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Mary Assunta^a; Simon Chapman^a

^a School of Public Health, University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia

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The lightest market in the world: Light and mild cigarettes in Japan

Mary Assunta, Simon Chapman

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This article reviews the history of the introduction and use of light and mild labeled cigarettes in Japan, the “lightest” market in the world. Systematic keyword and opportunistic Web site searches were conducted on tobacco industry internal documents relevant to Japan, supplemented with relevant material from the tobacco trade and sociological literatures. Certain “market quirks” of the Japanese society benefited the tobacco industry in promoting its light and mild cigarettes. Japan’s is a trend-conscious society with a penchant for new fashion and products. The Japanese are innovative, with the propensity to transform concepts into something characteristically their own marked by a distinct cultural style, such as the concept of *keihaku tansho* (“light-thin-short-small”). With big-budget sophisticated advertising, tobacco companies developed a lucrative market for mild, light, and ultra-low-tar cigarettes. Smokers had a preference for charcoal filters, which they believed protected them. Tar numbers meant little to smokers. The transnational tobacco companies capitalized on consumer concerns about the health hazards of smoking to promote low-tar cigarettes as a safer alternative. This may be one factor that explains why smoking prevalence in Japan remains high. Light and mild cigarettes are popular in Japan because Japanese smokers believe low tar/nicotine cigarette with charcoal filters protect them and help mollify their health concerns about smoking.

Introduction

The tobacco industry’s efforts to assuage health concerns in smokers by marketing cigarettes labeled as “light” and “mild” are well documented (Bates, McNeill, Jarvis, & Gray, 1999; Henningfield, Kozlowski, & Benowitz, 1994; B. King & Borland, 2004; Kozlowski & Pillitteri, 2001; Pollay & Dewhirst, 2002; Warner & Slade, 1992). Many smokers falsely believe that these cigarettes are less harmful than regular brands (Etter, Kozlowski, & Perneger, 2003), and smokers have a poor understanding of the meaning of pack label numbers (Cohen, 1996).

In 1977, Japan Tobacco was the first company globally to introduce a brand name that incorporated the word *mild*, Mild Seven, today the world’s second largest selling brand. Light labeled brands are more

popular in Japan than in any market (Puckett, 2003). The market dominance of mild and light cigarettes continues with Mild Seven Super Lights and Mild Seven Lights the country’s top-selling cigarettes in 2005 (Japan Tobacco, 2005).

Consumer perception and marketing studies of light and mild cigarettes have been conducted predominantly in the West (Kozlowski & O’Connor, 2002; Kozlowski & Pillitteri, 2001; Leavell, 1999; Pollay & Dewhirst, 2002; Shiffman, Pillitteri, Burton, Rohay, & Gitchell, 2001). In health-conscious Japan, with its renowned longevity (World Health Organization [WHO], 2000) and healthy diet (Akamatsu, Maeda, Hagihara, & Shirakawa, 2005; Truswell, 1998), a review of the history of light and mild cigarettes may be important in understanding the paradox of why smoking prevalence remains high in such a health-conscious society, particularly among men (47%; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2006). Any analysis of the tobacco industry’s ability to promote low-yield cigarettes also needs to take into account the transformation of marketing that occurred with the liberalization of the tobacco

Mary Assunta, M.Phil. (Public Health), Simon Chapman, Ph.D., School of Public Health, University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.

Correspondence: Mary Assunta, Level 1, 120 Chalmers Street, Surry Hills, NSW 2001, Australia. Tel: +1 (61) 2 8063 4115; Fax: +1 (61) 2 8063 4101; E-mail: mary.assunta@cancer.org.au

market in 1987. This transformed the entire Japanese market in terms of how tobacco was presented, advertised, and promoted, resulting in the creation of new demand among women and young people (Connolly, 1987; Lambert, Sargent, Glantz, & Ling, 2004). This paper examines the history of the promotion of light and mild cigarettes in Japan, emphasizing how several Japanese cultural characteristics were harnessed by the tobacco industry to shape smokers' perceptions of light and mild cigarettes.

