty, but I associate more with the Winston scenes. Winston are city scenes. I can't relate to the horses and cowboys as well, even though it is pretty. I like the Winston because the guys are cute."

(Woman, 25-34, Winston Lights)

"The Marlboro ads are a lot prettier. Winston ads would get more attention from women because of the men. The Marlboro only shows one man and he's too old for a lot of women. The Winston men are between 20 and 35."

(Woman, 25-34, Marlboro Lights)

On the other hand, there are people who have difficulty relating to hard-hat workers, saying that these have no relevance to their own life style. To them, the urban setting portrayed suggests

oppressively hard work, grime and pollution. To city dwellers, the setting is familiar, but the harsh reality of it leaves little outlet for pleasant fantasy or fanciful daydreams. The Marlboro approach, while perhaps overly familiar through repetition of the theme, offers lush outdoor settings that promote pleasant fantasies for both men and women.

"Winston is for the average Joe on the street. The Marlboro ads seem to give the approach of the rugged outdoorsman who enjoys a lot of spacious freedom. I like the outdoors approach because it more closely represents my feelings of life. Winston's blue-collar approach is not my approach to life."
(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"I like the Marlboro ads. They try to make it look like it's manly to smoke Marlboro. I enjoy horseback riding, and they have horses in the ads."
(Man, 18-24, Merit)

"Winston shows working-class, urban-type people. Marlboro is Western, out in nature. Marlboro is more appealing because it doesn't look like work. Winston looks like they're really working hard. People don't want to be reminded that they have to go to work."
(Woman, 18-24, Winston Lights)

"The Marlboro ads appeal to me more because I can't relate to blue-collar guys, but I can relate to the out-of-doors. No one looks forward to climbing on a steel girder."
(Man, 25-34, Camel Regular)

The findings suggest that the Winston image tends to be fragmented, composed of disparate characteristics that people have attached to the brand. No single image component stands out as the main aspect of this image, nor is there a unifying theme that can tie together the various characteristics, some of which seem at first to be contradictory. The Winston image has a strong masculine orientation,

yet people can readily see its appropriateness for women. In some instances, Winston is seen as a higher status cigarette, dignified and conservatively sophisticated; it can just as easily be seen as a rough-and-tough brand aimed at and smoked by lower status people. The name itself runs the gamut from the rugged virility of a "winner" to notions of an effete aristocracy. The alternating bands on the Winston package sometimes make a statement of boldness and forthrightness, and other times come across as overly precise and restrained.

There is also a muted or faded aspect to Winston, a sense of having been around, maturing, without much excitement to keep it lively and current. The advertising seems reasonable about this in being urban, showing young guys who can be regarded as sexy, but the focus is not sharp or memorable, seemingly ordinary, an everyday-life snapshot that is agreeable to look at, but without a special point.

Another important factor is the "adversary" status of Winston and Marlboro. People sometimes cannot isolate what Winston is all about without resorting to comparisons with Marlboro. As a result, Winston is often defined in terms of how it is similar to or different from Marlboro. This is sometimes the case with Marlboro, but this brand provides a stronger, more solid benchmark against which to measure and conceptualize Winston. Marlboro's more clearly delineated image is discussed in the following section.

B. MARLBORO

Marlboro's imagery is strongly dominated by the brand's advertising and by the way this promotion has stimulated people to generate their own additional ideas and elaborations about the brand. Many of the attitudes discussed below have evolved from and revolve around how people react to, understand and interpret the Marlboro advertising campaign.

Marlboro has capitalized on its masculine appeal at many levels. Few people would deny that the brand is overwhelmingly imbued with a male image. This characteristic seems to have communicated successfully to a wide range of people. Both men and women, young and old, acknowledge and respond to this dimension. The image is of a man who is rough and tough but who escapes seeming lower status because, within the Western setting, he has achieved stature and respect. He is not a kid cowboy. He is an individualistic, self-reliant man, an accomplisher. He easily functions as an ego ideal for men, who see him representing positive male characteristics. For women, he can be either a sex object or a protective, avuncular presence. Winston smokers who are firm in their loyalty to their own brand concede the potency of this distinctive masculine communication.

"The Marlboro ads are more pleasing to the eye. The outdoors clearly conveys that it's a he-man cigarette, especially the mountains. It aims toward men more than women."

(Man, 25-34, Lucky Strike Filters)

"It's a masculine cigarette with a strong flavor. Most men smoke it because the ads always have men, never women."

(Woman, 35-60, Marlboro Regular)

"Marlboro has the best advertising. I think it's a man's cigarette. Any man that wanted to be macho would smoke it. Winston has a laid back advertising. They know they're number one."

(Woman, 25-34, Winston Lights)

"Marlboro advertising always comes to mind for me. Seems like they're going after more of the male population. Their ads are always showing guys on horses out West. They're going mostly for men and excluding women."

(Man, 25-34, Winston Lights)

Women acknowledge that they are apparently excluded from Marlboro promotion. Nevertheless, they feel justified and even comfortable smoking this brand. In a sense, they seem to have gone through a process of semi-denial, sharply separating the literal content of the promotion from the idea of what the cigarette itself means to them. They see all the masculine trappings in the ads but continue to feel that it is appropriate for both sexes. They want to be in on this attractive idea. At one level it represents not just masculinity, but also a kind of youthful sensuality that goes with Western physical settings, clothing, horses, etc.

"The commercials on TV used to use the Marlboro man. I guess you were rough and rugged if you smoked Marlboro. To me, that seemed funny because a lot of women smoke Marlboros."

(Woman, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"It's got a rugged, masculine image. They show a guy in the mountains on a horse, a cowboy, a cattle drive, gorgeous mountain scenery. It's really probably a man's cigarette, but I like it."

(Woman, 35-60, Marlboro Regular)

"Marlboro really tries to portray the image too much that it's a man's cigarette. Because I like them, I try not to equate the advertising with the cigarette, because I'm a woman."

(Woman, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

The Marlboro Country theme extols an American myth. Marlboro pre-empts one of the primary visions of America. This enduring theme is extremely familiar to people. Even though it is long-standing, it has not elicited antagonism over its repetition. People accept it because of its soft sell, esthetic appeal and mythic meanings.

"Marlboro should get off the cowboy kick. They've been on that as long as I can remember. Winston has a better approach. They are reaching out to people. I'm tired of the Marlboro horses."

(Man, 18-24, Marlboro Lights)

"It seems that Marlboro has had the same ad campaign for many years. It's a cigarette for men, with the cowboy."

(Man, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

Glamor and fantasy are key elements of Marlboro's appeal. Even though the Marlboro Man is a weather-beaten hard worker, he seems glamorous because his life style is exciting and out of the ordinary. Older smokers recall that the Marlboro Man once had a tattoo, another sign that he is an offbeat but intriguing individual. The elements of the promotion provide much stimulation for fantasy, encouraging all kinds of people to "get away from it all." Those who like to give in to these fantasies are critical of Winston's "industrial" and realistic advertising approach.

"I like the Marlboro ads. I would like to be on a horse smoking a cigarette. We all want to be one of the boys. We all want to be John Wayne. I like the Marlboro Man. They had a commercial in the 1960's with a tattoo. He was sure of himself, a real man."

(Man, 35-60, Raleigh Filters)

"Winston shows working people. Marlboro has a ranch with a cowboy, exciting, challenging. It would appeal to different people. The Winston appeals to industrial people."

(Man, 35-60, Pall Mall)

"They're both geared to a strong macho image. Marlboro has more scenic pictures, more pleasing pictures. Winston is less successful because I'd rather be out in the country riding horses than working in steel at hard labor."

(Man, 25-34, Winston Lights)

Those people who are not comfortable with Marlboro's more remote fantasy, who need closer ties to reality, are skeptical of the Marlboro approach, claiming that it is too far out to be relevant. They prefer the urban reality of the Winston ads, saying that these scenes and people are easier to identify with, more familiar, more believable.

"Marlboro seems to say if you are alone, it really helps you pass the time. The Winston ads show people working together. I think the Winston ads are nicer pictures. They are more believable. You can associate to them."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"Winston has all the construction workers, and Marlboro has all the cowboys. Winston is a more urban approach. I prefer the Winston approach. It shows active people doing things. It's more productive and the people are interesting."

(Woman, 35-60, Winston Regular)

"Winston shows everyday working men. Marlboro is less successful because not everyone is a cowboy and some people might not identify with that." -

(Man, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

People who do not smoke this brand think of Marlboro as adolescent and pretentious. Winston smokers especially feel that men who smoke Marlboro have naively taken the bait that using this cigarette will make them into tough macho types, when in truth they are only urban cowboys pretending at something they are not. This view holds that Marlboro smokers are insecure people who need the reassurance of the brand's promotion to convince them that they are smoking the right cigarette. It is believed that Marlboro smokers do not make an independent, objective brand decision but are coerced by advertising and peer pressure. They seem stuck in a perennial adolescence, trying to live up to an

image of being impulsive, adventurous people with interesting and enviable life styles. Comparisons are drawn here with Winston smokers, who are perceived as more mature, more stable, more secure.

"Winston is mild but strong enough to satisfy a smoker's quest. Marlboro is for people who want to put on an image they don't really have."

(Man, 25-34, Winston Regular)

"Winstons are smoked by stable and secure people, upper-middle class. Marlboros are smoked by people who are trying to prove something. They are insecure and are trying to prove something with Marlboros."

(Woman, 18-24, Winston Regular)

"Winston is more sophisticated, conservative, more so than Marlboro. Marlboro stands for ruggedness, devil-may-care attitude toward life. A wilder type smokes them."

(Man, 25-34, Camel Lights)

"Marlboro goes more with the outdoors and enjoying life and adventure. Winston is more sedate, less exciting, more settled."

(Woman, 35-60, Marlboro Regular)

"It's what the person wants for his image. The guy who wears his cowboy hat even if he lives in the city would smoke Marlboro."

(Woman, 25-34, Vantage)

Marlboro smokers themselves perpetuate these impulsive characterizations.

- They like to believe that they are special people. As noted in Chapter II, Marlboro smokers use much laudatory language when describing themselves. This self-congratulation comes to the fore when they strongly identify with and commit themselves to Marlboro Country promotions. They feel that smoking this brand says that they

have chosen the best and that they are the kinds of adventurous people that the brand wants to appeal to.

"Marlboro makes me think of the guy who rides on a horse and says, 'Come to Marlboro Country.' It tells me it's a good cigarette, makes me feel I picked a good brand."

(Woman, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

"Marlboro is a cigarette for a man of all seasons. It's a cigarette for an adventurous type of individual, like myself, who is free-spirited. It makes me think of a Marlboro man who is the outdoors type, home on the range."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"Winston is so average boring, always a step behind Marlboro. Marlboro stands for adventure, has a richer flavor."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

-- Many admit that peer pressure affected their brand choice. By and large, Winston smokers claim that they tried several cigarette brands before deciding on the one that gave them the kind of smoking satisfaction they wanted. In sharp contrast, many Marlboro smokers recall that when they started smoking this brand, "everybody else" was, too, so they went along with the crowd and tried the "in" cigarette. These admissions express underlying anxieties and insecurities of people who require social acceptance, who need overt reassurance that others approve of them and their behavior.

"A friend of mine introduced me to Marlboros. I've been smoking them for about five years. Other friends have been smoking them, also. I must be very peer-group oriented because the only reason I initially tried them was because my friends smoked them."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"I've been smoking Marlboro for a year and a half. One of my girlfriends was smoking this cigarette and then I tried one and I liked it. Other friends of mine were smoking them, too, and it seemed to be the cigarette everyone was smoking."

(Woman, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"I've smoked them since I was 20 years old. I had seen friends smoke them. Everybody smoked them. They were the 'in' cigarette. If you bummed them when you first started to smoke, you got a Marlboro because everybody had them."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"I've smoked them since high school. All the kids started smoking them. I tried them and liked the taste. All the kids I ran around with smoked them."

(Woman, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

-- Even though they admit that they went along with the crowd, they insist that smoking Marlboro stamps them as different. They believe that it is attractive and self-enhancing to be seen smoking this brand. One man uses an amusing circular reasoning to explain that 90% of his friends have selected this brand in order to prove their independence. They seem to see no contradiction between labelling themselves as individualistic free-thinkers and selecting a brand that "everybody" smokes. In a way, Marlboro skillfully capitalizes on the paradox of representing the conformity of the individualist.

