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# Lighting Up or Burning Out? A look at the tobacco industry in France

Sadee O'Shea

## ABSTRACT

Walking the old city streets of southern France is indeed as picturesque and romantic as it sounds, passing by small cafes filled with locals and tourists alike, all enjoying a coffee, a pastry, and almost always, a cigarette. Smoking cigarettes is an activity deeply rooted in the French culture, as it a social way to gather among friends to relax and enjoy one another's company. However, France is no exception to the global tobacco epidemic, and in recent years the country has seen many new regulations and campaigns to encourage French smokers to kick the habit. This study dives into different issues surrounding the tobacco industry in France including designated smoking areas, packaging regulations, taxation, and contraband sales. These will be contrasted to smoking regulations in Canada and will provide insight as to what degree big tobacco companies will feel the impact of recent waves of anti-smoking movements.

## TOBACCO IN FRANCE

### History

The history of tobacco use dates back many years, with its introduction to France believed to be as early as 1555 (Tobacco Timeline, n.d.). In its early years it was prescribed by doctors as medication, and by 1635 it was being produced and regulated in France, where it became very popular among the monarchs (Tobacco Timeline, n.d.). Throughout history the tobacco industry has experienced significant transformations including ever-changing regulations, means of production, prohibitions and monopolies. Following this trend, the most recent decades have proven no different for the industry with revolutionary changes in purchasing, packaging, and designated smoking area laws (Tobacco Timeline, n.d.).

"Big tobacco" is the nickname given to the world's 5 top tobacco companies: Phillip Morris International, British American Tobacco, Japan Tobacco, Imperial Brands and Altria (The Guardian, 2017). These companies are all major parent organizations to the majority of the regional companies in the world with the exception of tobacco in China, where it is under state control (The Guardian, 2017). According to recent statistics, the most popular cigarettes sold in France are Marlboro, Camel, Winston, and Gauloises - all of which are subsidiaries of big tobacco (Statista, 2017). Seita is a formerly French national tobacco company, now also owned by big tobacco company Imperial Brands (Seita, n.d.). These massive companies have dominated the market by acquiring smaller companies along the road and stomping out the competition.

### Culture

France is often known as "Europe's Chimney" because of its reputation for high smoking rates and the glamorous image of cigarettes depicted in media and movies set in France (The Local, 2017). Some critics claim that this country label is no longer accurate, however, France remains a strong customer to the tobacco industry, where despite an overall decrease in consumption, it still ranks as one of the EU's top consumers, at a rate of 27% (USA Today, 2018). For many, smoking is a social activity that is part of a daily routine, so the appeal of quitting can often be lost due to lack of desire to change (USA Today, 2018). Smoking in France remains very popular, where it is still

quite common to see people of all ages lighting up a cigarette with a coffee or alcoholic beverage on an outdoor terrace among friends. Furthermore, despite smoking indoors being banned, there are certain bars and clubs in the country that turn a blind eye to this regulation and it is not uncommon to walk into a late-night spot and find billowing clouds of cigarette smoke. These trends also differ between regions in France, where smoking is most prevalent in the south Cote d'Azur region, and surprisingly least common in Île de France, where Paris is located (See Figure 1). One could speculate that Paris and its surrounding area are more progressive whereas the smaller French communities in the South are more rooted in tradition and would be less inclined to change their daily routines, tobacco related and otherwise.

The smoking culture in Canada is quite different from France, as it is much less popular in general, and far less common among the younger generations. In comparison to France's 26.9% smoking population, Canada lands at 16.2% in the most recent year of 2017 (Statistics Canada, 2018). Furthermore, culture plays a big role in youth perception of cigarettes, where in France it is very social for teenagers, and tobacco sellers are often more relaxed about selling to minors (National Public Radio, 2016). In 2015, youth smokers aged 17 years and younger reached over 30% in France, contrasted to Canada's rate of 4.1%, making youth the least common age group for smokers in the country (Statistics Canada, 2016). In Canada this figure has recently dropped even further to 3.5% in 2017 for reported smokers under 18 (Statistics Canada, 2018). However, Canadian youth are certainly not immune to the temptations of tobacco, and it is still common to find young adults smoking outside bars and restaurants in Canada. On the surface, the main difference between each country's smoking tendencies seems to be attributable to the social aspect of smoking in France and the differing perceptions of cigarettes among citizens of each country.

