Plain packaging: a logical progression for tobacco control in one of the world’s ‘darkest markets’

Michelle Scollo, Megan Bayly, Melanie Wakefield

ABSTRACT

The Australian approach to tobacco control has been a comprehensive one, encompassing mass media campaigns, consumer information, taxation policy, access for smokers to smoking cessation advice and pharmaceutical treatments, protection from exposure to tobacco smoke and regulation of promotion. World-first legislation to standardise the packaging of tobacco was a logical next step to further reduce misleadingly reassuring promotion of a product known for the past 50 years to kill a high proportion of its long-term users. Similarly, refreshed, larger pack warnings which started appearing on packs at the end of 2012 were a logical progression of efforts to ensure that consumers are better informed about the health risks associated with smoking. Regardless of the immediate effects of legislation, further progress will continue to require a comprehensive approach to maintain momentum and ensure that government efforts on one front are not undermined by more vigorous efforts and greater investment by tobacco companies elsewhere.

A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH

Australia was not the first country in the world to attempt to discourage smoking. It was not until 1973 that a discreet, faint gold-lettered warning about smoking being a health hazard appeared on cigarette packs.1 Almost a decade after similar warnings were required in the USA.2 Televised cigarette advertisements continued until the mid-1970s, about 10 years after they had disappeared from television screens in the UK,3 the USA4 and New Zealand.5 Despite this tentative beginning, since the early 1980s Australian Governments of all persuasions have pursued the tobacco control agenda with vigour and determination. An early achiever of international best practice on many different fronts since that time, Australia was one of the first 40 countries to ratify the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC),6 and so became a full Party on 27 February 2005, the date on which the FCTC came into force. The FCTC requires Parties to adopt a systematic and broadly encompassing approach to tobacco control,7 including numerous measures to reduce the demand and supply of tobacco products. Since the early 1980s, the Australian approach to tobacco control has been just such a comprehensive one, encompassing mass media campaigns, consumer information, taxation policy, access for smokers to smoking cessation advice and pharmaceutical treatments, protection from exposure to tobacco smoke and regulation of promotion.8 The timeline depicted in figure 1 shows some of the major milestones and activities on these fronts.

‘Quit’ campaigns established in each state from 1983 used mass media to educate the community about the dangers of smoking.8 Government funding was secured to place advertisements during prime-time television rather than merely in late night ‘community service’ spots.9 Professional public relations activities encouraged media coverage and used celebrities and high-rating television and radio programmes to popularise the ‘Quit’ message.9 Public support for the ‘Quit’ initiative helped to encourage governments to seriously consider, and then start to enact, recommendations from international health agencies to ban all forms of promotion of tobacco products,10 and to raise taxes on tobacco products with the dual objectives of making smoking less affordable, generating additional funds for expanded public education campaigns and replacing tobacco sponsorship of sport.11

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, concerns about the health effects of exposure to other people’s smoking12 saw the progressive restriction of smoking in more and more workplaces,13 14 which then generalised elsewhere.15 16 The resultant ever-expanding restrictions on smoking in hospitality venues and public places17 combined with the ever-growing evidence about the health effects and social costs of smoking, all contributed to growing antismoking sentiment. Antismoking norms have been demonstrated to have a profound effect on the frequency18 and uptake of smoking.19

SUSTAINED INVESTMENT YIELDS RESULTS

Over the past four decades of intense activity, consumption of tobacco products declined substantially in Australia, reducing from a high of more than 3500 g of tobacco per person (15 years and older) in 1961 to less than an estimated 875 g per capita in recent years (see figure 2). Prevalence of smoking has also declined substantially. A stall in the decline in prevalence occurred in the mid-1990s, corresponding with reduced expenditure on public campaigns20 and less media interest following a decade of intense political campaigning; however, a major injection of funds through the National Tobacco Campaign in 199721–23 kick-started the decline again in that year.24–26 Campaigns over the late 2000s were funded at more commercially realistic levels in most states. This has allowed Australian smokers to be consistently exposed to television advertisements about the health effects of smoking (see figure 3 for an indication of the annual reach and frequency of that advertising in Australia since 2001).