"My friends in high school were smoking them. It was the cigarette to smoke at the time. Friends I went to high school with smoked them. It wasn't that it made you look more grown up. It just looked good to smoke them."

(Woman, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

"Marlboro would be smoked more by the young. Ninety percent of the kids I know pick Marlboro because it identifies them as an independent-type person."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

Marlboro does not deliver consistent smoking pleasure. There are, to be sure, people who enjoy this brand without qualifications. They describe it as a good-tasting, full-bodied smoke, possessing a balance between mildness and harshness that comes across as a real tobacco taste.

"I like the taste. It doesn't have a bite. It's a smooth cigarette. The flavor is milder, never seems to have hard spots. I wouldn't change anything about it."

(Woman, 35-60, Marlboro Regular)

"It's a good-tasting, strong-flavored filtered cigarette. I like the flavor, good strong tobacco taste. No other brand is exactly like it."

(Man, 35-60, Marlboro Regular)

"Marlboro is a more strong-flavored and real-tobacco-tasting cigarette. People would smoke them for more real cigarette enjoyment. Winston is a milder cigarette for people who want a lighter tobacco taste."

(Man, 35-60, Marlboro Regular)

Nevertheless, Marlboro smokers as a group have many specific complaints about their cigarette. Winston smokers generally express a high level of satisfaction and pleasure with their brand. In contrast, Marlboro smokers (mainly those who smoke the Regular brand) express criticism and disappointment over several characteristics of this brand:

-- Quality is not consistent. Smokers cannot be certain that they will enjoy every cigarette or every pack. When they encounter a pack that is not up to par, they are likely to blame slow

turnover in a cigarette machine, although this seems to contradict the great popularity attached to the brand. Others cannot explain why the cigarette sometimes does not give them the smoking pleasure they expect.

"Sometimes you get a bad package, and they taste stale and old. I think they get stale from the cigarette machine." ✓

(Woman, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

"Sometimes they taste good and sometimes they don't. I don't know why. Maybe they could lower the nicotine and tar content. I've tried Winstons and they are pretty much the same, but you can still tell the difference."

(Woman, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

- The filter is criticized. Either it does not seem to filter out enough harshness or it seems poorly constructed, not promoting a long-burning and smooth-tasting cigarette.

"It's a strong cigarette. It has a good taste. The only thing I would change is the filters. I don't think they filter out enough nicotine." ✓

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"It's a mild cigarette and has a lot of flavor. I don't like the filters, because in the ashtray they burn too easily. I have noticed a lot of them are not sealed up right in the filter." ✓

(Woman, 35-60, Marlboro Lights)

- Sometimes they seem unusually strong and harsh. There are complaints that Marlboro leaves the mouth dry. There can also be an unpleasant smell and taste. If the taste seems too strong, it can lead to uncomfortable physical reactions.

"I really don't enjoy cigarettes. I just have a habit I haven't been able to knock. They tend to make me thirsty. It seems to dry my mouth. I won't smoke if I don't have access to water or some liquid."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"Sometimes I find something in the tobacco while smoking that gives off an unpleasant odor and taste. My husband says it smells like rubber, and the children say it smells like pot. I stick with Marlboros. If the store is out of them, I just get a different Marlboro, like the Lights."

(Woman, 35-60, Marlboro Regular)

"It has a full taste to it. It's a good-tasting cigarette, but sometimes it's too strong. If it weren't so strong, I wouldn't get sick of smoking it so often and I wouldn't have to keep putting cigarettes out."

(Man, 18-24, Marlboro Regular)

-- Health concerns surface over the strength of the cigarette. People say they enjoy Marlboro, but they realize that it is a strong cigarette compared to many other brands. For health reasons, they wish the brand were lower in tar and nicotine while maintaining the taste that they like.

"It has good taste, a pleasant taste, not harsh, doesn't burn the mouth or throat. I can't say I'm dissatisfied with anything about them. I'd like them to retain the taste they have now but also be low in tar and nicotine, maybe to gain a little peace of mind."

(Woman, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"I enjoy it. It's not bitter and doesn't leave a strong aftertaste in your mouth. It's not a heavy or harsh taste. I think the change I would like is to have the same taste with less nicotine. It would be healthier for me."

(Woman, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

As noted in Chapter II, Marlboro smokers in general tend to be reluctant, troubled smokers who have worries and anxieties about cigarettes. Their specific criticisms about this brand suggest that they are smoking it more for its presumed image characteristics than for taste satisfaction. That most of these complainers smoke Marlboro regulars also suggests the possibility that they may eventually move to Marlboro Lights. ✓

The name and package communicate pride, along with boastfulness and incongruities. The name brings up associations to England, royalty and aristocracy, with the attendant themes of sophistication and elegance. These ideas seem at odds with the roughly masculine mood of Marlboro's image and promotion.

"The name sounds English. The package has a royal crest. Where do they get all this Western cowboy stuff when the package is more along the regal line?"
(Man, 25-34, Winston Regular)

"Sometimes I wonder how the hell they came up with a name like Marlboro. The advertisement shows a rough individual. The person is usually on a horse, suggesting that if you smoke this cigarette, then you will be macho man or have the image of a macho man."
(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

The package design has flair. The irregular patterns and lines give it an eye-catching appeal. The white point suggests a mountain peak or military overtones; the arrow-like projection pointing up makes a positive, forceful statement. ✓

"The Winston package is very plain. It has a little crown, reminds me it might be good, but not too good. I like the

symbol on the Marlboro package. It seems like royalty, a very good product. I like the white part that comes up into a peak; reminds me of a snow-covered mountain."

(Woman, 25-34, Marlboro Lights)

"Both packages are bold. The red stands out. The Winston package is more common. The Marlboro package looks more imperial, more military. The crest implies quality. The peak looks impressive, pointing up."

(Woman, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

The crest has a regal, if somewhat snobbish, air. Some feel that the rampant horses fit in with the Marlboro Country theme. The Latin motto is not always understood; those who know what it means interpret it as signifying Marlboro's superiority and enduring popularity.

"The Marlboro name reminds me of a man's cigarette. I associate it with Marlboro Country. I never noticed the symbol before. It's got horses. It's just like Marlboro Country."

(Woman, 35-60, Winston Ultra Lights)

"On the Winston there is a little crown on the package that would indicate good quality. On the Marlboro, the horses and crown look like a royal insignia, kind of snobbish. I don't understand the Latin under it."

(Man, 35-60, Winston Regular)

"On the Marlboro package, the arrow pointing up means a top cigarette. The motto, 'I came, I saw, I conquered.' It's arrived and will be there for a long time. Looks like it would be lighter because of more white than red."

(Man, 18-24, Camel Lights)

Compared to Winston, Marlboro projects a more cohesive, more insistent image. The central element -- machismo within a Western setting -- is extremely well known through the long-standing Marlboro Country campaign. The theme has so much bravado that it intensifies ideas about the brand and its smokers. Men who smoke this brand are not just masculine; they have gone all the way to macho. To take on this mantle brings certain responsibilities, so the men sometimes are defensive in trying to live up to such an image. Marlboro smokers vigorously defend the glamor aspects of their brand, to the point where they work at convincing themselves that they are special and admirable for smoking it.

The consensual integration of the Marlboro image indicates that the promotion has delivered a pointed, consistent message. Even though the campaign has had a long life, people are rarely critical of it as being repetitive or boring. The inherent fantasy in the campaign elicits some ridicule, so Marlboro smokers can be thought of as immature, pretentious people who are striving to achieve the image fostered by this fantasy. They are still in the animated psychological stages of struggle with identity, with social acceptance versus isolation and independent purpose. There is a widespread belief that a main reason people smoke Marlboro is to be with the exciting in-crowd. While this indicates a certain sheeplike quality, the lure of this brand remains potent, likely to continue attracting smokers who are intrigued by what it says about them to smoke Marlboro.

C. CAMEL

As Winston and Marlboro were the main focus of this study, there is limited information on the Camel brand. Most of the image data on Camel is drawn from systematic brand comparisons, which are discussed in the next section. The following discussion summarizes those image characteristics that emerge from the qualitative material, most of which comes from Camel smokers themselves.

Camel is an old-fashioned brand. It is considered one of the oldest brands. Some people express a mild surprise to know that the brand is still around. It is often associated with World War II, as one of the brands popular with servicemen at that time. The old "walk a mile for a Camel" slogan made a strong impact, but there is limited awareness of current advertising for this brand.

"I remember a while back the one of walking a mile for a Camel, but I don't remember any current ads."

(Man, 35-60, Camel Filter)

"I don't really see many Camel ads, maybe a billboard occasionally. I think one has a guy who has dark hair and a mustache and he's sitting in a wicker chair and it says 'Meet the Turk.'"

(Man, 18-24, Camel Lights)

It is regarded as a strong cigarette. Giving further evidence that it is regarded as a dated, old-fashioned brand, many people who do not smoke Camels are not aware that it is now available with a filter. As a result, they often name this as one of the brands they would not want to smoke because of the loose tobacco and an anticipated harsh taste.

"Winstons have more flavor than other light cigarettes. They are satisfying and mild. I won't try the unfiltered ones like Camels and Pall Mall. I don't like to get tobacco on my tongue."

(Woman, 35-60, Winston Lights)

"I wouldn't smoke Pall Mall or Camel. They taste like cigars, like raw tobacco. They're unfiltered and make the throat raspy, too strong."

(Woman, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"I like the idea that Winstons don't burn my throat. They are fairly mild. I don't like Camels, Lucky Strikes or Pall Mall. They are all too strong and are non-filters."

(Woman, 18-24, Winston, Regular)

Camel smokers seem proud to smoke a strong cigarette. Those who smoke the unfiltered version say that the strong tobacco taste is necessary to satisfy their particular craving. They seem pleased to report that they truly enjoy one of the strongest cigarettes on the market. As alternatives, they might consider other non-filters. A few might try Winston or Marlboro or other filter cigarettes with a reputation for delivering a full-bodied taste. However, they claim no interest in the low tar-low nicotine brands, which, compared to their own brand, are like "smoking nothing."

"It has no filter. It's strong and very flavorful. I like it because it's strong and really helps that craving for a cigarette. Some cigarettes do nothing for you. No other brand is like Camel. This is the strongest cigarette that I know of on the market. I might consider Marlboro, which is a little on the strong side, but not as strong as Camel. I would never consider the low tar, low nicotine cigarettes such as Vantage or Virginia Slims. They are like smoking nothing."

(Man, 35-60, Camel Regular)

"They are reliable and they cure my nicotine fits. They're strong. I think Marlboro and Winston are similar to Camels. I wouldn't smoke something like Merit. I don't like them, too much air."

(Man, 25-34, Camel Regular)

"I've been smoking them for more than 30 years. I bummed one from a friend and liked it and made it my brand. They're strong, that's what I like. There's nothing

I dislike about them. The non-filters are similar to them, like Lucky Strike, Pall Mall and Chesterfield. I wouldn't smoke any of the filtered cigarettes. They all have a horrible taste."

(Man, 35-60, Camel Regular)

Smokers of Camel Lights enjoy having a filtered brand, but they, too, feel that their cigarette is stronger and richer tasting than other filtered brands. They describe their brand as having much more taste than other lights or ultra lights, but not as harsh as other regular filters.

"It's middle-of-the-road. It's not as low in tar and nicotine as, say, Carlton or Merit, but not as high as Winston or Marlboro. It's smooth, not harsh, and it's not dry."

(Woman, 25-34, Camel Lights)

"The flavor is different, a little sweeter than Marlboro Lights, which are harsher. It's a little longer burning. Maybe the tobacco is moister or it's the kind of tobacco they use so it doesn't burn as fast. Marlboro Lights was my old brand. I'd smoke them and it would hold me over until I could get the Camels."

(Man, 18-24, Camel Lights)

"It's strong but it has a better taste than others. I like the way it smells. It's an aromatic smell, whereas others smell like they're burning. I might use Marlboro as a second choice."