Method

Data for this research were obtained from industry document searches conducted on the Master Settlement Agreement Web sites (www.tobaccoarchives.com). Between April 2003 and January 2004, the key search terms *japan**, *tokyo*, *kobe*, *okawa*, *jts*, and *tioj* were entered on the Web sites, which produced an initial download of 40,155 documents. A snowballing search technique (Carter, 2005) using the terms *japan*, *ultra low tar*, *health conscious* [19890101–19951231] were entered on <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/>, and *charcoal filter* and *japan tobacco* on <http://www.bat.library.ucsf.edu/>, which produced 576 and 124 documents, respectively. From a review of these documents, which was part of a larger study on Japan, 350 documents related to safer cigarettes, their purported health effects, and their marketing were identified as core references. Also used were tobacco trade journals, news reports, Japan Tobacco annual company reports, the company's Web site, and sociological commentaries on Japan's consumer culture.

Results

Cigarette marketing in Japan

Until recently, international tobacco industry regarded Japan as among the world's least regulated markets (Honjo & Kawachi, 2000). Tobacco advertising, promotion, and sponsorship were virtually uncontrolled until 1998 (Philip Morris, 1989, 1992b). British American Tobacco (BAT) rated Japan "0" for advertising restrictions, where 0 meant "no restrictions" and 10 meant "total ban" (unknown author, 1997). These advertising and promotional freedoms contrasted markedly with legislative bans in many nations.

In the absence of legislative controls, the industry was free to promote a wide range of milder and lighter brands with claims that appealed to health-conscious smokers, women, and young adults. According to a Philip Morris focus group, most females started with relatively light cigarettes because

these were "easier to smoke" (ASI Market Research (Japan) Inc., 1991). Some cigarettes had the image of a "feminine cigarette," which was a "light (*karui*) cigarette, chic package and long slim shape" (ASI Market Research (Japan) Inc., 1991). Television advertising was effective in reinforcing the "lightness" message, or as one female smoker said, "The commercials say that it has little tar in it, and is therefore light and good for the health" (ASI Market Research (Japan) Inc., 1991).

R. J. Reynolds (1991) called several important cultural characteristics of the Japanese market "market quirks." The most notable was a preference for charcoal filters. The charcoal filter was introduced in 1968 to improve the taste of poor-quality tobacco, and Japanese smokers soon adopted the new taste and preferred it in nonmenthol cigarettes (R. J. Reynolds, 1991). Smokers wanted "high filtration" filters and believed a charcoal filter provided that function and gave a milder and smoother smoke (Philip Morris, 1990b) and that it protected their health (Norsearch, 1985b). By 1991 more than 80% of cigarettes had charcoal filters (R. J. Reynolds, 1991), and by 2004 almost all filtered cigarettes sold in Japan, both domestic and imported, used charcoal filters, in contrast to less than 1% of filtered cigarettes sold in the United States, where cellulose acetate filters are used (Mochizuki-Kobayashi, Samet, & Yamaguchi, 2004).

BAT identified three stages in Japan's embrace of mild and light cigarettes, starting with promotions for brands with a milder and lighter taste (1978–1989), the low-tar stage (1989 and ongoing), and a "beyond lights" stage (1995 and ongoing), which saw the introduction of 1-mg tar, low sidestream emission, and reduced-odor cigarettes (BAT, 1999b). By the early 1990s, Japan was considered the leading market in trends toward low-tar cigarettes, and BAT saw Japan as a good market to experiment with innovative concepts such as reduced-odor cigarettes already introduced in the West (Ling & Glantz, 2005) that went "beyond lights" (BAT, 1999b). Japan Tobacco referred to this third market innovation as the "reduced-odor" or "D-spec technology" phase (Japan Tobacco, 2004). The company uses the term *D-spec technology* to refer to a product innovation designed to reduce the odor of normal tobacco via a double-wrap paper technology.

Cultural aspects

Several interrelated characteristics of Japanese consumer culture appear important to an understanding of Japanese smokers' strong embrace of light and mild brands. Innovation is highly valued by both Japanese industry and consumers alike. Consumer

behavior specialist Robert March (1990) refers to Japan as the “world’s premier new product laboratory” and new consumer product development as the preeminent mission of most business in Japan, with hopes that many of these products may ultimately be sold globally. In testing its Accord brand, Philip Morris selected Japan as the first international test market because of the Japanese “willingness to try new products” (Morgan Stanley, 2000).

This renowned receptivity to innovations is known as *shinhatsubai* or “new product” syndrome. New products are frequently launched for trial in Japan, although many are soon discontinued (John, 1996). An estimated 90% of new brands introduced into Japan fail (Levin, 1990). Japan Tobacco had frequent brand launches, with an average of one brand variant every 7 weeks and one brand family every 26 weeks between 1985 and 1998 (BAT, 1999b). Even with trial purchasing, the large smoking population provided a substantial basis for profit. According to a social commentator:

Marketing specialists, any manufacturer or importer who introduced a new product and promoted it nationally could expect to sell close to half a million units to impulse buyers. The *shinhatsubai* syndrome became so strong that it resulted in manufacturers and importers basing their entire business approach on introducing new items every few weeks (De Mente, 2004).