Tax policy has always been a crucial part of Australia’s comprehensive approach to discouraging
smoking. Frequent increases in state fees on tobacco from the early 1980s until their abolition in 1997 carried through to frequent increases in the price of tobacco products, though the effects were somewhat blunted by tobacco companies’ development of large pack sizes which attracted much less tax than smaller packs. The tax on large packets of cigarettes increased substantially following tax reforms adopted in 1999, with further increases associated with the implementation of Australia’s Goods and Services Tax in 2000–2001. Taxes increased again substantially in April 2010, December 2013 and September 2014, with further increases scheduled for September 2015 and 2016. The recommended retail price over time of Winfield 25s, Australia’s leading brand, is shown in figure 3.

Consistent with a long-standing commitment to a comprehensive approach, Australian governments have not relied on tax alone. A variety of telephone, internet, SMS programmes and smartphone applications have been put in place across the country to support and encourage smokers in their quit attempts. Smoking cessation aids were listed on the national Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme in 2001 (bupropion), 2008 (varenicline) and 2011 (nicotine replacement therapies, extended from subsidies limited to war veterans and Indigenous smokers to all Australian smokers). Since 2001, almost three million prescriptions for treatments have been dispensed (see blue bars in figure 3).

**RECENT INITIATIVES**

The social costs of smoking and the case for investment in smoking cessation and tobacco control more generally have been widely accepted in Australia since the late 1990s. Faced with an ageing cohort of postwar baby boomers and the prospect of a shrinking workforce to support rising healthcare costs, recent Australian governments have looked to tobacco control for continuing returns for their investment in disease prevention. In 2008 and then again in 2012, all governments in Australia—state, territory and federal—signed a national healthcare agreement with the ambitious goal of reducing adult daily smoking prevalence to 10% and halving the adult daily smoking rate among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders by 2018 (clause 18.3). In May 2010, the Government released its response to a far-reaching and detailed set of recommendations formulated by a national taskforce on preventive health. This document affirmed the Government’s intention to implement
plain packaging and an immediate 25% increase in customs/excise duty on tobacco (announced on the 29 April 2010—see Scollo et al (this volume) for a timeline of events). The response document also outlined the Government’s commitment to adopting numerous other recommended measures including enlarged graphic health warnings, tightening of...
restrictions on advertising of tobacco products in particular on
the internet, increased funding for mass media campaigns and
additional programmes for Indigenous smokers and people
living with mental illness. In 2012 the Australian Government
and state and territory governments approved a new national
tobacco strategy, the NTS 2012–2018,38 which is much more
far-reaching than its predecessors39–41 and aims to strengthen
and extend activities in all the major streams of tobacco control
over the 6 years to 2018.

TOBACCO PLAIN PACKAGING—A LOGICAL PROGRESSION
Australia has been described by the tobacco industry as the
world’s ‘darkest market’.42 Tobacco advertising has been banned
in virtually every form of media—on TV and radio through the
1970s, on billboards and outside shops during the 1980s, in the
print media and through sports sponsorship during the 1990s
and at point of sale from the early 2000s, with retail display of
products banned altogether in most states from about 2010.43
By the mid-2000s, attractive design of packs was one of the few
ways that Australian tobacco companies could continue to
promote their products. World-first legislation to standardise
the packaging of tobacco44 was both a response to this marketing
strategy and a logical next step to further reduce the mislead-
ingly reassuring promotion of a product known to cause the
death of more than half of its long-term users.45

ENLARGED GRAPHIC HEALTH WARNINGS—ANOTHER
LOGICAL PROGRESSION
In addition to some of the earliest and strongest television-led
antismoking campaigns,8 clear and direct information for
tobacco consumers on product packaging has also been an
important part of the Australian approach, with four rotating
warnings introduced on cigarette packs in 19871 and bold text
warnings in 1995.46 47 Australia was one of the first countries in
the world to follow Canada’s lead with graphic health warnings
complemented by comprehensive back-of-pack information
explicating the warning statement implemented in 2006.48 Once
again, the refreshed, larger pack warnings which started appear-
ing on packs at the end of 201249 were a logical progression of
efforts to ensure that consumers are better informed about the
health risks associated with smoking (see figure 4).