(Man, 25-34, Camel Lights)

Camel is ruggedly masculine. This is firmly established through two main factors: its history as a wartime cigarette smoked by servicemen, and its reputation as a strong, unfiltered cigarette. The few people who are familiar with the current promotion recall the Camel smoker as rough, masculine

and adventurous. As is the case with Marlboro, women who smoke Camel may need to separate this masculine appeal from their own enjoyment of the brand, or take the Camel man as a sex object.

"Camel has some good advertising. The photography is great. They have a macho dude."

(Man, 25-34, Marlboro Regular)

"Camel advertises about adventure, going into the jungle. They show an adventurous man going to exciting places."

(Man, 35-60, Marlboro Regular)

"The current ads on the billboard say, 'Where a man belongs,' which turns me off. It's a close-up of a hunk, a gorgeous guy smoking."

(Woman, 25-34, Camel Lights)

The masculine overtones of the brand are not always attractive or flattering. Respondents were asked to verbalize the first associations that came to mind when they heard the Camel name. These associations often pick up on the more negative sides of the brand's imagery; the smokers are unappealing and unattractive (convicts, old men, rednecks, hoodlums) and the environments are oppressive and unyielding (desert, zoo, animals).

"Something you would see an old man smoking."

"Strong and terrible. Somebody in jail would smoke them."

"Someone with a tee-shirt with the sleeve rolled up to hold the pack."

"A redneck cigarette. Not many people smoke them."

"Arabs riding camels."

"A camel in the dessert, strong and short."

"Makes me think of the animal, very harsh."

"An animal in the zoo."

"Two-humped camel, brown and dry, very strong."

The Camel brand seems exotic and rarefied. People feel that it is not a popular brand, suggesting that it is for very specialized tastes, not for the average smoker. The name itself seems unusual. The brand has a reputation for being a blend of Turkish tobaccos, which distinguishes it from "ordinary" American brands. The name and the package bring up associations of foreign lands and mysterious settings.

"It implies imported tobacco, Turkish tobacco. It has a pyramid on it, saying it's an old, established brand. The package is very turn-of-the-century-looking, belongs on the dash of an old car."

(Man, 25-34, Camel Regular)

"The name makes me think of the desert, strong, but also gentle if you take the time to try to understand it."

(Man, 25-34, Camel Regular)

"The name suggests Turkish tobaccos, Africa, the mystique of the Arabian movies, the Casbah, maybe a snake charmer in the Far East, or Casablanca."

(Man, 25-34, Camel Lights)

Overall, people, even Camel smokers themselves, are not too clear exactly how to position this brand. Because it seems old and old-fashioned, to smoke it marks the smoker as offbeat and unusual. When people identify it only as a non-filter, they consider it a maverick that is not following the trends of most other brands. It has some of the underpinnings of the Marlboro image, mainly in terms of

strength and masculinity. However, where Marlboro suggests a classic myth, Camel suggests tough and hanging on; where Marlboro carries with it a note of pretention, Camel implies dry, lower class, a lack of sophistication. Camel seems to be an interesting curiosity, a brand in transition that has not fully entered the mainstream of contemporary cigarette brands.

D. BRAND COMPARISONS

Respondents were asked to make several systematic evaluations of and comparisons among Winston, Marlboro, Camel and other brands. Findings from these techniques, reported in tables on the following pages, are summarized below.

People

Respondents were shown pictures of ten people and asked which two of these would be most likely to smoke Winston, Marlboro or Camel. (See page 72 for pictures of people.) Findings are presented in Table 5, by the total sample and by the four smoker groups.

Winston. For the total sample, Winston is most often associated with the middle-aged businessman (#4) and secondarily with the mustached younger man (#2). There are varying associations made by the different smoker groups, along with subtle but revealing rationales for these choices.

Winston smokers most often connect this brand with the middle-aged businessman. They see him as a dignified executive who would have good taste and would want a cigarette brand that also communicates dignity and reserve.

"Looks like the business-type person who knows good taste."

PEOPLE

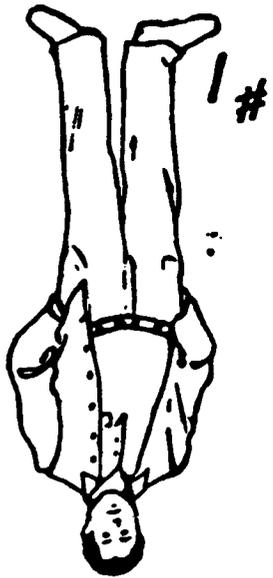
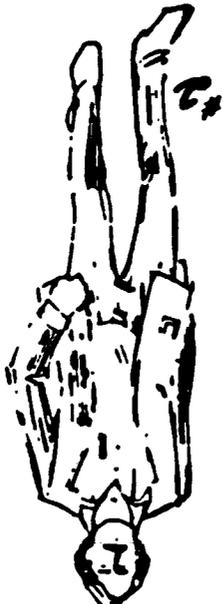
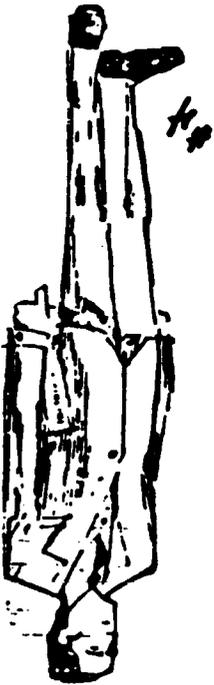
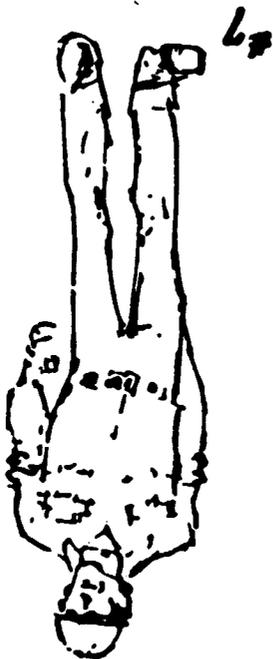
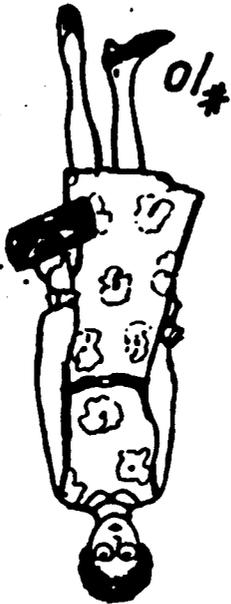


TABLE 5

ASSOCIATIONS OF PEOPLE TYPES TO CIGARETTE BRANDS
N=120

	<u>Total</u> (N=120)	<u>Winston</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=40)	<u>Marlboro</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=41)	<u>Camel</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=19)	<u>"Other"</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=20)
<u>WINSTON</u>					
Person #1	19%	13%	25%	16%	20%
#2	30	28	27	27	40
#3	12	18	12	11	5
#4	36	41	27	37	45
#5	24	18	30	26	20
#6	17	13	22	21	10
#7	22	33	17	16	15
#8	10	5	12	16	10
#9	21	28	12	27	20
#10	9	6	12	5	15
No response	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	-	-
TOTAL	200%	200%	200%	200%	200%
<u>MARLBORO</u>					
Person #1	21%	28%	10%	22%	25%
#2	41	51	46	16	40
#3	25	18	34	16	30
#4	14	18	12	21	-
#5	5	11	2	-	5
#6	8	5	2	16	10
#7	39	31	37	58	40
#8	11	16	9	10	5
#9	36	26	39	42	45
#10	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	-	-
TOTAL	200%	200%	200%	200%	200%
<u>CAMEL</u>					
Person #1	26%	30%	27%	16%	25%
#2	41	38	29	53	55
#3	1	-	2	-	-
#4	7	-	14	11	5
#5	1	-	2	-	-
#6	29	30	36	22	20
#7	76	80	70	59	70
#8	4	5	7	-	-
#9	13	13	10	21	10
#10	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	-	-	<u>15</u>
TOTAL	200%	200%	200%	200%	200%

Note: Totals add up to 200% because each respondent was asked to select two people for each brand.

"He looks like a businessman. I think classy people smoke Winston."

"He is the executive type and this cigarette fits that type of person. It has dignity."

Their second choice is the construction worker (#7), primarily because he resembles the models used in Winston advertising but also because he would enjoy a stronger cigarette.

"The Winston ads show this type of construction worker. It satisfies a strong man's taste."

"He's a rugged man who would like a stronger tasting cigarette."

At the third level, Winston smokers stay with the men, associating the brand with the mustached man (#2) and the college student (#9). The man with the mustache brings to mind the models in the ad, and both men seem the kind of relaxed, average people who would smoke this brand.

(#2) "He looks like the man in the ads. They always have men with mustaches."

(#2) "He looks kind of nonchalant."

(#9) "He looks like an outgoing person."

When Winston smokers select women, it is most often the business woman (#5) and the young girl (#3). Both of these are described as sophisticated women who are poised and secure, not the kind who would select a cigarette brand for reasons other than taste.

(#3) "She looks like a cool chick, like me. She's got jeans on and looks cool, knows what she wants."

(#5) "She's the businesswoman, a working mother, and has proved herself, shown her worth, nothing to prove any more."

(#5) "She's a working woman and sophisticated, and she would pick that brand."

Among Marlboro smokers, the first association to Winston is the businesswoman. They are generally complimentary about this, saying that she is an executive type, neat and professional, qualities they associate with this brand.

"Today's modern woman, very chic, very professional, a person on the go."

"She's neat, in a suit. I've seen quite a few like her that smoke Winston."

"She looks like an executive-type businesswoman who would like Winstons."

At the secondary level, Marlboro smokers select the mustached man and the middle-aged businessman. In their view, these men seem average and middle-of-the-road, casual in their orientation, the kind who would like a milder cigarette. The implication is that these men are not "unusual" enough to prefer Marlboro.

(#2) "He looks like a more mellow person, and I think Winston is mild."

(#2) "He looks casual. He wouldn't want a cigarette that's too strong, but he wants flavor."

(#4) "I just associate the straight businessman with Winston."

(#4) "He looks like the office manager type. It's just popular with a lot of regular, ordinary people."

Marlboro smokers select the ordinary man (#1) because he suggests the lower-status image they attach to Winston, and the older businessman (#6) because of their conviction that this brand appeals to older, quieter people.

- (#1) "He's the street type, tennis shoes and leather jacket."
- (#6) "A lot of old people smoke Winstons."
- (#6) "I associate that cigarette with older, sedate people."

Other associations of Marlboro smokers reflect the animosity they feel toward this brand, selecting people they describe as lower status, unsophisticated, uninteresting.

- (#7) "This is the type of individual that's exemplified in Winston ads, a blue-collar worker."
- (#7) "He would fulfill the character that their ads are trying to portray, just sitting there on top of his iron-frame building, just puffing away."
- (#8) "She looks sleazy, like she'd take second-best."
- (#10) "She reminds me of an office worker, sits in a cubbyhole and does her thing."

Camel smokers tend to be benign in their choice of Winston smokers. They select the businessmen because they seem like quiet and reserved people who would like a mild cigarette. They select the younger men because they seem like college students who would want a popular cigarette. The businesswoman would want a cigarette that is both sophisticated and mild.

- (#2) "He looks like a college student. It's a popular brand in the dorms."
- (#4) "It's kind of an in-between cigarette, not too strong, not too weak, and he looks like a teacher who would like that."
- (#6) "Looks like a stockbroker, a commuter type."
- (#5) "She's a businesswoman who tries to impress her peers and customers and wants a classy cigarette that's not too strong."

Smokers of other brands tend to follow comparable selections and use similar rationales. Their first associations are to the businessman and the mustached younger man.

Marlboro. For the total sample, Marlboro is most often connected with the mustached man, the construction worker, and the college student.

For Winston smokers, the first choice is the mustached man, mainly because he projects the kind of masculinity that they associate with the Marlboro Man.

"To me, Marlboro is a masculine cigarette, and he looks masculine."

"He looks like the athletic type, strong type, gives you the impression he could be a cowboy type, rugged, in good shape."

"He looks like the Marlboro Man."

Winston smokers also select the construction worker for Marlboro, saying that he embodies the rough, rugged, macho aspect depicted in promotions.