Ryuko-shugi, or the appeal of fashion, has been a pronounced feature of Japanese culture since the 1870s. Japanese consumers have been described as “grasshopper consumers flitting from trend to trend and consuming with hedonistic motives” (Fujioka, 1984). Commenting on the Japanese appetite for fashion and the rapid successive turnover of trends, Skov wrote, “The fashionable Japanese wears clothes that are brand new, impeccably ironed; and whole wardrobes have been discarded when the basic colour in fashion changes from blue to black to brown or back again” (Skov & Moeran, 1995). BAT sized up the 122 million relatively affluent, well-educated, fashion-conscious, product-oriented purchasers as presenting a large and profitable potential market for cigarette innovations (BAT, 1988; Hacking, 1988).

Japanese consumers appear particularly attracted to new products incorporating the concept of *keihaku tansho*, meaning “light-thin-short-small” (March, 1990), that is, light in weight, thin in width, short in length, and small in size and cost. Successful products have some elements of each of these four components (Jacobs & Herbig, 1998). Kilburn (1986) lists some examples:

To Japanese perceptions, *kei* or “light” qualities are found in small cars, polyester suits, family bicycles, duvets and *Mild Seven*. Unscented cosmetics, solar calculators, disk cameras, and low salt/fat/calorie foods have *haku* or “thin” qualities. *Tan* or “short” products include mini-lipsticks, mini-umbrellas, convenience foods and ... *sho* or “small” is typified by headphone stereos, liquid crystal TVs, [light] draught beer and minicompos [portable stereos].

R. J. Reynolds noted an idiosyncrasy of Japanese smokers in how and why they smoked their cigarettes and attributed their observation of fashion as a possible explanation:

Japanese smokers leave notoriously long butts as compared to what can be observed in other countries ... [I]t probably has to do with fashion meaning that many smokers smoke not because they like to, but rather because it is the fashionable thing to do ... Additionally, in a very hierarchical society such as Japan, to smoke a cigarette only half way down in a highly visible social situation (i.e. a disco) is almost the equivalent of saying “I have money to spare and I can afford to smoke my cigarette only half way down” (Ferry, 1991).

This observation also has relevance to the success of more expensive, imported brands in Japan: For many smokers, the conspicuous or ostentatious consumption of imported cigarettes appeared critical to such brands’ success. Higher prices for foreign cigarettes could give imported brands a desirable elitist caché because, according to Philip Morris (1985), “Foreign cigarettes were perceived as high-quality, fashionable, prestige products, and a price reduction could easily detract from the high class image.” This would have provided marketing opportunities to the transnational tobacco companies in Japan to launch more low-tar versions of their established brands.

The confluence of mild taste and lower risk appeals

The development of the “lights” segment of the Japan tobacco industry began with the introduction of the charcoal filter in 1968, when Japan Tobacco launched Seven Stars. Consumers saw the brand as having a milder taste (BAT, 1999b), although it had an ISO (International Standards Organization) tar delivery of 18 mg and did not have significantly less than the machine-read levels of other mainstream brands. Since 1967, tobacco vendors in Japan had been required to display nicotine and tar yield charts conspicuously in their shops, and to distribute them

upon request. However, these charts were reportedly difficult to find in shops (U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare, 1971). Hence smokers' perceptions of light and mild were based on cigarette brand names and advertising messages. In Japan, *mild* was perceived as "light" (lower tar), while *light* was seen as a quality of tobacco taste or flavor (BAT, 1999b).

Smokers did not have an accurate understanding of tar levels. Sometimes, the words *light* and *mild* were used interchangeably. Japan Tobacco defined *mild* as "delicacy of aroma and taste, soft-touch in mouth, smooth to throat, and low irritation," and *light* as "[low] tar and nicotine as well as still providing impact in the mouth" (Daw, 1999). When Mild Seven was introduced in 1977, consumer preference for the lighter/milder taste from charcoal-filtered tobacco had become firmly established (BAT, 1999b), and it became the number one cigarette in Japan within a year (Japan Tobacco, 1999), a position it retains today. According to a Philip Morris assessment, at that time Japan had entered into a period of stable economic growth with steadily increasing affluence:

Lifestyle had begun to change—including food and clothing styles—and people started feeling the need for some "grace" in their lives as a relief from work. All of these feelings were expressed by one single word "Mild". The name of the brand, with its lower delivery and softer pack look launched at the right time seemed to be what the Japanese consumer wanted (Philip Morris, 1990a).