In order to combat this, French government and anti-tobacconists have been proposing a variety of different ideas in recent years to change the image of smoking in France and hopefully dissuade individuals (particularly youth) from taking up the habit. The health minister of France suggested in 2017 that cigarette smoking be banned in all French films, as the cinema heavily romanticizes the activity (The Telegraph, 2017). This could be a difficult law to pass, and within France may have little effect as most cinemas still show many films made outside of France, which would not be subject to the law. However, if passed, the law has the potential to set an example for other countries and increase the push to eliminate smoking from film altogether. This would be a huge step for France as well as the world, as the film industry tends to glamorize cigarette smoking in general.

Additionally, France has recently been working through a multi-year plan, the National Tobacco Reduction Plan (PNRT), with the objective of reducing daily smokers in the country. The PNRT had a successful first year - from 2016 to 2017 there was reportedly close to one million fewer smokers in France, with the proportion of smokers dropping from 29% to just under 27% (DW, 2018). The PNRT is a public health initiative created by the Health Ministry of France with ambitious goals regarding the reduction of tobacco consumption across the French population. The plan has set objectives to drop the country's smoking rate to under 20% by 2024, and to further reduce consumption to have the first adult generation of non-smokers by 2032 (Santé Publique France, 2018). The plan lists three main areas of focus in order to achieve these goals: better protect children from tobacco exposure, help daily smokers quit, and influence the economics of the tobacco industry (Santé Publique France, 2018). Lastly, the PNRT have adopted a new campaign, "Mois sans tabac" (a tobacco-free month), with aims to encourage smokers to kick the habit for one month and see how they succeed (Santé Publique France, 2018). This operation was inspired by the success of the UK's "Stoptober" movement in the month of October, and preliminary results of "Mois sans tabac" are seeming to be effective, with around 15% of daily smokers reportedly attempting to quit smoking - with some individuals stating the reason behind their attempts were directly related to the tobacco-free month advertisements (Santé Publique France, 2018) (See Figure 2). The programs and plans in place demonstrate that France is taking great measures to decrease their rate of smoking, and with the successful reduction of 1 million smokers between 2016 and 2017, it can be assumed their efforts are not being wasted.

## REGULATIONS

### Designated Smoking Areas

The difference in progressions of increased regulation between France and Canada demonstrate that the drive to reduce tobacco consumption in Canada has been slightly ahead of those in France in terms of timeline, but the extent and reach of the laws is not entirely that different between countries. The year 1988 was significant for the industry in Canada as new laws were implemented regarding smoking in designated areas on airplanes, trains and ships, as well as removing tobacco vending machines from public places, with the exception of bars (CBC, 2012). Across Europe tobacco vending machines can be found in bars and clubs, but these machines are surprisingly still prevailing in France where they can be found out on public streets for anyone to purchase.

Public transport and aircraft regulations were some of the first laws put in place around the world to protect citizens from second-hand smoke. Nowadays, one would be hard pressed to find a flight that permits smoking onboard, and most of the population from the millennial generation would not even remember a time when smoking on an airplane was legal. In contrast, when banning cigarettes onboard was proposed in the late 1980's, the idea was found to be very unpopular with anyone in the airline industry as they stated they would lose huge amounts of sales due to the ban (CBC News, n.d.). Eventually, the government in Canada succeeded over the airline companies and proceeded in 1990 to ban cigarettes from international flights under six hours (CBC News, n.d.). A few years later in 1994 they announced that all flights regardless of duration would be smoke-free in Canada (CBC News, n.d.). These dates are slightly contrasted to Europe, where smoking onboard an aircraft was only fully banned on all Air France flights as of late 2000 (Aviation Weekly, 2000). This was also a big step for France, and the airline even provided nicotine substitutes and counselors for passengers to cope with the transition (Aviation Weekly, 2000). Aircraft regulations differ quite a bit from other public smoking bans, as it is a controlled environment and typically quite obvious if the rule is being broken. That could point to why historically not all smoke-free place initiatives have been as strictly adopted as the aircraft policies.