"He relates to their advertising, a rugged individual."

"He looks macho, like they show in their ads."

To indicate their disdain for this brand, they associate Marlboro with the ordinary man (#1), saying that he looks common and somewhat substandard, a person without refinement who would show little taste in his choice of brand.

"He's a very common person, looks like he would smoke a common brand."

"He looks like he'd smoke anything."

Winston smokers select the college student (and, to a lesser extent, the young woman) to illustrate their notion that Marlboro smokers choose this brand in order to go along with the crowd and in order to show their sophistication.

(#9) "The type of guy who'd hang out with a crowd and smoke the crowd's brand, which is usually Marlboro."

(#9) "He looks like he thinks he's cool and, if he smokes Marlboro, he would be cool."

(#3) "She looks young, and those are cigarettes most young people smoke."

For their own brand, Marlboro smokers select the mustached man as epitomizing the characteristics that they like to associate with themselves: youth, virility, contemporaneity, sophistication, discernment in choice of cigarettes.

"He looks young and virile."

"He looks like today's man about town, very modern, very up to date, very with it. He enjoys the good rich taste of Marlboro."

"He's a guy with boots and sort of the Western type who looks like the ones in the ads."

"Looks like an all-around person, like the Marlboro Man."

They select the construction worker because he embodies the rough machismo they believe the Marlboro promotion appeals to.

"He's a hard-hat construction worker, rugged, reminds me of the Marlboro Man."

"He's the type that Marlboro addresses in the ads. He's their market."

Marlboro smokers also choose the two younger people. The college student is defined as the kind of person who would succumb to peer pressure in his brand choice. The young woman seems outdoorsy and athletic, qualities that seem appropriate to Marlboro.

(#9) "Other people smoke that brand, so he would, too."

(#9) "Looks like a young college student. If they smoke, they tend to smoke Marlboros."

(#3) "Typical outdoors girl who likes a stronger cigarette."

(#3) "She's a free-spirited outdoor type of gal, today's active woman."

Camel and Other Brand smokers tend to select people who fit the stereotype of the Marlboro smoker. They choose the mustached man as typifying the trendy, not fully mature person who is holding on to the Marlboro imagery. The hard-hat worker seems burly and rough enough to handle the taste of this brand. The college student, oriented to fads, is an inveterate joiner.

- (#2) "He grew up in the '70's and it became big then. He looks like an older teenager who didn't grow up, someone holding on to the '70's."
- (#7) "I have many friends who are big, muscular types and smoke Marlboros. The heftier they are, the more they can take."
- (#9) "He's a college kid who is trying to impress everyone and telling them he smokes what they smoke out West."

Camel. Of the three brands, Camel shows the greatest consensus among the total sample. The great majority associates this brand with the construction worker, reflecting the general feeling that this is an exceptionally strong (unfiltered) and lower status cigarette.

"Construction workers try to be as macho as possible, so they smoke the strongest cigarette they can get their hands on."

"He looks like he could handle the harsh taste."

"A lot of construction workers I've seen smoke non-filters."

"He would smoke Camels so no one would bum any from him."

Winston smokers select the mustached man as their second choice, focusing on the exotic, intriguing nature of the Camel brand.

"He looks Turkish, and Camel has Turkish tobacco."

"He looks like a street person that picked up the Camel habit from a friend."

Marlboro smokers select the older businessman as their second choice, reflecting their notion that Camel is a very old brand preferred by long-term, committed smokers.

"He looks elderly, and Camels have been on the market since Day One."

"He looks like he has been smoking them all his life. He looks like a man who would not enjoy a filter cigarette."

In characterizing their own brand, Camel smokers seem to be of two minds. On the one hand, they associate the brand with the mustached man for generally positive reasons: he seems likeable, he is athletic, he has a foreign look about him, and he resembles the models in Camel ads.

"He looks like an easygoing person."

"He's big and athletic and would want a strong cigarette."

"With his mustache, he looks Turkish."

"He looks like their ads, mid-long hair, ruggedly dressed."

On the other hand, they associate the brand with the construction worker as if conceding the stereotype that Camel is a strong (unfiltered) cigarette that aims at and appeals to rugged, lower-status men.

"Rough kind of person wants to smoke a rough kind of cigarette."

"Their advertising seems geared toward strong, masculine men."

"He looks like the type who doesn't care if he gets tobacco in his mouth."

"He's a hard-working construction worker, would want something strong."

Famous People

Respondents were read the names of seven well-known people and asked whether each would more likely smoke Winston or Marlboro. Findings are presented in Table 6.

Ronald Reagan. For the total sample, Reagan is thought to prefer Winston over Marlboro by an almost two-to-one margin. There are variations among the smoker groups, accompanied by differing rationales.

The Winston smokers are about evenly split in assigning the two brands to Reagan. When they assign Winston to him it is because they see him as a conservative, dependable person who wants a dependable, middle-of-the-road cigarette. As President, he can choose what he wants, and Winston is deemed a high-quality cigarette.

"He's a strong figure, but kind of mild."

"He is a respectable, honest man, dependable, an all-American type."

"It's a class cigarette that's good enough for a President."

When Winston smokers assign Marlboro to Reagan, their political views clearly come to the fore. They find him an ineffective President whose insecurities and pretensions would lead him to choose Marlboro.

"Winstons are too good for him. He doesn't deserve them."

"He's trying to prove something, that he's capable of doing his job."

TABLE 6

ASSOCIATIONS OF FAMOUS PEOPLE TO WINSTON AND MARLBORO
N=120

	<u>Total</u> (N=120)	<u>Winston</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=40)	<u>Marlboro</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=41)	<u>Camel</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=19)	<u>"Other"</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=20)
<u>RONALD REAGAN</u>					
Winston	61%	48%	71%	68%	60%
Marlboro	35	50	27	26	30
Both	-	-	-	-	-
Neither	4	3	2	5	10
<u>JANE FONDA</u>					
Winston	48%	58%	41%	42%	50%
Marlboro	44	33	56	58	33
Both	1	3	-	-	-
Neither	6	5	2	-	20
No response	1	3	-	-	-
<u>CLINT EASTWOOD</u>					
Winston	18%	38%	5%	5%	20%
Marlboro	78	53	95	95	75
Both	2	3	-	-	5
Neither	3	8	-	-	-
<u>SUZANNE SOMERS</u>					
Winston	57%	58%	59%	68%	40%
Marlboro	28	28	32	11	40
Both	3	-	5	2	5
Neither	12	13	7	16	15
No response	1	3	-	-	-
<u>BURT REYNOLDS</u>					
Winston	24%	40%	7%	16%	35%
Marlboro	72	53	93	84	55
Both	4	8	-	-	10
Neither	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 6 (continued)

ASSOCIATIONS OF FAMOUS PEOPLE TO WINSTON AND MARLBORO
N=120

	<u>Total</u> (N=120)	<u>Winston</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=40)	<u>Marlboro</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=41)	<u>Camel</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=19)	<u>"Other"</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=20)
<u>SYLVESTER STALLONE</u>					
Winston	24%	35%	20%	21%	15%
Marlboro	65	48	71	79	75
Both	2	5	-	-	-
Neither	8	10	10	-	10
No response	1	3	-	-	-
<u>DOLLY PARTON</u>					
Winston	52%	45%	54%	53%	60%
Marlboro	29	33	34	26	15
Both	3	3	5	5	-
Neither	16	20	7	16	25

"Because I'm a Winston smoker and we're different. He thinks differently than I do. He cut my father's Social Security in half."

"It's a macho cigarette and he's a macho chauvinistic pig."

Marlboro smokers are much more apt to see Reagan as a Winston smoker. They do so rarely for political reasons. Rather, they see Reagan and Winston as old, conservative, mild, and somewhat higher status.

"He's a ninny."

"It's an older cigarette and has an image of conservatism, like him."

"Winston is more of an upper-class cigarette than a Marlboro."

"He's a mild person and it's a mild cigarette."

The minority of Marlboro smokers who align Reagan with their brand do so for the stereotypical Marlboro Country reasons that he used to appear in Western movies and is known to ride horses.

"He looks rugged and I've seen a lot of his movies."

"In his old movies, he had a tough-guy image."

"He's the outdoor type. He's comfortable on a horse in the wide open spaces."

Camel and Other Brand smokers connect Reagan more often with Marlboro, either because of his cowboy movies or because he wants to project an aura of commanding toughness. Those who connect him with Winston say he is not macho enough to go for Marlboro.

(Marlboro) "He was a cowboy in the movies."

(Marlboro) "He likes to appear tough."

(Winston) "Marlboro would be too strong
for him."

(Winston) "No way does he appear macho to
me, even though he rides a horse."

Jane Fonda. The total sample is about evenly split on whether Fonda would prefer Winston or Marlboro. The split occurs because both Winston smokers and Marlboro smokers want to claim her as their own.

Winston smokers describe Fonda as a sophisticated, urban woman, friendly and likeable but very strong-willed. She is an independent person who has shown leadership abilities in her political activities. She is too level-headed to be swayed by advertising.

"She reminds me of a city type, and the
country type I associate with Marlboro."

"She's easygoing, but very firm in her con-
victions."

"She's a leader, into ERA and all that."

"They're more sophisticated than Marlboro."

"She's no-nonsense, working on a political
campaign, doesn't pay attention to adver-
tising."

Marlboro smokers stress the more extreme aspects of Fonda's reputation in calling her a Marlboro smoker. They describe her as a rugged and rebellious radical who leads an eventful and exciting life. As a younger person, she would prefer this richer tasting cigarette.

"She's more open, rebellious, fairly young."

"It's a young person's cigarette and a liberal cigarette."

"She's a feminist, a rugged, outgoing individual."

"She lives in the fast lane."

"She's a pretty tough woman, and would want a stronger cigarette."

Camel smokers give the edge to Winston as Fonda's cigarette, mainly because they feel it is more appropriate for women. Other Brand smokers say she would smoke Marlboro because of her aggressiveness and independence.

(Winston) "Winston is a little more feminine than Marlboro."

(Marlboro) "Strong, individual-type person."

(Marlboro) "She's a little radical, the hippie type, has a strong personality."

Clint Eastwood. Almost four-fifths of the total sample associate Eastwood with Marlboro. Only Winston smokers do not take this extreme position. When they say he would smoke Winston, it is because he is handsome and masculine but can also be likeable and easygoing.

"He's laid back."

"He's rugged, my favorite actor, manly, handsome."

"He represents the type of person Winston appeals to."

"It's a masculine cigarette and he's masculine."

All other smoker groups point out that Eastwood is the embodiment of the Marlboro Man. He personifies the macho cowboy, a rough and aggressive man who can handle himself in any kind of difficult situation. With his "Any Which Way You Can" reputation, he could be the model in the Marlboro advertising.

"Macho, there's no question about that."

"He's an aggressive, macho cowboy."

"A man's man, can take care of himself, needs no help."

"His whole image, he could be the guy who advertises Marlboro with the rugged look."

"Rugged, strong, kind of aggressive."

"He's rough and tough, hangs out with orangutans."

Suzanne Somers. There is some unwillingness to connect Somers with either of these brands, but the trend among all smoker groups is to associate her with Winston. She is described as soft and decidedly feminine. Because she has none of the macho characteristics that go with Marlboro, she would prefer the mildness associated with Winston.

"She's more of a lady type, not a tomboy, so she'd smoke Winston."

"She's very feminine and soft-spoken and would like a lighter cigarette."

"She's soft and feminine, wouldn't want a strong cigarette."

"She's the opposite of the macho image."

"She wouldn't want to appear in any way masculine. Actually, she'd really like a pink-papered cigarette."

Burt Reynolds. About three-fourths of the total sample say that Reynolds would most likely smoke Marlboro. As they do with Clint Eastwood, some Winston smokers want him to join their camp. They focus on the "softer" aspects of his image and reputation: a likeable, fun-loving, laid-back person.

"I like Burt Reynolds. He's a good ole boy."

"He's more liberal, a fun-loving cut-up."

"He's an all-around man. Everybody would like him."