The trend toward low-tar cigarettes in Japan continued into the 1980s. A consumer survey revealed that an ideal brand of cigarettes should have three prime ingredients: "low tar and nicotine, less irritation and [be] less harmful to health" (Finch, 1984). Philip Morris observed, as experienced in the West, that low tar was an important "perceptual need" for Japanese smokers, yet smokers did not know the tar levels of any brands.

After tar and nicotine numbers appeared on cigarette packs and advertising materials beginning

in 1990, preference for low-tar cigarettes increased further (Philip Morris, 1992a). A 1991 Philip Morris survey revealed there was still "little understanding of the differences between tar and nicotine, simply that more tar and nicotine generally meant more taste, as you decrease tar/nicotine, 'flavor becomes less enjoyable and it tastes more like air'" (Philip Morris, 1991). Smokers said they "rarely pay attention to the numbers unless they are actively looking to switch brands, however they cannot read the actual numbers from the vending machine until after purchase" (Philip Morris, 1991). Nonetheless, the industry knew lower numbers would give them more of an advantage in the market than higher numbers. Philip Morris correspondence indicates that the company determined that "the tar and nicotine numbers be rounded down instead of up for the 'printed TIOJ' [Tobacco Institute of Japan] numbers" (Schmidt, 1989).

Just as the industry had engineered the perception of low tar and offered low-tar line extensions elsewhere (W. King, Carter, Borland, Chapman, & Gray, 2003), in Japan too the industry refined smokers' perceptions of low tar by offering an extended range of mild and light cigarettes. BAT (1999a) found merely offering "lights as a benefit" was insufficient and that it needed to maximize perception of the uniqueness of variations of a given brand. This involved

Differentiating (not diluting) [filter ventilation and air dilution] the lights brands and variant packaging works. Dimensionalising the benefits of Lights (i.e. smoothness, mildness etc) is more important than tar level ... White tipping helps to improve mildness perceptions (BAT, 1999a).

The 1990s saw a proliferation of line extensions of low-tar (*super lights*, *extra lights*, *ultra lights*) cigarettes in the Japanese market (Table 1). The transnational tobacco companies continued to develop appealing advertising campaigns for low-tar and clean cigarettes for both men and women (Chong, 1988, 1989; Spurrier-Carter, 1988). Between 1991 and 1993, the low-tar segment grew from 34.5%

Table 1. Categories of line extensions for Japanese brands showing tar levels and perceptions as defined by Philip Morris in 1985 (Norsearch, 1985b).

Category	Tar level ^a	Examples	What it connotes to smokers
Full flavor	>16 mg	HiLite	Regular
Mild	10–15 mg	Mild Seven Lights, Cabin 85 Mild, Cabin Mild 100s, Salem Lights, Lark Deluxe Milds, Virginia Slims Lights	Low tar: mild; smooth, mellow taste; not harsh on the throat; not hot taste
Light	<9 mg	Lark Super Milds, Virginia Slims Lights Menthol, Caster	Low tar and nicotine, for health-conscious smokers, a filter that absorbs tar and nicotine
Super lights	7–8 mg	Philip Morris Super Lights, Virginia Slims Super Lights	Special filter that is good for health-conscious smokers
Ultra-lights	<6 mg–1 mg	Mild Seven Extra Lights, Mild Seven One	Ultra-low-tar subsegment

Note. ^aASI Market Research (Japan) Inc., 1991.

to 51% market share with the most dynamic growth at the lower end (BATCo Marketing Intelligence Department, 1995). Philip Morris projected that the key growth segment in the market would be ultra-low-tar brands (Philip Morris, 1993). Philip Morris was confident that the ultra low market was profitable, and that advertising in this segment would be successful: “We felt that the consumer interest was there—that they were ‘in the trees’ and who ever shook the tree properly would yield terrific results” (Scully, 1992).