Currently, laws in Canada prohibit smoking almost anywhere indoors except one's home, and in recent years the laws have even extended to include non-smoking perimeters around buildings that individuals must maintain when lighting up a cigarette. This differs to current day France where whether or not it is legal, it is not uncommon to find night clubs filled with young adults smoking indoors throughout the night. Historically, between the years of 2000-2008, different provinces in Canada enacted varying degrees of public smoking bans. The result of this is that by the end of 2008 almost all public spaces indoors in Canada were smoke-free, including the elimination of designated smoking areas inside establishments, as well as most terraces and outdoor patios are smoke free with a few provincial exceptions (Statistics Canada, 2008). Conversely, in France similar laws were introduced over the years but it wasn't until 2007 that the government cracked down and set harsher public non-smoking bans including, but not limited to, universities, offices and railway stations (The Guardian, 2006). What differentiates the two countries' sets of laws is the level of severity - where in Canada one cannot even stand outside of their office for a smoke, but in France smoking on restaurant terraces and on the doorstep of any building is still permitted. When making the change to smoke-free public places, the French government gave cafes, restaurants and bars certain leniencies including more time to make the change, and this could provide insight as to why currently in France it is not unusual for the lines of public smoking to be slightly more blurred (The Guardian, 2006).

### Packaging

Packaging regulations have also been a huge development within the tobacco industry, with the aim to inform smokers and deter future cigarette purchases. Throughout the 1990's small regulations were put in place regarding warning messages on cigarette packs, but as of 2001, Canada was the first country to require by law that all packages display one of 16 different warning messages accompanied by a graphic image of the negative effects of tobacco on the human body (Ash, 2008). In comparison, packaging laws in France introduced mandatory picture

health warnings as of 2011, a full ten years after Canada (Tobacco Labelling Resource Centre, n.d.). However, France has recently taken a step further than Canada and banned all branded cigarette packages, meaning all packs look identical with the exception of the brand name written in plain letters, often accompanied by a somber message (for example, "Smoking Kills") and a health warning image. Since this packaging change in early 2017, France has not seen a rapid decline in smoking trends, however the health officials iterate that the goal of the plain packaging is primarily aimed at younger generations to deter them from picking up the habit, as packaging will likely not change the habits of those already addicted (The Local, 2017).

To further transform public opinion of cigarettes in France, a health minister has banned the actual brand names from labels that suggest smoking is chic, trendy, or essentially enticing in any way (RFI, 2017). The goal is yet again to protect the public from the temptation of cigarettes by eliminating names such as "Vogue" or "Allure" (RFI, 2017). This is quite controversial as companies can no longer use their original brands and were given only one year to find new names. With a strict deadline and somewhat short notice, the French government had to pay approximately 100 million euros to tobacco companies when this change was rolled out in early 2017 in order to reimburse companies for loss of sales on already branded packets (The Local, 2017). This furthers the debate of the implementation of plain packaging as some may claim that this money could be spent elsewhere on more effective anti-tobacco prevention projects. Both this law and the proposition of banning smoking in French films demonstrate that the government is aware that action needs to be taken in order to change the country's general attitude towards cigarettes in order to build long-term success in reducing tobacco consumption rates.

### **Price Hikes and Taxation**

Pricing can be a very effective way to initiate change among smokers, however tobacco companies prove to be formidable opponents with lawsuits, lobbyists, and trade deals against increases in price and/or taxation of products. Currently France is actually one of the most expensive countries in Europe to purchase cigarettes, at an average of 7.80 euros a pack (Numbeo, 2017). In comparison, the average price in Canada is 9.27 euros per pack, one of the highest prices worldwide (Numbeo, 2017). France has slowly been raising the price of cigarettes over the years, and health minister Agnès Buzyn states that she plans on raising the cost of cigarettes in France to 10 euros a pack by the year 2020 (CNN, 2018). Health officials are hoping this hike in price will make consumers think twice before purchasing another pack and are optimistic they will certainly see a decline among low-income smokers (CNN, 2018).

Taxation is another huge factor for tobacco in the fight to reduce consumption. The World Health Organization (WHO) framework presents many arguments around the effectiveness of reducing smoking rates through increases in taxation. Tobacco taxation is arguably the most economical strategy to reduce smoking rates, as one of the numerous benefits can be actual revenue generated for the government through taxes on goods (WHO, 2014). Excise tax is the most beneficial in order to generate revenues for government as it is a tax placed uniquely on the tobacco products, so that it stands out to consumers as more expensive than other products and goods (WHO, 2014). Excise tax is also strongly endorsed because countries can, and often do, use a certain portion of the funds generated by this tax to improve public health services and increase spending on anti-tobacco projects (WHO, 2014). Currently, France demands a total tax on cigarettes of approximately 80.3%, of which 63.6% is excise tax, and the remaining is VAT and sales tax (WHO, 2014). Despite this being a solid tax rate, and the WHO actually using France as an exemplary success story of the use of taxation to reduce smoking rates, the country still falls short of the WHO's recommended 70% minimum excise tax on tobacco products (Tobacco Atlas, n.d.). With benefits ranging from public health to the economy, taxation seems to be an effective way to reduce smoking rates for countries as a whole, however it does open up the door to illegal trade and has the possibility to tempt consumers into either purchasing tobacco illegally in France or smuggling products purchased over the border.