Winston smokers are ambivalent about Reynolds because they do realize that he projects a strongly masculine image that seems more compatible with Marlboro. One Winston smoker solves the dilemma by saying that he would smoke both brands: "When he's cute, he smokes Winston. When he's macho, he smokes Marlboro."

For all other cigarette brand groups, Reynolds is more apt to smoke Marlboro because of his pervasive masculinity and his association with Western movie roles.

"He's strong and manly."

"He's a macho he-man and wants a strong cigarette."

"He would want to carry the image of smoking a man's cigarette."

"His tough image, free spirit, looks Western with his boots and cowboy hats."

Sylvester Stallone. He is in a position similar to Eastwood and Reynolds. For the total sample, he seems much more likely to smoke Marlboro. When Winston smokers say he would smoke their brand, it is because he is identified as a distinctly urban person, far removed from the Western setting of Marlboro. Those who like him say that in spite of his boxer image, he is not as aggressive as a Marlboro smoker would be.

"He reminds me more of a city-type person living in a rough area and smoking a strong cigarette."

"He'd want a strong yet smooth cigarette."

"He's not as mean as a Marlboro smoker would be."

All other smoker groups focus on Stallone's Rocky image as the tough and lusty fighter who is aggressively masculine in all situations.

"He's the mean-looking type."

"When you think of Rocky, you think of a fighter, one who can take care of himself."

"He's strong, and so is Marlboro."

"He's obnoxiously macho."

"The tougher the guy, the tougher the cigarette."

Dolly Parton. More than any other famous person, respondents feel that Parton would smoke neither brand. Their view is that because she is a singer and because of her quintessential femininity, if she smoked at all, it would be a very low tar-low nicotine brand.

All smoker groups are more apt to see her as a Winston smoker. The prevalent view is that this brand is milder than Marlboro, making it more suitable for both a woman and a singer.

"Winston would be more gentle on her throat. Being a singer, she worries about that."

"She would smoke a more ladylike cigarette."

"It's what's up front that counts, and she knows it."

"She doesn't want a harsh or strong cigarette."

When people associate Parton with Marlboro, it is because she seems too outrageously voluptuous to fit in with the more conservative and sedate Winston character. Although no one doubts her femininity, she projects the kind of hypersexuality that would make her "one of the boys." Further, her Country-Western background gives her entry into Marlboro Country.

"She wants to keep up with the boys."

"Because of the cowboy image, and she's country."

"She'd want the harshest and biggest and most of anything."

"She's got the lungs for it."

"Dolly's a man's woman, outgoing personality, fun-loving, game for anything."

"For some reason, I think of women with large bosoms smoking Marlboro."

Respondents were also asked to spontaneously name any famous people they could think of who might be Winston or Marlboro smokers.

Table 7 presents the spontaneous associations to famous Winston smokers, broken out by brand groups. In naming famous people who would smoke their brand, Winston smokers name many more men than women, and include quite a few entertainers associated with Western films. Their rationales for these selections revolve around four main themes:

- They value masculinity that stops short of being macho. Many of the men entertainers have a tough-guy screen image, but Winston smokers prefer to admire them for characteristics other than pure masculinity.

"John Wayne. He was macho, but he didn't have to smoke Marlboro to prove he was macho."

"John Wayne. 'Cause he's a cowboy, but kind of a classy cowboy."

"Clint Eastwood seems like a person that would smoke a Winston. He's carefree."

"Paul Newman. I picture him with Winston. Strong and masculine. He's clean, orderly, a more tailored individual."

- Winston stands for stylishness, status and success. Winston smokers admire men who are socially and sexually adept, men who have culture and professional achievement.

"Richard Gere. The American Gigolo. He's real classy. He's a real suave guy."

"Cary Grant. He's the executive type who would enjoy a Winston."

TABLE 7

SPONTANEOUS ASSOCIATIONS TO FAMOUS WINSTON SMOKERS

(Each name below was mentioned once in each smoker group, unless otherwise indicated)

WINSTON SMOKERSEntertainment

John Wayne (9)
 Dean Martin (5)
 Tom Selleck (4)
 Humphrey Bogart (4)
 Clint Eastwood (3)
 Mick Jagger (2)
 Frank Sinatra (2)
 Marlon Brando (2)
 Burt Reynolds (2)
 Jane Fonda (2)
 Sophia Loren (2)
 John Forsythe
 Cary Grant
 Merv Griffin
 Paul Newman
 Robin Williams
 James Stewart
 Robert Redford
 Richard Gere
 John Lennon
 Erik Estrada
 Alex Karras
 Elvis Presley
 Archie Bunker
 James Dean
 Clint Walker
 Neil Diamond
 Linda Gray
 Bette Davis
 Elizabeth Taylor
 Phyllis Diller
 Marilyn Monroe
 Judy Garland
 Mae West

Politics

Winston Churchill (4)
 Senator Ted Kennedy
 Governor King (Massachusetts)
 Ronald Reagan
 Richard Nixon
 Franklin D. Roosevelt
 John F. Kennedy
 Leon Jaworski
 Nancy Reagan

Historical

George Washington
 Benjamin Franklin

Sports

Mario Andretti

Other

Norman Rockwell
 General Patton
 Walter Cronkite
 Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis
 Lillian Carter

None (2)

TABLE 7 (continued)

SPONTANEOUS ASSOCIATIONS TO FAMOUS WINSTON SMOKERS

(Each name below was mentioned once in each smoker group, unless otherwise indicated)

MARLBORO SMOKERSEntertainment

Johnny Carson (5)
 John Wayne (3)
 Burt Reynolds (3)
 Dean Martin (3)
 Robert Redford (3)
 Elizabeth Taylor (3)
 Henry Fonda (2)
 Jerry Lewis (2)
 Grace Kelly (2)
 Bette Davis (2)
 James Garner
 Walter Matthau
 Sammy Davis, Jr.
 Wally Cox
 Clark Gable
 Richard Kiel
 Cary Grant
 Frank Sinatra
 Archie Bunker
 Tom Snyder
 Jim Nabors
 Peter Fonda
 Dom DeLuise
 Burgess Meredith
 Jack Benny
 Elvis Presley
 Lawrence Olivier
 Humphrey Bogart
 Steve McQueen
 Florence Henderson
 Sally Field
 Yoko Ono
 Doris Day
 Barbara Walters
 Jane Fonda
 Joan Crawford
 Marilyn Monroe
 Shirley MacLaine
 Ann-Margret
 Olivia de Havilland
 Natalie Wood

Politics

Ronald Reagan (3)
 Jimmy Carter (2)
 Henry Kissinger (2)
 Richard Nixon (2)
 Lech Walesa
 George Busbee (Governor of Georgia)
 Franklin D. Roosevelt
 Alexander Haig
 Barry Goldwater
 Gerald Ford
 John F. Kennedy

Historical

George Washington

Sports

Richard Petty
 Earl Campbell
 Jerry Pate
 Steve Garvey

Other

Jimmy Hoffa
 "My dad"
 Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis

None (1)

TABLE 7 (continued)

SPONTANEOUS ASSOCIATIONS TO FAMOUS WINSTON SMOKERS

(Each name below was mentioned once in each smoker group, unless otherwise indicated)

CAMEL SMOKERSEntertainment

Sammy Davis, Jr. (2)
 Jerry Lewis (2)
 Johnny Carson (2)
 Dean Martin (2)
 Bette Davis (2)
 James Garner
 Roger Moore
 Burt Reynolds
 Steve McQueen
 Alan Alda
 Frank Sinatra
 Dom DeLuise
 Peter Fonda
 Clint Eastwood
 Rock Hudson
 Jim Brown

Politics

Ronald Reagan (2)
 Richard Nixon (2)
 Winston Churchill (2)
 Franklin D. Roosevelt
 Menachem Begin
 Anwar Sadat
 Henry Kissinger

Historical

Moses
 William Shakespeare
 Abraham Lincoln

Sports

Bobby Allison
 Henry Aaron
 Dale Murphy

"OTHER" SMOKERSEntertainment

Clint Eastwood (4)
 Johnny Carson (2)
 Tom Selleck (2)
 Burt Reynolds (2)
 John Wayne (2)
 Sean Connery
 Tex Ritter
 Elvis Presley
 Dean Martin
 Jackie Gleason
 Frank Sinatra
 Jack Klugman
 Tom Snyder
 Lee Majors
 Joan Crawford

Politics

Richard Nixon
 Lyndon B. Johnson
 Franklin D. Roosevelt
 Ronald Reagan
 Walter Mondale
 Alexander Haig
 Golda Meir

Sports

Ted Williams
 Walt Garrison

Other

F. Lee Bailey
 Al Capp
 General Patton
 Lee Iacocca

"Frank Sinatra. He is a very successful person and he does smoke, and it would give him a taste he would enjoy."

- Winston smokers like to think of themselves as easygoing and people oriented. They name famous people who are friendly and sociable, or who give evidence of caring about their fellow men.

"Burt Reynolds. He comes across pretty much as an outgoing individual who does pretty much what he wants. He wants a satisfying cigarette."

"Ted Kennedy. His image is one of being strong when he has to be, but concerned and gentle. He supports minorities and the elderly and handicapped, so he'd want a cigarette that has plenty of taste but is not harsh."

- Famous women are accepted in the Winston group, especially if they are strong-willed and decisive. Winston smokers do not think of their brand as suitable for frilly women. In their view, the cigarette appeals to independent women who are thinkers and doers.

"Jane Fonda. A hard-thinking, straightforward person."

"Bette Davis. She has a certain air about her, outspoken, and she seems to be the type of person who would do what she wanted to regardless of what others said or did, because she would enjoy it."

"Lillian Carter. She's outspoken. She seems self-assured, like she'd enjoy a good cigarette, a good drink, a good anything."

In naming famous people who would smoke Winston, Marlboro smokers include more women and fewer ruggedly masculine types. Their rationales, generally more negative in tone, take one of four directions.

- They see Winston as an old cigarette that would be favored by older people.

"Lawrence Olivier. He's an older, conservative person."

"Johnny Carson. He seems the older gentleman type."

- They define Winston as a conservative cigarette for middle-of-the-road smokers. These people often have higher status and are labelled as successful achievers.

"Henry Kissinger. He's a middle-of-the-road-type person, and that's the status of the cigarette, by my personal observation. I think of Kissinger as a #2 person, like Winston."

"John Kennedy. Winston seems like a cigarette that businessmen smoke."

"Conservative politicians would smoke Winstons: Alexander Haig, Richard Nixon, Barry Goldwater, Gerald Ford. It's an old, conservative brand."

- They also attach a lower-class trait to the Winston brand. Based on their personal assumptions as well as their recall of the advertising, they often see blue-collar workers smoking it.

"Jimmy Hoffa. He was the type of blue-collar worker who came up the ranks to head a blue-collar union."

"Lech Walesa. Every time you see the man, he has a cigarette in his hand. As a representative of a worker's union, he exemplifies the ideal of the working man Winston smoker."

"Clark Gable. He smoked, and there was something low-class about him. Winstons were very popular back then."

-- Many Marlboro smokers think of Winston as a mild cigarette. As such, they see it as suitable for women and for people who smoke heavily and do not want to suffer ill effects.

"Elizabeth Taylor. She's a strong lady and she'd want taste from her cigarette, but she wouldn't want it to be too strong or harsh."

"Ronald Reagan. He's not rough and tough, and Winston is not a cigarette for a rough and tough person. It's mild."

"Yoko Ono. She's a chain-smoker and you could chain-smoke Winstons and they won't kill you or ruin your throat. Tom Snyder also smokes a lot. You couldn't chain-smoke a Marlboro."

Camel and Other Brand smokers name very few women as famous Winston smokers. The main thrust in their imagery is of a man who is comfortable with his masculinity and who wants a cigarette that is not too strong and not too mild. They include moderation and conservatism in their perception of this brand.

"Henry Kissinger. He's a moderate, not wishy-washy."

"Burt Reynolds. He's masculine but not macho."

"Jerry Lewis. He was smoking all the time on a recent telethon, and I don't think he could smoke a real strong cigarette and continue smoking it for 24 hours."

"Sammy Davis, Jr. He smokes a lot, and I think he could smoke a filtered, milder type cigarette so he could smoke more of them."

"James Garner. He's not a real tough guy to want a real strong cigarette, but he wouldn't smoke a low tar, either, because that would be too weak."