Lighter cigarettes perceived as the healthier choice

With the bulk of smokers being either health conscious or wanting low-tar/nicotine brands, lighter cigarettes presented attractive marketing opportunities for line extensions, and Philip Morris developed strategies for brand positioning of each variety of cigarettes for different categories of smokers (Table 2). One recommendation saw marketing opportunities for mild cigarettes for health-conscious smokers and males in the 30- to 40-year age group with median incomes (Norsearch, 1984). They recommended “a longer cigarette, a slimmer cigarette, a cigarette that has some fun and style but is still for health conscious smokers” (Norsearch, 1984).

Philip Morris found that Japanese smokers who smoked light cigarettes thought that if they experienced health effects, lighter cigarettes would enable them to halt their deterioration in health and continue smoking. Focus groups participants said low-tar cigarettes had the following characteristics: “Good for the health; less injurious to health: Good at times when one is in poor physical condition, allow smoker safely to increase the number of

cigarettes smoked” (ASI Market Research (Japan) Inc., 1991). As one smoker put it, “I [switch to] Mild Seven Super Lights when I have coughing fits” (ASI Market Research (Japan) Inc., 1991).

Philip Morris already had the benefit of its U.S. experience in using smokers’ perceptions about low-yield cigarettes to create appealing messages that promised addicted smokers an alternative to quitting—a safer product (Wilkenfeld, 2001). Whereas Kozlowski et al. (1998) examined U.S. smokers’ misperceptions that light and ultra-light cigarettes helped them to reduce risks, a Philip Morris focus group in Japan found that smokers saw light cigarettes as facilitating a safe way to continue smoking. The focus group research revealed that, when it came to ultra-light cigarettes,

They’re more for people who are concerned about their health than people who like smoking or want to smoke ... for people who smoke a lot...for people over forty who are concerned about getting cancer ... for people who don’t seem very healthy (ASI Market Research (Japan) Inc., 1991).

This finding is consistent with another Philip Morris market research report on Japanese young adult smokers, which found that Marlboro Lights were for “people concerned about health” and that low-tar/nicotine cigarettes were perceived as “good for health” (Philip Morris, 1994).

According to Philip Morris, smokers sometimes switched directly from a medium-tar to an ultra-low-tar brand without going through the simple low-tar stage if “the smoker felt that he could no longer tolerate his current brand for physical reasons (e.g. increased proneness to sore throat, etc) or he suffered from a disability, such as chronic bronchitis or

Table 2. Philip Morris’s strategies on marketing opportunities (Norsearch, 1984).

Type of cigarette	Brand benefit	Target market	Brand position
Mild	1. Smooth, mellow satisfying taste; charcoal filter to improve taste and absorb tar and nicotine to help protect health	1. Health-conscious smoker (males aged 30–40, women aged 35+), brand to reflect need for a cautious and careful lifestyle	1. “Unique filtration benefits” should help promote the taste and health positioning
	2. Longer cigarette with white filter tip for women; gives satisfaction; not harsh on the throat and better for health	2. Younger smokers, smokers (>30 years) and women (30–40 years); prestigious luxury mild cigarette that should be more sophisticated, expensive than trendy	2. More luxury and longer cigarettes
Light	1. Important to women smokers, health conscious, occasional smokers	1. Men and women, younger white collar workers and students, light smokers	1. Young and modern but not expensive
	2. A longer, slimmer cigarette; younger stylish image; white filter; a cigarette with flavor and aroma	2. Sophisticated, trendy, stylish smokers; upscale white collar smokers who are concerned about their health	2. Prestigious imported pack, “Super Light Luxury brand”
Menthol	1. Imported brand, younger image, not too stylish and upscale, has aroma and taste, white filter tip suitable for both younger men and women	1. Younger smokers (<30 years), smokers who are students or young professionals	1. New moderately priced imported young brand
	2. Luxury prestige brand in expensive-looking pack; good taste and flavor; cool, refreshing, smooth, mellow taste	2. Upscale, sophisticated; more status-conscious smokers	2. Establishment of a new luxury brand

asthma, and he was concerned that perseverance with the current brand would aggravate the condition" (ASI Market Research [Japan] Inc., 1991). BAT observed that smokers "don't want to smoke too much but they are not successful. Then they switched [to] the lighter cigarette, due to [an] additional reason[:] 'health'" (Asaba, 1991).

The rise of ultra low tar

So-called ultra-low-tar cigarettes (1–6 mg) were introduced in Japan in 1989, initially through Merit, Barclay, and Vantage. When preparing for the launch of Merit, Philip Morris aimed to meet smokers' need for a filter that eliminated "harmful elements" (Devitre, 1987). Philip Morris promoted Merit to Japanese smokers by positioning it as a cigarette that "has half the tar of Japan's leading brand but with good taste" (Devitre, 1987).