EVALUATING IMPACT
The decline in smoking in Australia since the late 1990s resulted
from more people quitting, and fewer young people taking up
smoking.50–52 In line with the findings of research throughout
the rest of the world,53 studies measuring short-term effects
have been able to attribute reductions in smoking prevalence in
Australia to increasing taxes,27 28 greater expenditure on social
marketing campaigns27 28 54 55 and smoke-free policies.28 56
Multivariate analysis of the effects of policy on prevalence of
smoking among adolescents in various Australian states from
1990 to 2005 also indicates strong effects for increases in the
price of tobacco products, expenditure on social marketing and
comprehensiveness of smoke-free policies in public places.57
However, such studies tell only part of the story.
As illustrated in US Surgeon General’s reports, which have
exhaustively reviewed the evidence about the effectiveness of
tobacco control over the past five decades,58 59 smoking is a
multi-factorial problem—a tug-of-war between the forces which
promote and facilitate the use of tobacco products and the
forces which discourage and inhibit its use; a tug-of-war played
out at the individual, household and community levels as well
as in the wider culture. Each of the regulatory, educational and
clinical factors highlighted in figure 1 vary widely in their tech-
niques and effects, some of which are contributory rather than

Figure 4  Marlboro cigarettes displaying changing consumer product information—as they appeared in Australia from 1987 (rear), the late 1990s,
the late 2000s (second from front) and from December 2012 after the introduction of plain packaging (front).
Source: Quit Victoria pack collection.
independent,58 and difficult to capture at the population level through standard statistical analysis.60–63 However, it seems likely that each would have contributed in some way to reduce tobacco smoking—either directly or indirectly—by having: reduced the glamour and appeal of tobacco products; increased knowledge about health effects; reduced cues and opportunities for smoking; reduced the social acceptability and other rewards of smoking and increased its costs; increased smokers’ knowledge about how to manage the quitting process; or reduced withdrawal symptoms during quitting.

The studies in this volume examine the impact of Australia’s tobacco plain packaging legislation and the simultaneously introduced enlarged graphic health warnings59 not on smoking prevalence, which is affected by a variety of demographic, marketing and policy factors over time, but rather on the perceived effectiveness of tobacco packaging, the effectivenss of health warnings and consumer misperceptions of harm.64–66 67 Downstream effects on attitudes, beliefs and intentions are also examined,68 69 as are tobacco industry claims about possible and unintended consequences.70–74 Regardless of the immediate effects, further progress in Australia will continue to require a comprehensive approach to maintain momentum and ensure that government efforts on one front are not undermined by more vigorous efforts and greater investment by tobacco companies elsewhere.

### What this paper adds

**What is already known on this topic**

- Australia has been an early achiever on many different fronts in tobacco control.
- It was the first country in the world to standardise the packaging of tobacco products.

**What this paper adds**

- This paper provides a brief history of Australia’s comprehensive approach to tobacco control and explains the rationale for adoption of plain packaging legislation and enhanced graphic health warnings.

### Contributors

MW and MS conceived of this paper. MS and MB coordinated collection of data and undertook data analysis. MS drafted the manuscript and all authors contributed to the finalisation of the manuscript.

### Funding

Production of this paper was supported by Cancer Council Victoria.

### Competing interests

The authors wish to advise that MS was a technical writer for and MW a member of the Tobacco Working Group of the Australian National Preventive Health Task Force and MW was a member of the Expert Advisory for and MW a member of the Tobacco Working Group of the Australian National Tobacco Control Coalition. The authors wish to advise that MS was a technical writer for and MW a member of the Expert Advisory for and MW a member of the Tobacco Working Group of the Australian National Tobacco Control Coalition.

### Provenance and peer review

Not commissioned; externally peer reviewed.

### Open Access

This is an Open Access article distributed in accordance with the Creative Commons Attribution Non Commercial (CC BY-NC 4.0) license, which permits others to distribute, remix, adapt, build upon this work non-commercially, provided the original work is properly cited and the use is non-commercial. See: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/.