Table 8 presents the associations to famous Marlboro smokers, again broken out by brand groups. In their list, Winston smokers name only four women as Marlboro smokers. They include many Western figures, predictably led by John Wayne, Clint Eastwood and Burt Reynolds. They follow two main themes in explaining their selections.

- First, Winston smokers play back the persistent promotional theme of Marlboro Country, so anyone who is associated with the West seems likely to smoke this brand.

"John Wayne. He comes across as the cowboy type that is shown in the ads, and I can picture him sitting on a horse smoking a Marlboro."

"Lee Majors. He looks like a cowboy, and I relate Marlboros to cowboys. Also Barbara Stanwyck. She looks like a cowgirl."

"Burt Reynolds, John Wayne, Gene Autry, the Long Ranger, Dale Evans: they all fit the cowboy image."

- Second, there are some Winston smokers who resist and deny the appeals of Marlboro's image and promotion. They feel that it is more aptly

TABLE 8

SPONTANEOUS ASSOCIATIONS TO FAMOUS MARLBORO SMOKERS

(Each name below was mentioned once in each smoker group, unless otherwise indicated)

WINSTON SMOKERSEntertainment

John Wayne (16)
 Clint Eastwood (5)
 Burt Reynolds (4)
 Tom Selleck (4)
 Robert Redford (4)
 Charles Bronson (2)
 Lee Marvin (2)
 Dan Blocker (2)
 Kirk Douglas
 J. R. Ewing
 Robert Conrad
 Cliff Robertson
 Jim Davis
 Marlon Brando
 Scott Baio
 Jack Klugman
 James Bond
 William Holden
 Robert Blake
 Lee Majors
 Gene Autry
 The Lone Ranger
 Neil Diamond
 Rock Hudson
 James Dean
 Charlton Heston
 Jerry Lewis
 James Garner
 Roy Rogers
 Jodi Foster
 Barbara Stanwyck
 Dale Evans
 Carol Burnett

Politics

Ronald Reagan (2)
 Michael Stanley Dukakis (former
 Governor of Massachusetts)
 Richard Nixon

Sports

Ken Stabler
 Dick Butkus

None (1)

TABLE 8 (continued)

SPONTANEOUS ASSOCIATIONS TO FAMOUS MARLBORO SMOKERS

(Each name below was mentioned once in each smoker group, unless otherwise indicated)

MARLBORO SMOKERSEntertainment

John Wayne (15)
 Clint Eastwood (8)
 Burt Reynolds (6)
 Tom Selleck (5)
 Frank Sinatra (2)
 Clark Gable (2)
 Robert Redford (2)
 Paul Newman (2)
 Johnny Carson
 Telly Savalas
 Gary Cooper
 Jack Nicholson
 Lorne Green
 Michael Landon
 Willie Nelson
 James Stewart
 Richard Boone
 Charles Bronson
 James Caan
 George Carlin
 Elvis Presley
 Dean Martin
 Steve McQueen
 J. R. Ewing
 Don Meredith
 Robert Blake
 Richard Long
 James Garner
 Steve Perry
 Mick Jagger
 Clark Kent
 John Belushi
 Phil Collins
 Jan-Michael Vincent
 Roy Rogers
 Humphrey Bogart
 Farrah Fawcett
 Katharine Hepburn
 Rita Hayworth
 Elizabeth Taylor
 Connie Stevens
 Doris Day

Politics

John F. Kennedy (2)
 James Watt
 Jerry Brown
 Jimmy Carter
 Theodore Roosevelt
 Ronald Reagan

Historical

Abraham Lincoln

Other

Ted Turner (2)
 George Plimpton
 Zane Grey
 Ernest Hemingway
 "Cowboys"

None (1)

TABLE 8 (continued)

SPONTANEOUS ASSOCIATIONS TO FAMOUS MARLBORO SMOKERS

(Each name below was mentioned once in each smoker group, unless otherwise indicated)

CAMEL SMOKERSEntertainment

John Wayne (8)
 Tom Selleck (5)
 Johnny Cash
 Telly Savalas
 Robert Redford
 George Hamilton
 Jim Davis
 Jerry Lewis
 Errol Flynn
 Kirk Douglas
 Kris Kristofferson
 Burt Reynolds
 Clint Eastwood
 Jim Brown
 Lauren Bacall
 Grace Slick
 Barbra Streisand

Historical

Leonardo da Vinci
 Abraham Lincoln

Sports

Delvin (British golf pro)

Other

Howard Hughes
 "Cowboys"

"OTHER" SMOKERSEntertainment

John Wayne (9)
 Burt Reynolds (3)
 Clint Eastwood (2)
 Humphrey Bogart (2)
 Tom Selleck (2)
 Charles Bronson (2)
 Ed Asner
 James Garner
 Gary Cooper
 Sylvester Stallone
 Joe Namath
 Sam Elliott
 Maurice Chevalier
 Jane Fonda

Politics

Ronald Reagan
 John F. Kennedy
 Theodore Roosevelt

Historical

Jesse James

Sports

Ken Stabler

None (1)

suited to rough, undesirably masculine types. In their opinion, the macho image is a sham, a pretentious camouflage for the insecure.

"Richard Nixon. He's still trying to prove something and he's obnoxious enough to fit the image of the brand."

"Ken Stabler. He's a football quarterback, but in off-season he puts on a cowboy hat and boots, and puts on the image of the Marlboro Man."

"Charles Bronson. I guess it's the roles he plays. He always plays a tough guy, somebody on the outside of the law. Lee Marvin, seems like he drinks a lot. He seems ragged."

In naming famous people who would smoke their brand, Marlboro smokers are single-minded and even obsessive in naming people who belong in Marlboro Country. They repeatedly give the cliched explanations of macho and muscle to explain their selections.

"John Wayne, Willie Nelson, Ted Turner, Jimmy Stewart. I can lump them all into the same explanation. They're rugged, individualistic, their own person, active and outdoorsy."

"Tom Selleck reminds me of the Marlboro Man, the mustache and the muscles."

"John Wayne and Clint Eastwood. They're rugged, macho, outdoor men."

"John Wayne is as rugged as they come, like the Marlboro Man, only more so."

"Clark Gable. He gave the appearance of being a very rugged human being. The illusion is given in the advertising that rugged people smoke it. Robert Redford also fits the category of being a man's man."

Camel and Other Brand smokers tend to follow the Winston smoker pattern in describing famous Marlboro smokers. On the one hand, they, too, name people who seem to approximate the model in the ads. On the other hand, they seem amused at the transparency and underlying affectation in the Marlboro image.

"John Wayne and Kirk Douglas, both have a rough-guy image. Tom Selleck. He has the macho image and would enjoy a strong cigarette."

"Tom Selleck. He did the ads for them. I think he's the exact type that the Marlboro advertising goes after."

"George Hamilton. Someone who is not as wonderful as he thinks he is. When I was growing up, the guys who wanted to be very cool smoked Marlboro."

"All the cowboys in the world, drugstore and otherwise."

Symbols

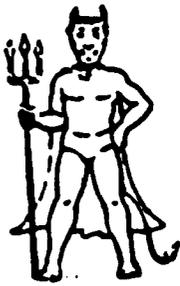
Respondents were shown pictures of 14 symbols and were asked which two of these came closest to fitting how they felt about one of six cigarette brands. Results are presented in Table 9.

Winston. For the total sample, the three symbols most often associated with this brand are the globe (for Winston's worldwide popularity), the medal (for its good taste and popularity), and the trees (suggesting a refreshing smoking experience).

Winston smokers go along with these symbols, also adding the sun to indicate the bright and relaxing ideas they have about smoking the brand.

PICTURES

105



#1
DEVIL



#8
BEEF



#2
SUN



#9
MISER



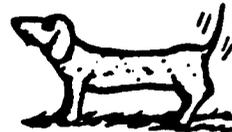
#3
GLOBE



#10
GUN



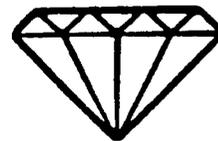
#4
CORNUCOPIA



#11
DOG



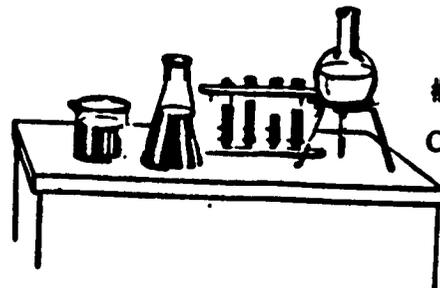
#5
MEDAL



#12
DIAMOND



#6
CIRCUS



#13
CHEMICALS



#7
TREES



#14
FLAG

TABLE 9

ASSOCIATIONS OF SYMBOLS TO CIGARETTE BRANDS
N=120

	<u>Total</u> (N=120)	<u>Winston</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=40)	<u>Marlboro</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=41)	<u>Camel</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=19)	<u>"Other"</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=20)
<u>WINSTON</u>					
Devil	10%	5%	9%	16%	15%
Sun	16	23	9	16	15
Globe	33	36	27	43	30
Cornucopia	6	6	12	-	-
Medal	22	38	15	10	15
Circus	12	8	22	11	-
Trees	20	23	12	37	15
Beef	15	18	14	5	20
Miser	5	-	7	10	-
Gun	12	3	20	5	20
Dog	13	8	14	5	30
Diamond	13	18	12	16	-
Chemicals	9	-	12	10	20
Flag	15	21	10	11	20
No response	2	-	2	5	-
TOTAL	200%	200%	200%	200%	200%
<u>MARLBORO</u>					
Devil	12%	16%	15%	-	10%
Sun	14	10	22	10	10
Globe	17	18	17	16	15
Cornucopia	2	3	2	-	-
Medal	17	8	32	11	10
Circus	6	11	7	5	-
Trees	30	25	25	27	50
Beef	31	31	29	47	20
Miser	1	-	-	-	5
Gun	24	33	14	33	20
Dog	8	13	-	5	15
Diamond	11	8	19	-	10
Chemicals	2	3	-	-	5
Flag	26	23	17	47	30
No response	2	6	-	-	-
TOTAL	200%	200%	200%	200%	200%

Note: Totals add up to 200% because each respondent was asked to select two symbols for each brand.

TABLE 9 (continued)

ASSOCIATIONS OF SYMBOLS TO CIGARETTE BRANDS

N=120

	<u>Total</u> (N=120)	<u>Winston</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=40)	<u>Marlboro</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=41)	<u>Camel</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=19)	<u>"Other"</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=20)
<u>RALEIGH</u>					
Devil	21%	31%	19%	5%	20%
Sun	8	8	9	5	5
Globe	10	8	17	11	-
Cornucopia	18	18	12	16	30
Medal	11	16	7	5	10
Circus	11	13	12	5	10
Trees	13	6	12	37	10
Beef	6	-	7	5	15
Miser	43	38	44	53	40
Gun	15	21	14	5	10
Dog	13	13	15	16	10
Diamond	8	13	7	5	5
Chemicals	12	10	9	16	15
Flag	11	8	12	16	10
No response	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>10</u>
TOTAL	200%	200%	200%	200%	200%
<u>CAMEL</u>					
Devil	32%	45%	24%	10%	40%
Sun	19	28	12	16	15
Globe	18	13	17	42	5
Cornucopia	4	-	7	5	-
Medal	7	5	-	26	5
Circus	16	13	25	5	15
Trees	14	6	22	27	5
Beef	13	16	12	10	10
Miser	5	5	7	-	5
Gun	23	23	22	5	45
Dog	16	15	22	5	15
Diamond	5	6	5	10	-
Chemicals	10	16	7	-	15
Flag	18	16	17	31	15
No response	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>
TOTAL	200%	200%	200%	200%	200%

TABLE 9 (continued)

ASSOCIATIONS OF SYMBOLS TO CIGARETTE BRANDS
N=120

	<u>Total</u> (N=120)	<u>Winston</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=40)	<u>Marlboro</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=41)	<u>Camel</u> <u>Smokers</u> (M=19)	<u>"Other"</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=20)
<u>VANTAGE</u>					
Devil	6%	5%	4%	5%	10%
Sun	15	20	17	16	-
Globe	14	10	17	5	20
Cornucopia	16	21	17	16	5
Medal	6	3	9	5	10
Circus	38	31	17	43	30
Trees	23	25	22	16	25
Beef	-	-	-	-	-
Miser	18	13	15	27	30
Gun	7	13	9	-	-
Dog	16	18	20	5	10
Diamond	12	10	9	11	20
Chemicals	32	23	37	47	25
Flag	8	13	5	5	5
No response	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>10</u>
TOTAL	200%	200%	200%	200%	200%
<u>MERIT</u>					
Devil	7%	13%	4%	5%	5%
Sun	25	15	24	27	45
Globe	6	3	5	10	10
Cornucopia	18	20	20	21	5
Medal	<u>25</u>	26	25	22	30
Circus	15	13	17	16	15
Trees	15	18	10	27	10
Beef	4	3	7	5	-
Miser	23	30	22	5	30
Gun	1	3	-	-	-
Dog	19	20	20	22	15
Diamond	7	-	15	5	5
Chemicals	25	35	12	37	20
Flag	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>10</u>
TOTAL	200%	200%	200%	200%	200%

Marlboro smokers acknowledge Winston's popularity by citing the globe, but they turn to more negative symbols: the circus, to indicate that they do not take the brand seriously, and the gun, to indicate the brand's harsh taste and its suitability for lower-class people.