## Contraband

Tobacco smuggling and contraband is a problem worldwide and appears in many forms across a spectrum of severity. Trans-border and duty-free purchases are legal methods of purchasing at a lower price in another country, but they are limited in quantity, often set at a maximum of 200 cigarettes per person and intended for personal use only (OFDT, 2005). These methods are legal because taxes are paid in the country of purchase, and the amount permitted to bring back is often not high enough to warrant reselling. Tobacco smuggling is a big concern for many countries because local governments lose taxation revenues and smoking rates increase due to higher affordability (Euroeconomy, 2017). Contraband sales are particularly prevalent in countries with higher prices in general, and it is speculated that the tobacco industry often plays some sort of role behind the scenes, because even if the big companies are not making direct profit off contraband, the illicit sales can lead to higher revenues for the brand in the long run (Euroeconomy, 2017). Import and export laws between countries can make it difficult to trace the tobacco sales and it has been said that up to one third of tobacco products declared as exports never re-appear in the market as imports, meaning they are being illegally imported elsewhere and sold illicitly (OFDT, 2005). A study between 1999 and 2004 revealed that trans-border sales in France were highest in regions that border Belgium, Luxembourg and Spain, where cigarettes are cheaper than in France, and that these same types of sales were much less common near the Swiss and Italian borders, where cigarettes tend to be similar in price if not more expensive (OFDT, 2005). These numbers point to the willingness of populations to take time to seek out cheaper products in other countries and take advantage of neighbouring nation's lower taxes, whether legally (within the limit) or illegally. With an already alarmingly high rate of illegal sales combined with France's projected price increases, this will certainly be an issue in need of addressing.

Effectively, the government in France is very aware of this problem and has been looking for new solutions to this growing issue. The World Health Organization recognized the need for action after declaring the world tobacco epidemic, and in 2012 created the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC). The convention is a public health treaty with 168 signatory countries, with the intention to reduce worldwide smoking rates through various avenues including advertising, sponsorship, foreign investment, and illegal trade (WHO FCTC, 2015). To combat the issue of illegal trade, the FCTC has been providing updated resources and guidelines to countries to combat tobacco smuggling and contraband sales and has issued its first protocol to all parties of the agreement, the Protocol to Eliminate Illicit Trade in Tobacco Products (WHO FCTC, 2015). The most recent development in the FCTC is the Track and Trace model which has been pushed to all member countries with the goal to remove tobacco companies' involvement in government regulation. A track and trace system requires tobacco companies to uniquely identify each packet of cigarettes produced, in order to trace its location and determine the end destination (Euroeconomy, 2017). The goal of this is to prevent companies from avoiding taxation by exporting cigarettes and then illegally re-importing the products for sale (Euroeconomy, 2017). This system seems like a great idea, however the way in which each member country of the FCTC eventually implements this system will differ and there is criticism that companies could still play too heavy a role within the industry (Euroeconomy, 2017). It is clear there is work being done and progress being made to combat contraband sales in the tobacco industry, but the inevitable pushback from big tobacco has the potential to reduce the effectiveness of proposals and will of course slow the speed of progression. In order to successfully tackle these issues, it will be necessary for the FCTC to remain strong and persistent with the convention's original intentions.