### REFERENCES

1. Scollon M. Chapter 12.1 Health warnings. In: Scollon M, Winstanley M., eds. Tobacco in Australia: facts and issues. Melbourne: Cancer Council Victoria, 2013. http://www.tobaccoaustralia.org.au/a21-1-1-history-health-warnings

2. Centres for Disease Control. Selected actions of the U.S. Government regarding the regulation of tobacco sales, marketing, and use (excluding laws pertaining to agriculture or excise tax). Atlanta, GA: CDC, 2012 [updated 15 Nov 2012; Aug 2014]. http://www.cdc.gov/tobacco/data_statistics/by_topic/policy/legislation/

3. Television Act, 1964, (1964). http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1964/26

4. Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act, (1969). http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/15/1331

5. The Smokefree Coalition. The history of tobacco control in New Zealand. 2012. http://www.sfc.org.nz/info/history.php

6. WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control. New York: United Nations, 2003. 2302. http://www.who.int/tobacco/framework/WHO_FCTC_english.pdf

7. Scollon M, Winstanley M. Introduction. In: Scollon M, Winstanley M., eds. Tobacco in Australia: facts and issues. Melbourne: Quit Victoria, 2012. http://www.tobaccoaustralia.org.au

8. Pierce J, Dayer T, Frape G, et al. Evaluation of the Sydney ‘Quit For Life’ anti-smoking campaign. Part 1. Achievement of intermediate goals. Med J Aust 1986;144:341–4.

9. Centre for Behavioural Research in Cancer. Quit evaluation studies. Melbourne: Victorian Smoking and Health Program, 1985 to 2001. http://www.quit.org.au/browse.asp?ContainerID=1755

10. Powles JW, Gifford S. Health of nations: lessons from Victoria, Australia. Br Med J 1993;306:125–6.

11. Borland R, Winstanley M, Reading D. Legislation to institutionalize resources for tobacco control: the 1987 Victorian Tobacco Act. Addiction 2009;104:1623–9.

12. Makka T, McAllister I. Public opinion towards drug policies in Australia 1985 to 1995. Canberra: Australian Government, 1996. http://www.aiic.gov.au/publications/previous2series/other/21-40/public20opinion20towards20drugs20policies20in20Australia201985-95.html

13. Wakefield M, Roberts L, Owen N. Trends in prevalence and acceptance of workplace smoking bans among indoor workers in South Australia. Tob Control 1996;5:205–8.

14. Borland R, Morand M, Mullins R. Prevalence of workplace smoking bans in Victoria. Aust N Z J Public Health 1997;21:694–8.

15. Walsh R, Tepleep F. Support for smoking restrictions in bars and gaming areas: review of Australian studies. Aust N Z J Public Health 2003;27:310–22.

16. Walsh R, Tepleep F, Paul C, et al. Environmental tobacco smoke in homes, motor vehicles and licensed premises: community attitudes and practices. Aust N Z J Public Health 2002;26:536–42.

17. Merom D, Rissel C. Factors associated with smoke-free homes in NSW: results from the 1998 NSW Health Survey. Aust N Z J Public Health 2001;25:339–45.

18. Alamar B, Glantz S. Effect of increased social unacceptability of cigarette smoking on reduction in cigarette consumption. Am J Public Health 2006;96:1359–63.

19. DeCirca P, Kenkel D, Mathias A, et al. Youth smoking, cigarette prices, and anti-smoking sentiment. Health Econ 2008;17:733–49.

20. Hill DJ, White VM, Scollon MM. Smoking behaviours of Australian adults in 1995: trends and concerns. Med J Aust 1998;168:209–13.

21. Hill DJ, Alcock J. Background to campaign. In: Hassard K., ed. Australia’s National Tobacco Campaign: evaluation report. Vol 1. Canberra: Commonwealth Department of Health and Aged Care, 1999. http://www.health.gov.au/internet/main/publishing.nsf/Content/health-pubhlth-publicat-document-metadata-tobcamp_1-cnt.htm

22. Hill D, Borland R, Carroll T, et al. Perspectives of the Australian National Tobacco Campaign. In: Hassard K., ed. Australia’s National Tobacco Campaign: evaluation report. Vol 2. Canberra: Commonwealth Department of Health and Aged Care, 2000:1–9. http://www.health.gov.au/internet/main/publishing.nsf/Content/health-pubhlth-publicat-document-tobcamp_2-cnt.htm

23. Hill D, Carroll T, Australia’s National Tobacco Campaign. Tob Control 2003;12:39–14.

24. Wakefield M, Freeman I, Boulter J. Changes associated with the National Tobacco Campaign: pre and post campaign surveys compared. In: Hassard K., ed. Australia’s National Tobacco Campaign: evaluation report. Vol 1. Canberra: Commonwealth Department of Health and Aged Care, 1999. http://www.health.gov.au/internet/main/publishing.nsf/Content/health-pubhlth-publicat-document-tobcamp_1-cnt.htm