Camel and Other Brand smokers mainly select the globe and the trees, for reasons mentioned above.

Marlboro. All smoker groups associate this brand with trees and beef, the two symbols that most clearly bring to mind the outdoors and the Western motif of this brand.

Winston smokers attach the gun symbol, to suggest the Western gunfighter, and to indicate what they consider the stronger taste of Marlboro.

In addition to the trees and the beef, Marlboro smokers add the medal because they think their brand is number one.

Camel and Other Brand smokers add the flag, because they consider this an all-American brand that is smoked by many people.

Raleigh. The symbol most often associated with this brand is the miser: he looks like an older person, he seems to be from Britain, it is thought to be a cheap cigarette, and a miser would want to save the Raleigh coupons. Secondly, this brand is connected with the devil, because people perceive this as a very strong cigarette, especially those who think it does not have a filter. Camel smokers also add the tree symbol to indicate that the cigarette has an unpleasant, bark-like taste.

Camel. Among all but Camel smokers, this brand is associated with the devil and the gun, to indicate the perceived harshness of taste. Winston smokers add the sun, because they think of the desert and of dryness of mouth when they think of this brand. Marlboro smokers add the circus, because this seems a logical place to find the camel. Understandably, Camel smokers select more positive symbolism: their brand is known and smoked worldwide (globe), it is a superior cigarette (medal), it is a refreshing, outdoorsy experience (trees), and it is a solidly American brand (flag).

Vantage. This brand is primarily associated with three symbols. Circus: the bright package is connected with circus colors; as a low tar-low nicotine cigarette, it goes with fun and lightness; it is something of a novelty, not taken too seriously. Trees: it is perceived as tasteless or as tasting like leaves or bark. Chemicals: it leaves an unpleasant aftertaste, chemicals were used to lower the tar and nicotine, and it is seen as an "imitation" cigarette.

Merit. This brand tends to be connected mainly with four symbols. Sun: primarily because of the bright yellow color on the package. Medal: the literal association that being meritorious deserves a medal. Miser: very few people smoke them, and it holds back taste and flavor. Chemicals: the perceived unpleasant taste and the processing to lower tar and nicotine.

Automobiles and Animals

Respondents were asked to associate Winston and Marlboro with cars and animals.

Table 10 presents these spontaneous associations to automobiles. Many people connect Winston with average, middle-class cars, such as Ford and Chevrolet.

TABLE 10

SPONTANEOUS ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN CIGARETTE BRANDS AND AUTOMOBILES

(Each automobile [type] was mentioned once in each smoker group, unless otherwise indicated)

<u>Cigarette Brand</u>	<u>Winston Smokers</u>	<u>Marlboro Smokers</u>	<u>Camel Smokers</u>	<u>"Other" Smokers</u>
WINSTON	Chevrolet (7) Camaro (3) Ford (3) Corvette (2) Truck (2) Pontiac Cadillac Volkswagen Jetta Maverick 1970 Maverick Rolls Royce Porsche Datsun Z Honda Prelude Z28 Firebird Ford LTD BMW Lamborghini Ferrari Olds Cutlass sedan Impala Jaguar Dodge Dart Ford truck Stock car Compact car 4-wheel drive pickup Bulldozer Small sport convertible	Ford (6) Chevrolet (4) Jaguar (2) Cadillac (2) Camaro (2) Ford pickup (2) Oldsmobile Cutlass 5-year-old Chevy Duesenberg Buick station wagon Toyota Buick Mustang K-Car Challenger Chrysler Impala Pinto Volkswagen Porsche Datsun 280-Z Rolls Royce Edsel Ford truck Sedan Truck Small English car Antique Ford None (1)	Chevrolet (3) Sports car (3) Audi (2) Volvo (2) Rolls Royce Cadillac Ford Volkswagen Porsche Chrysler RX-70 Oldsmobile 4-door sedan Pickup truck	Chevrolet (3) Ford (2) Buick (2) 4-wheel drive truck (2) Impala MG LTD Corvette Oldsmobile Rolls Royce Edsel Ford Blazer Olds Regency 98 Trans-Am Volkswagen

TABLE 10 (continued)

SPONTANEOUS ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN CIGARETTE BRANDS AND AUTOMOBILES

(Each automobile [type] was mentioned once in each smoker group, unless otherwise indicated)

<u>Cigarette Brand</u>	<u>Winston Smokers</u>	<u>Marlboro Smokers</u>	<u>Camel Smokers</u>	<u>"Other" Smokers</u>
MARLBORO	Mustang (6) Truck (6) Pickup truck (5) Jeep (4) Lincoln (2) Cadillac (2) Ford truck (2) Corvette Chevrolet Wagoneer Oldsmobile Mack truck Trans-Am Dodge Lincoln Continental Mercury Monte Carlo Buick Tempest Austin Healy Sprite Tractor 3-ton, 4-wheel drive truck Van	Chevrolet (6) Jeep (4) Corvette (2) Riviera (2) Camaro (2) Firebird (2) Trans-Am (2) Ford (2) Cadillac (2) Pickup truck (2) Rolls Royce Mustang Chevy truck Ford pickup truck Oldsmobile convertible Charger Mercury Lincoln Toyota Lamborghini Mercedes Ferrari Dune buggy Van Sporty convertible Big truck Sports car	Jeep (4) Pickup (3) Buick (2) Mustang (2) Cadillac Bronco Thunderbird GMC truck Ford Corvette Austin Zephyr Maserati Trans-Am	Jeep (2) Mustang Corvette Ford pickup truck Ford station wagon Mercedes Chrysler New Yorker Datsun 280-Z GTO Lincoln Firebird Camaro Chrysler Olds Cutlass Buick Elite 225 Oldsmobile Ford 1963 Chevy pickup Pickup truck Truck

Winston smokers also want to give their brand additional positive characteristics of being dependable and higher status; they also relate the brand to sponsorship of auto races.

"Firebird. It's fast, and Winston sponsors race cars."

"Rolls Royce for the British-sounding name."

"BMW. A good, solid, dependable car with subtle class."

"A Ford, because it's one of the first automobiles to come out and it's been around a long time. A good car; you can depend on it."

Marlboro smokers name cars that imply that Winston is a boring, second-class cigarette aimed at people who are lower status or uninteresting.

"Chevy Impala. Nothing special about it."

"A Chevrolet, because they're second-best."

"Ford. It's the typical car of the working class."

"A Ford, more of a straight-type cigarette for a straight-type person."

For cars associated with Marlboro, Winston smokers search for makes that are heavy-duty and rough, big and powerful, and closely allied with cowboys and the West.

"A truck. Marlboro reminds me of Texans, and Texans drive trucks."

"A Mustang, because it reminds me of a horse."

"A three-ton, four-wheel-drive truck. Big, wide-open country, powerful."

"Pickup truck. It's rough and tough, and they can haul their cowboy stuff around."

"A Cadillac with longhorns on the hood, rawhide seats, and a horn that would play 'The Eyes of Texas.'"

In naming cars for their own brand, Marlboro smokers select makes that suggest the special individuality and popularity they attach to the cigarette, as well as makes that suggest youthfulness and the outdoors.

"Riviera: the sleekness, richness, the luxury."

"Chevrolet. People like Chevrolet better than most cars. It's American."

"Mercedes. It stands out in a crowd."

"Corvette. It's sporty and young."

"Sporty convertible, open top, being on the outside, outdoors."

Spontaneous associates between cigarette brands and animals are presented in Table 11. These tend to be stereotypic and repetitive of themes discussed throughout this report. Winston is associated with common, familiar, everyday animals such as cats and dogs. Marlboro is mainly associated with horses and secondarily with other farm and ranch animals.

TABLE 11

SPONTANEOUS ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN CIGARETTE BRANDS AND ANIMALS

(Each animal was mentioned once in each smoker group, unless otherwise indicated)

<u>Cigarette Brand</u>	<u>Winston Smokers</u>	<u>Marlboro Smokers</u>	<u>Camel Smokers</u>	<u>"Other" Smokers</u>
WINSTON	Dog (9) Cat (4) Lion (3) Deer (3) Horse (3) Golden Retriever (2) Giraffe (2) Cow (2) German Shepherd Irish Setter Collie Afghan Hound Poodle (small, white) Bear Tiger Cheetah Mule Snake Wolf Mink	Dog (14) Cow (4) Bear (3) Tiger (3) Cat (2) Horse (2) Sheep Camel Great Dane Polar bear Bull Dachshund Lion Cheetah Skunk Gorilla Badger Snake "Regal-type animal"	Dog (6) Lion (3) Tiger (2) Cheshire Cat Spaniel Cat Kitten Horse Pony Mule Giraffe Monkey	Cat (3) Dog (2) Bull (2) Tiger (2) Bear (2) Horse (2) Lion (2) Irish Setter Greyhound Skunk Wolf Cow

TABLE 11 (continued)

SPONTANEOUS ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN CIGARETTE BRANDS AND ANIMALS

(Each animal was mentioned once in each smoker group, unless otherwise indicated)

<u>Cigarette Brand</u>	<u>Winston Smokers</u>	<u>Marlboro Smokers</u>	<u>Camel Smokers</u>	<u>"Other" Smokers</u>
MARLBORO	Horse (24) Bull (3) Mustang (2) Lion (2) Mountain lion Lioness Golden Retriever Cobra Bear Steer Buffalo Longhorn Cow	Horse (21) Dog (2) Cheetah (2) German Shepherd (2) Gentle mare Steer Cattle Cat Black cat Koala bear Stag Elk Deer Coyota Wolg Doberman Pinscher Lion Bear Cow	Horse (10) Elk (2) Lion Prairie dog Cat Dog Puppy Bull Bear	Horse (12) Deer Mustang Cow Fish Giraffe Bear Greyhound Bull

Cigarette Brand Characteristics

Respondents were shown a list of 23 statements and asked which two of six cigarette brands came closest to fitting each of the statements. Results are presented in Table 12, pages 122 through 127.

By way of summarizing the data in this table, the following figures group the statements attributed to each brand by the total sample. The groupings are organized by first tier (agreement by 75% or more of the total sample), second tier (60% or more), and third tier (50% or more).