## ISSUES BEYOND HEALTH

### Environmental Impact

In addition to health-related issues, French government officials are expressing a growing concern regarding cigarette butt pollution and have recently proposed new measures to get the litter and pollution under control. Cigarette butts are the most common form of litter across the globe, and France is no exception to this phenomenon (Reuters, 2018). The main environmental issues regarding cigarette butts are that they decompose extremely slowly, contribute to large-scale water contamination, and the filters turn into toxic waste (The Local, 2018). Recent

studies have shown that cigarette filters were created as a marketing tool by companies to persuade consumers that the filter made cigarettes healthier and safer to inhale, however this idea has been disproved and research shows that filters are completely useless and unnecessary (Forbes, 2018). In addition to the plastic in filters that takes decades to decompose, they also contain chemicals that contaminate water sources (Forbes, 2018). There are companies trying to create biodegradable filters with materials such as hemp, as well as activists trying to ban filters from cigarettes altogether (Forbes, 2018). Cigarette butt litter has always been an issue worldwide but has become a noteworthy problem for France in recent years after the laws passed to ban smoking inside most public places. (The Telegraph, 2012). Many individuals began tossing butts on the ground before entering an establishment, and this has created a habit for many, regardless of location (The Telegraph, 2012). These habits led to a hike in litter fines, currently at 68 euros in Paris, for disposing a single cigarette butt on the ground. Unfortunately, the government does not think this law has proven effective enough in the prevention of cigarette butt litter and are proposing the idea of shifting the responsibility of butt cleanup back on the tobacco companies (Reuters, 2018). France warned in June of 2018 that if by September there were no suitable suggestions for improving the status of cigarette butt litter that the environment ministry would force the major companies to get involved (Reuters, 2018). Multiple tobacco companies responded stating they currently do enough to encourage customers to dispose of butts properly and that new taxes for the industry would be unacceptable (Reuters, 2018).

### **Economic Impact: Should Big Tobacco be Concerned?**

There are several economic impacts to consider when looking at the strong push to reduce tobacco consumption globally and within France, and the battle between government, health officials, policy makers, and big tobacco is ongoing and does not seem to be letting up anytime soon. Historically, tobacco companies have faced lawsuit after lawsuit regarding issues of health damages, deaths, fraudulent advertising and hidden additives to name a few (Tobacco Timeline, n.d.).

France has set an example that rapid change is possible and with the various proposed measures, it would seem the smoking population in France is likely to continue on a downward trend. However, despite the country's recent targeted efforts, France continues to see a large proportion of youth smokers, with numbers in 2014 essentially paralleled to their parents smoking habits stating that just under 30% of boys and girls aged 17 years were daily smokers (Independent, 2014). This is an alarming rate for those with long-term tobacco elimination goals for obvious reasons, however, for remaining tobacco companies in France this figure points towards steady business in coming years. Additionally, despite declining rates in countries across the world, trends in lower income countries are actually on the rise, with concerning future projections and the number of smokers increasing over the past year (The Telegraph, 2018).

Tobacco companies operating and selling in France need to be wary of many factors that could affect their bottom line including contraband sales interference, packaging regulations, drops in sales, price hikes due to taxation and e-cigarette competition. The jaw-dropping decline of 1 million French smokers in just one year leaves tobacco companies with reason to be concerned.

Contraband sales are debatably negative for big tobacco, as one would assume if one third of cigarettes globally are being sold illegally that the tobacco companies would be missing out on those revenues. Certain economists believe that most dips in sales for the tobacco industry are simply due to increased illegal sales (ESTA, n.d.). However, it is highly speculated that many companies are either directly or indirectly involved in the illegal trade game and actually benefit as the companies simply sell the cigarettes to distributors and are unaffected as to whether they end up in illegal trade or not (Euroeconomy, 2017). With new Track and Trace measures being put in place the tobacco companies could see a drop in sales due to less distributors being able to smuggle the products after purchase, however if the tobacco companies get their way they will still have a hand in the Track and Trace implementations and could potentially manipulate the systems in their favour (Euroeconomy, 2017). To the

average person, contraband sales seem like an economic threat, but given the power and influence of big tobacco, it may not be first on their list of priorities.

Furthermore, although packaging regulations have become very strict in recent years, in France as well as globally, many smokers deem it ineffective to their smoking habits. Health officials claim that the plain packaging is primarily to deter young people from picking up the habit, but many critics question the effectiveness of this new measure. Some students claim that it is not the packaging that draws consumers in and that it is more about being seen with the cigarette, and some even claim it to be a "rite of passage" in their teen years (NPR, 2016). Some teens have also expressed that although anti-smoking campaigns and new packaging might not discourage them from smoking, a hefty increase in price would make them think twice before buying another pack (NPR, 2016). This somewhat anecdotal evidence may not reflect the entire country's perspective, but it does give some insight into how embedded smoking is in the French culture and that even new plain packaging might not be as big of a threat to big tobacco as expected.