25. Tan N, Wakefield M, Freeman J. Changes associated with the National Tobacco Campaign: results of the second follow-up survey. In: Hassard K., ed. Australia’s National Tobacco Campaign: evaluation report. Vol 2. Canberra: Commonwealth Department of Health and Aged Care, 2000:21–75. http://www.health.gov.au/internet/main/publishing.nsf/Content/health-pubhlth-publicat-document-tobcamp_2-cnt.htm

26. Wakefield M, Freeman I, Inglis G, Ch S Changes associated with the National Tobacco Campaign: results of the third and fourth follow-up surveys. In: Hassard K., ed. Australia’s National Tobacco Campaign: evaluation report. Vol 3. Canberra: Department of Health and Ageing, 2004. http://www.health.gov.au/internet/main/publishing.nsf/Content/health-pubhlth-publicat-document-tobcamp_3-cnt.htm

27. Wakefield M, Durkin S, Spital M, et al. Impact of tobacco control policies and mass media campaigns on monthly adult smoking prevalence: time series analysis. Am J Public Health 2008;98:1433–50.

28. Wakefield MA, Coomber K, Durkin SJ, et al. Time series analysis of the impact of tobacco control policies on smoking prevalence among Australian adults, 2001–2011. Bull World Health Organ 2014;92:413–22.
29 Scollo M, Younie S, Wakefield M, et al. Impact of tobacco tax reforms on tobacco prices and tobacco use in Australia. Tob Control 2003;12:i59–66.
30 Rudd K, Swan W, Roxon N, Minister, Treasurer, Minister for Health. Anti-Smoking Action. Canberra 29 April 2010. Available from: http://pmtranscripts.dpmc.gov.au/browse.php?Id=17255
31 NSW Retail Tobacco Traders’ Association. Cigarette price lists. Australian Retail Tobacconist 2001 to 2013 to 69.
32 Abelson P. Applied Economics. Returns on investment in public health. Canberra: Department of Health and Ageing, 2003. http://www.health.gov.au/internet/main/publishing.nsf/Content/health-pubhlth-publicdoc-document-tob-eaa-cnt.htm
33 Hurley S. Chapter 17. The economics of tobacco control. In: Scollo M, Winstanley M, eds. Tobacco in Australia: facts and issues. Melbourne: Cancer Council Victoria, 2013. http://www.tobaccoaustralia.org.au/chapter-17-economics
34 COAG Reform Council. National Healthcare Agreement: baseline performance report for 2008–09. Sydney: COAG Reform Council, 2010. http://www.federalfinancialrelations.gov.au/content/national_agreements.aspx
35 Excise Tariff Amendment (Tobacco) Act 2014, Stat. No 9 (2014). http://www.comlaw.gov.au/Details/C2014A00009
36 Freeman B. Chapter 11. Advertising and promotion of tobacco. In: Scollo M, ed. Australian National Tobacco Strategy 2004–2009. Canberra: Commonwealth Department of Health and Ageing, 2010. http://yourhealth.gov.au/internet/yourhealth/publishing.nsf/Content/report-preventivehealthcare
37 Scollo M, Lindorff K, Coomber K, et al. Standardised packaging and new enlarged graphic health warnings for tobacco products in Australia—legislative requirements and implementation of the Tobacco Plain Packaging Act 2011 and the Competition and Consumer (Tobacco) Information Standard, 2011. Tob Control 2015;24:i9–16.
38 Intergovernmental Committee on Drugs Standing Committee on Tobacco. National Tobacco Strategy 2012–2018. Canberra: Australian Government, 2013. http://www.nationaldrugstrategy.gov.au/internet/drugstrategy/publishing.nsf/Content/national_ ts_2012_2018
39 Commonwealth Department of Human Services and Health. National Health Policy on Tobacco in Australia and examples of strategies for implementation. Canberra: Commonwealth Department of Human Services and Health, 1991. 1 p.
40 National Expert Advisory Committee on Tobacco. National Tobacco Strategy 1999 to 2002–03, prepared for the Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy. Canberra: Department of Health and Aged Services, 1999. http://www.health.gov.au/internet/wcms/publishing.nsf/Content/health-pubhlth-publicdoc-document-metadata-tobcstrat.htm
41 Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy. Australian National Tobacco Strategy 2004–2009. Canberra: Department of Health and Ageing, 2005. http://www.health.gov.au/internet/main/publishing.nsf/Content/tobacco-strat