-- Winston

- 75%: The most popular
For ordinary smokers
For middle-class people
For people who enjoy teamwork
- 60%: For higher quality
For people with active life styles
- 50%: The classiest
The sexiest
For working-class people
For secure people
For people with a sense of pride
For people with a sense of loyalty
to their peers
For professional people

-- Marlboro

- 75%: The most popular
For working-class people
Appealing to men
For people with active life styles
For people who enjoy teamwork

60%: The most interesting
 For ordinary smokers
 The sexiest
 For middle-class people
 For higher quality
 For people with a sense of pride
 For people with a sense of loyalty
 to their peers

50%: The classiest
 For secure people
 For professional people
 For people with a sense of independence

-- Camel

75%: None

60%: On the way out

50%: Appealing to men
 For people with a sense of independence

-- Raleigh

75%: On the way out

60%: For unusual smokers

50%: None

-- Vantage

75%: None

60%: The dullest
 On the way in
 Appealing to women

50%: For insecure people

-- Merit

- 75%: None
- 60%: On the way in
Appealing to women
- 50%: The dullest

To summarize attitudes toward Winston and Marlboro by brand groups, Figures 1 and 2 on the following pages show the three-tier agreement levels by smokers of Winston, Marlboro and Other Brands (the latter including Camel smokers). The groupings in these figures summarize some of the salient image characteristics of the Winston and Marlboro brands:

- Marlboro smokers see their brand as having a richer imagery than do Winston smokers. At the first tier of agreement, Marlboro smokers see their brand as the most interesting, the sexiest, and for people with a sense of independence. Winston smokers assign these statements to their brand at the second tier.
- The masculinity of Marlboro is strong. All three smoker groups agree at the first tier that this brand is appealing to men. Winston smokers assign this statement to their own brand at the second tier; the other two brand groups do not give Winston this statement at any of the three tiers.
- The Winston image continues to be people oriented. At the first tier, Winston smokers say their brand is for people with a sense of pride and for people with a sense of loyalty to their peers. Marlboro smokers assign these statements to their brand at the second tier.

FIGURE 1

THE WINSTON BRAND, AS PERCEIVED BY ...

<u>Winston Smokers</u>	<u>Marlboro Smokers</u>	<u>Other Brand Smokers</u>
<u>75%:</u> The most popular For ordinary smokers For middle-class people For working-class people For higher quality For people with a sense of pride For people with a sense of loyalty to their peers For people with active life styles For people who enjoy teamwork	<u>75%:</u> The most popular For ordinary smokers For middle-class people	<u>75%:</u> The most popular For ordinary smokers
<u>60%:</u> The most interesting The classiest The sexiest For secure people Appealing to men For professional people For people with a sense of inde- pendence	<u>60%:</u> For people who enjoy teamwork	<u>60%:</u> For middle-class people For people who enjoy teamwork
<u>50%:</u> A contemporary brand	<u>50%:</u> The sexiest For working-class people For higher quality For professional people	<u>50%:</u> For secure people For people with a sense of loyalty to their peers

FIGURE 2

THE MARLBORO BRAND, AS PERCEIVED BY ...

<u>Winston Smokers</u>	<u>Marlboro Smokers</u>	<u>Other Brand Smokers</u>
<u>75%:</u>	<u>75%:</u>	<u>75%:</u>
The most popular For ordinary smokers For middle-class people For higher quality Appealing to men For people with a sense of loyalty to their peers For people with active life styles For people who enjoy teamwork	The most interesting The most popular The sexiest For middle-class people For working-class people For higher quality Appealing to men For people with active life styles For people with a sense of independence	The most popular For working-class people Appealing to men For people with active life styles
<u>60%:</u>	<u>60%:</u>	<u>60%:</u>
The most interesting The sexiest For people with a sense of pride	The classiest For ordinary smokers For secure people For people with a sense of pride For people with a sense of loyalty to their peers	The most interesting For ordinary smokers The sexiest For middle-class people For secure people For people who enjoy teamwork
<u>50%:</u>	<u>50%:</u>	<u>50%:</u>
A contemporary brand For people with a sense of independence	A contemporary brand	The classiest For higher quality For people with a sense of pride For people with a sense of loyalty to their peers

TABLE 12

CIGARETTE BRAND CHARACTERISTICS
N=120

<u>WINSTON</u>	<u>Total</u> (N=120)	<u>Winston</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=40)	<u>Marlboro</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=41)	<u>Camel</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=19)	<u>"Other"</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=20)
The most interesting	43%	65%	34%	16%	45%
The dullest	13	3	20	16	15
The classiest	51	68	44	37	45
The most popular	87	98	80	74	90
On the way in	19	30	7	32	10
On the way out	8	3	10	16	5
For ordinary smokers	81	90	76	74	80
For unusual smokers	6	8	7	5	-
The sexiest	53	70	51	42	35
Appealing to women	36	30	37	63	20
For middle-class people	78	85	80	68	70
For working-class people	58	75	54	47	45
For secure people	53	70	39	47	55
For insecure people	23	20	27	11	30
For higher quality	64	88	59	32	60
Appealing to men	48	70	34	21	60
For people with a sense of pride	55	83	37	47	45
A contemporary brand	40	55	32	32	35
For people with a sense of loyalty to their peers	58	75	46	58	50
For people with active life styles	60	88	44	53	45
For professional people	57	65	56	63	35
For people with a sense of independence	40	60	34	26	25
For people who enjoy teamwork	75	93	66	58	75

TABLE 12 (continued)

CIGARETTE BRAND CHARACTERISTICS
N=120

<u>MARLBORO</u>	<u>Total</u> (N=120)	<u>Winston</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=40)	<u>Marlboro</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=41)	<u>Camel</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=19)	<u>"Other"</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=20)
The most interesting	68%	65%	76%	68%	55%
The dullest	3	5	-	5	-
The classiest	53	40	66	53	55
The most popular	96	95	98	89	100
On the way in	20	15	24	21	20
On the way out	2	3	-	5	-
For ordinary smokers	74	83	71	58	80
For unusual smokers	11	5	17	11	10
The sexiest	69	65	76	74	60
Appealing to women	33	33	39	21	35
For middle-class people	73	78	76	63	70
For working-class people	81	78	85	84	75
For secure people	58	48	61	63	65
For insecure people	28	38	17	26	30
For higher quality	74	78	85	58	60
Appealing to men	90	88	95	89	85
For people with a sense of pride	64	68	68	47	65
A contemporary brand	49	55	51	37	45
For people with a sense of loyalty to their peers	68	75	71	47	65
For people with active life styles	77	78	78	74	75
For professional people	50	48	63	42	35
For people with a sense of independence	54	50	76	37	35
For people who enjoy teamwork	79	78	88	58	85

TABLE 12 (continued)

CIGARETTE BRAND CHARACTERISTICS

<u>CAMEL</u>	<u>Total</u> (N=120)	<u>Winston</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=40)	<u>Marlboro</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=41)	<u>Camel</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=19)	<u>"Other"</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=20)
The most interesting	42%	33%	41%	79%	25%
The dullest	18	20	12	-	40
The classiest	19	20	15	42	5
The most popular	12	5	12	32	5
On the way in	18	15	22	26	5
On the way out	61	70	59	21	85
For ordinary smokers	8	3	7	21	5
For unusual smokers	49	43	44	63	60
The sexiest	23	15	22	42	20
Appealing to women	4	3	2	5	10
For middle-class people	17	8	12	47	15
For working-class people	39	35	37	47	45
For secure people	33	20	44	47	20
For insecure people	23	28	27	5	25
For higher quality	24	8	24	74	10
Appealing to men	54	38	63	74	50
For people with a sense of pride	28	18	34	53	10
A contemporary brand	12	8	10	32	5
For people with a sense of loyalty to their peers	31	18	39	58	15
For people with active life styles	23	13	27	32	30
For professional people	12	10	10	21	10
For people with a sense of independence	52	33	49	79	70
For people who enjoy teamwork	22	13	20	53	15

TABLE 12 (Continued)

CIGARETTE BRAND CHARACTERISTICS

N=120

<u>RALEIGH</u>	<u>Total</u> (N=120)	<u>Winston</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=40)	<u>Marlboro</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=41)	<u>Camel</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=19)	<u>"Other"</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=20)
The most interesting	17%	15%	15%	26%	15%
The dullest	48	48	49	26	70
The classiest	23	20	20	32	30
The most popular	-	-	-	-	-
On the way in	7	3	7	16	5
On the way out	82	83	85	68	85
For ordinary smokers	8	5	15	-	10
For unusual smokers	62	68	59	63	55
The sexiest	4	3	2	5	10
Appealing to women	2	-	2	-	5
For middle-class people	5	3	10	5	-
For working-class people	11	8	12	11	15
For secure people	18	25	17	11	10
For insecure people	25	28	29	21	15
For higher quality	14	13	12	16	20
Appealing to men	4	5	5	-	5
For people with a sense of pride	12	10	7	16	20
A contemporary brand	9	5	12	5	15
For people with a sense of loyalty to their peers	17	13	20	16	20
For people with active life styles	3	3	2	-	5
For professional people	14	10	15	11	25
For people with a sense of independence	23	23	15	32	30
For people who enjoy teamwork	6	3	10	5	5

TABLE 12 (continued)

CIGARETTE BRAND CHARACTERISTICS

N=120

<u>VANTAGE</u>	<u>Total</u> (N=120)	<u>Winston</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=40)	<u>Marlboro</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=41)	<u>Camel</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=19)	<u>"Other"</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=20)
The most interesting	13%	15%	12%	-	25%
The dullest	61	55	66	74	50
The classiest	23	33	22	5	25
The most popular	1	3	-	-	
On the way in	63	68	61	42	80
On the way out	30	25	32	53	15
For ordinary smokers	9	10	5	16	10
For unusual smokers	40	38	44	26	50
The sexiest	23	25	17	16	40
Appealing to women	61	68	56	47	70
For middle-class people	10	13	10	-	15
For working-class people	4	-	2	5	15
For secure people	18	20	17	16	20
For insecure people	53	48	44	74	60
For higher quality	10	8	7	-	30
Appealing to men	1	-	-	5	-
For people with a sense of pride	18	13	24	11	25
A contemporary brand	42	38	39	42	55
For people with a sense of loyalty to their peers	9	5	10	-	25
For people with active life styles	19	13	24	16	25
For professional people	28	30	24	21	35
For people with a sense of independence	16	29	15	5	20
For people who enjoy teamwork	4	3	5	5	5

TABLE 12 (continued)

CIGARETTE BRAND CHARACTERISTICS

<u>MERIT</u>	<u>Total</u> (N=120)	<u>Winston</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=40)	<u>Marlboro</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=41)	<u>Camel</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=19)	<u>"Other"</u> <u>Smokers</u> (N=20)
The most interesting	17%	8%	22%	5%	35%
The dullest	58	70	54	74	25
The classiest	29	20	34	26	40
The most popular	4	-	10	-	5
On the way in	72	65	78	58	85
On the way out	17	18	15	20	10
For ordinary smokers	19	10	27	26	15
For unusual smokers	32	40	29	26	25
The sexiest	27	23	32	16	35
Appealing to women	63	68	63	58	60
For middle-class people	13	10	12	11	25
For working-class people	6	5	10	-	5
For secure people	18	18	17	11	30
For insecure people	47	40	51	58	40
For higher quality	11	8	7	16	20
Appealing to men	2	-	2	5	-
For people with a sense of pride	23	10	29	21	35
A contemporary brand	48	40	56	47	45
For people with a sense of loyalty to their peers	13	10	15	5	25
For people with active life styles	18	8	24	21	20
For professional people	39	38	32	37	60
For people with a sense of independence	15	15	12	16	20
For people who enjoy teamwork	13	13	12	16	15

IV

IMPLICATIONS

Marlboro and Winston are regarded as the most popular cigarette brands, representing the main bastion of regular cigarettes, Marlboro probably number one and Winston second. Compared with all other cigarettes, Winston is an important brand, stronger, more geared to the true smoker. However, it can also seem to tend toward becoming increasingly passe, as though time and tide were passing it by as people went off to other brands. In a large sense, that might apply to Marlboro, too, except that Marlboro has managed to remain relatively youthful, appealing to immature fantasies, having a sense of vitality and impulsiveness represented by a classic American myth that makes it seem timeless.

Winston has modern elements in its relation to ordinary people and to the urban scene, but the ordinariness is rather dull, even if pleasant. There is not much sense of intensity, of purposefulness, of going forward with some real-life themes. The urban industrial idea does not resound inspiringly with people who do not perceive America as building industrially, in a time when movements are toward high technology, communications, services, changing social relationships, etc. In a sense, then, the Winston idea tends to lack centrality and organization around some driving motif.

Both the Winston and Marlboro males can be taken as worth sexy emulation or as sex objects by women. The Winston men are not especially vital, however, and seem more interested in each other, while the Marlboro man's isolation and somewhat brooding atmosphere can seem more fitting to an anxious era and life stage.