### **E-cigarettes**

Additionally, it seems as though the decreasing rate of smokers is attributable to price increases, but it is also speculated by many that traditional cigarette sales are down simply due to the increasing number of e-cigarette users. The e-cigarette business is booming with incredible growth rates and astounding projections - such as a predicted market worth of up to \$27 billion by 2022 (Innovation Enterprise, n.d.). The vaping industry is growing steadily and coming out with new innovative products that aim to simulate the effects of a cigarette such as the JUUL by PAX labs gaining popularity in North America and the IQOS device gaining traction in the Japanese market (Forbes, 2016) (See Figures 3 & 4). These products are proving to be quite popular and could quite possibly take over a large share of the tobacco market, particularly because these products are most popular among young consumers, meaning there is huge potential for growth in the next few decades. So, it would seem that vaping would be a big threat to the tobacco industry, however, many tobacco companies have seen this on the horizon and have recently been investing in and supporting e-cigarette companies (Innovation Enterprise, 2017). Many big tobacco companies have acquired smaller e-cigarette companies, and some have even gone so far as to fund a study that demonstrated the different effects of cigarettes vs e-cigarettes on human lungs, concluding that e-cigarettes are less harmful (Innovation Enterprise, 2017). This behaviour is surprising as it appears to be direct support of the tobacco industry's most dangerous competitor, but it is quite fascinating that unlike other industries, tobacco companies are embracing the competition in order to stay relevant (Innovation Enterprise, 2017). With so many contributing factors to the decline in smoking rates, it only makes sense that big tobacco has seen where its future could be headed and has accepted that they need to change things up in order to survive. An added benefit of investing heavily in the e-cigarette business is the increase in customer lifetime, as it is predicted that e-cigarette users typically live for 10 years longer than traditional smokers (Innovation Enterprise, 2017). This may be a somber way to look at the industry, as it really paints a picture of big tobacco squeezing profits out of its customers for as long as possible, but if it means an increased life expectancy in general, then perhaps it is a win-win situation.

### **CONCLUSION**

Anti-smoking action is gaining traction worldwide, and it appears that in France these measures are proving to be successful. The efforts of governments and external organizations vary greatly from packaging, designated smoking areas, protocols for illegal trade, prices, taxation, and steady growth in smoke-free alternatives. It cannot be determined which of these many measures is responsible for the recent drop in smoking rates in France, but it is likely that this trend will carry on, and rates will continue to decrease. The French government has known for quite some time that the tobacco epidemic is of increasing importance in the nation, with health minister Marisol Touraine claiming in 2015 that the deaths attributable to tobacco in France had mounted to "the equivalent of a plane crash every day with 200 people on board" (Financial Times, 2015). This was a shocking statement for many, and the recent efforts taken by the nation seem to have had an effect with the decrease of one million smokers

between 2016 and 2017. However, despite popular opinion, downward trends across many nations do not seem to be an imminent threat for big tobacco. With a growing world population in general and smoking on the rise in developing countries, big tobacco is not yet out of business. Additionally, strong youth smoking rates across France and other nations indicate loyal customers for the near future. Finally, the tobacco companies have seen the growth in the vaping industry and have smartly invested in the e-cigarette business instead of trying to compete with the new trend. These factors combined demonstrate that big tobacco is aware of shifting opinions and habits, and effective action is being taken to mitigate risks for business. It is clear that despite changing global trends, tobacco companies are in no immediate danger and will continue to be profitable for years to come.

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**Figure 1. Smoking rates among regions in France.**

Photo sourced from [www.santepubliquefrance.fr/Actualites/Tabagisme-en-France-1-million-de-fumeurs-quotidiens-en-moins](http://www.santepubliquefrance.fr/Actualites/Tabagisme-en-France-1-million-de-fumeurs-quotidiens-en-moins)



**Figure 2. Advertisements from the PNRT to encourage smokers to quit for one month.** Photo retrieved from <https://www.dw.com/en/france-shed-1-million-daily-smokers-in-2017-health-ministry/a-43968658>



**Figure 3. IQOS smokeless tobacco device by PMI**  
Photo retrieved from <https://www.pmi.com/smoke-free-products/igos-our-tobacco-heating-system>



**Figure 4. JUUL device by PAX labs**  
Photo retrieved from <https://www.juul.com/shop/devices/starter-kit>