42 Carter SM. Going below the line: creating transportable brands for Australia: the healthiest country by 2020. Canberra: Department of Health and Ageing, 2010. http://yourhealth.gov.au/internet/yourhealth/publishing.nsf/Content/report-preventivehealthcare
43 Scollo M, Younie S, Wakefield M, et al. The advertised price of cigarette packs in retail outlets across Australia before and after the implementation of plain packaging: a cross-sectional study with Australian adult smokers. Tob Control 2015;24:i50–i55.
44 Chapman S. Commentary: if you can’t count it...it doesn’t count: the poverty of econometrics in explaining complex social and behavioural change. Health Promot J Austr 1999;9:206–7.
45 Boirand R. On apparent consumption and what goes up in smoke: a commentary on Bardsley & Oeikians, Health Promot J Austr 2015;24:i66.
46 Bardsley P, Oeikians N. The impact of anti-smoking policies on tobacco consumption in Australia. Health Promot J Austr 1999;9:202–5.
47 Chapman S. Unravelling gossamer with boxing gloves: problems in explaining the decline in smoking. BMJ 1993;307:429–32.
48 Wakefield M, Coomber K, Zacher M, et al. Australian adult smokers’ responses to plain packaging with larger graphic health warnings: 1 year after implementation: results from a national cross-sectional tracking survey. Tob Control 2015;24:i17–25.
49 White V, Williams T, Faulkner A, et al. Do larger graphic health warnings on standardised cigarette packs increase adolescents’ cognitive processing of consumer health information and beliefs about smoking-related harms? Tob Control 2015;24:i50–7.
50 White V, Williams T, Wakefield M, et al. Has the introduction of plain packaging with larger graphic health warnings changed adolescents’ perceptions of cigarette packs and brands? Tob Control 2015;24:i32–9.
51 Miller C, Etridge KA, Wakefield MA. “You’re made to feel like a dirty filthy smoker when you’re not, cigar smoking is another thing all together.” Responses of Australian cigar and cigarillo smokers to plain packaging. Tob Control 2015;24:i56–5.
52 Brennan E, Durkin S, Coomber K, et al. Are quitting-related cognitions and behaviours predicted by proximal responses to plain packaging with larger health warnings? Findings from a national cohort study with Australian adult smokers. Tob Control 2015;24:i33–41.
53 Durkin S, Brennan E, Coomber K, et al. Short-term changes in quitting-related cognitions and behaviours after the implementation of plain packaging with larger health warnings: findings from a national cohort study with Australian adult smokers. Tob Control 2015;24:i32–62.
54 Scollo M, Bayly M, Wakefield M. Did the recommended retail price of tobacco products fall in Australia following the implementation of plain packaging? Tob Control 2015;24:i390–93.
55 Scollo M, Bayly M, Wakefield M. The advertised price of cigarette packs in retail outlets across Australia before and after the implementation of plain packaging: a repeated measures observational study. Tob Control 2015;24:i82–9.
56 Scollo M, Zacher M, Coomber K, et al. Changes in use of types of tobacco products by pack sizes and price segments, prices paid and consumption following the introduction of plain packaging in Australia. Tob Control 2015;24:i46–75.
57 Scollo M, Zacher M, Coomber K, et al. Use of illicit tobacco following introduction of standardised packaging of tobacco products in Australia: results from a national cross-sectional survey. Tob Control 2015;24:i76–81.
Author/s: Scollo, M; Bayly, M; Wakefield, M

Title: Plain packaging: a logical progression for tobacco control in one of the world's 'darkest markets'

Date: 2015-04-01

Citation: Scollo, M., Bayly, M. & Wakefield, M. (2015). Plain packaging: a logical progression for tobacco control in one of the world's 'darkest markets'. TOBACCO CONTROL, 24 (Suppl 2), pp.II3-II8. https://doi.org/10.1136/tobaccocontrol-2014-052048.

Persistent Link: http://hdl.handle.net/11343/262001

File Description: Published version

License: CC BY-NC