By 1992, the ultra-low-tar segment was the fastest growing segment in Japan (Philip Morris, 1992a). In developing the concept for a 1-mg tar cigarette, Philip Morris chose a trademark that was "easy for the Japanese consumers to remember": Next, which was "low in tar, light taste, Japanese image, health conscious and clean fresh taste" (Philip Morris, 1992a). It was launched in 1993 with a US\$18 million budget, significantly more than Japan Tobacco's advertising expenditure on its 1-mg Frontier brand in Japan in 1992 (Philip Morris, 1992a). In 1996, ultra-low-tar cigarettes represented 40% of sales, making them the highest proportion of the "light" market in the world (John, 1996).

By 1998, BAT observed that the market in Japan had settled "firmly in the Lights range" (BAT, 1999b). The 1–6-mg tar cigarettes category was projected to account for the majority of industry volume by 1999, in sharp contrast to the 12%–13% market share of the same segment in the United States (BAT, 1996). In 2004, market share for cigarettes with machine-read levels of 2–3 mg tar and above had either leveled off or were decreasing, whereas 1-mg products continue to rise (Japan Tobacco, 2004).

Discussion

Charcoal filters, introduced to improve the taste of tobacco, came to be seen by Japanese smokers as a way of protecting their health. Their appeal was so powerful that today nearly all cigarettes sold in Japan have charcoal filters. Smokers' perceptions that reduced tar levels meant safer cigarettes were shaped largely by the industry over the past three decades. The transnational tobacco companies capitalized on consumer concerns about health hazards of smoking to promote low-tar cigarettes as a safer

alternative. This may be one factor explaining why smoking prevalence in Japan remains high.

Lack of legislative restriction on advertising and promotion provided the industry with marketing freedoms to create messages reassuring smokers that they were smoking safer cigarettes. The market research described here contradicts current positions taken by tobacco companies that the use of terms such as *light* and *mild* is not intended to give the impression of less hazardous cigarettes but that the words are taste descriptors. The WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) recommends that Parties prohibit misleading descriptors on tobacco product packaging (WHO, 2003).

To comply with the requirements of the FCTC, as of July 2005 cigarette packs containing the words *light* and *mild* in Japan are now accompanied by specific warnings about the relationship between the consumption of tobacco and health. However, after two decades of shaping smokers' perceptions that lower tar labels are for health-conscious smokers, the credibility and effectiveness of the new warnings remain to be determined. Currently a wide range of line extensions denoted by lower tar labels corresponding with lighter shades of blue is available in the market. Japan Tobacco continues to use terms such as *lights*, *super lights*, *extra lights*, and *one* by associating them with decreasing strengths of tar content, thereby utilizing the original concept that less tar is safer.

BAT had predicted that after the full development of 1-mg tar levels, innovative products would be the logical next step. Japan Tobacco has entered this new phase of development by reintroducing many old brands and launching new ones, including fruit- and food-flavored cigarettes, which are socially more acceptable. In 2003, Japan Tobacco introduced Lucia, a new citrus-flavored cigarette specially blended to reduce odor, followed in 2004 by the launch of a range of 13 new flavored cigarettes. Japan Tobacco planned to launch an average of 10 new products every year, aiming most of them at young smokers who were more likely than older smokers to try new products.

Growing health concerns combined with misperceptions that low-yield cigarettes are less dangerous set the stage for Japanese smokers to buy low-tar cigarettes perceived as being safer alternatives. Seen in the context of a trend-conscious society with a penchant for new fashion and products, the tobacco companies were able to develop a lucrative market for mild, light, and ultra-low-tar cigarettes. Although light and mild cigarettes also had significant proportions of the market in other developed countries, the industry considered Japan to be the lightest market in the world. The companies particularly targeted younger and female smokers with the mild, light, and

ultra-light cigarettes because of their health and social concerns. Though smoking prevalence is falling in Japan, the growing range of innovative food-flavored cigarettes may keep young Japanese smoking. Japanese enthusiasm for new products and receptivity toward innovative cigarettes has continued into the 21st century, with Philip Morris extolling the merits of conducting business in Japan: "This is still a fabulous place to do business. Consumers respond to new products. If you launch the right product at the right time, people will give it a chance" (Tuinstra, 2000).

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