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To revel in someone else's misfortune? An exploration of the perception of Indonesian smokers towards tobacco marketing - A virtue ethics perspective

1. Introduction

The tobacco industry is one of the Indonesian government's largest sources of tax revenue and source of employment (Nichter et al., 2009). As the fourth most populous country in the world, the leniency of Indonesia's tobacco marketing regulations presents an opportunity for local and global tobacco companies to penetrate the market and aggressively expand their operations. It was reported that Indonesian tobacco companies spent Rp 1.98 trillion (USD 202 million) in 2010 on cigarette advertisements (Nielsen cited in Sagita, 2013). Indonesia is among the five largest producers and exporters of cigarettes in the world (World Health Organisation [WHO], 2012). It is the only WHO member state in Southeast Asia that has not ratified the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control. Over 90 per cent of smokers in Indonesia smoke clove cigarettes (*kretek*) (WHO, 2012), which contain more nicotine, tar, and carbon monoxide than ordinary white cigarettes. It has been estimated that 200,000 Indonesians die each year from smoking related illnesses - 25,000 of them not even smokers (Evans, 2012).

In 2009 Indonesia's parliament passed a health law to control tobacco, designating tobacco as an addictive substance. Despite this resolution, the implementing guidelines were only released in January 2013 (Bland, 2013). The new legislation requires that by April 2014 cigarette packs must display health warning texts and by June 2014 must show pictorial warning covering 40 per cent of the front and reverse of the packaging. The warning must be shown during tobacco TV advertisements and on other media. The regulations restrict the advertising, promotion and sponsorships of cigarette brands. Those who represent the tobacco industry in Indonesia plan to challenge the new regulations at the Supreme Court, emphasising the damage the new laws will have upon the economy and upon the livelihoods of the country's tobacco farmers (Johnson, 2013).

The tobacco industry provides a classic setting to study the ethicality of marketing practices in general. Although the industry is considered legal, the health, safety and social problems associated with tobacco consumption lead to intense public discussion about the appropriateness of its marketing strategies (Sundaram & Mitra, 2007). Others have argued that despite the industry drawbacks, selling tobacco products legally is less harmful than selling them illegally and unregulated (Lindorff et al., 2012). Whilst most discussions on the issue in various literature and media mostly represent the views of regulatory agencies and public interest groups, very little studies have investigated how consumers evaluate the ethics of tobacco marketing activities, especially in emerging markets. Thus, in order to fulfil the gap in the literature, this study aims to explore consumers' ethical perceptions of tobacco marketing activities in Indonesia from the virtue ethics perspective.

2. Virtue ethics

Virtue ethics focuses on the integrity of the moral actor (the person) rather than on the moral act (the decision or behaviour) (Treviño & Nelson, 2011). Thus, it focuses on the character,

motivations and integrity of a person. In terms of ethical purity, intention is the most difficult to evaluate because it requires understanding of the internal motivation behind a company's actions or policy (Laczniak & Murphy, 2006). Virtue ethics argues that a person's character must be justified by a relevant moral community, or a community that holds the person to the highest ethical standards. Therefore, a decision maker must consider the community where he or she operates. Virtue ethics is especially useful for somebody who works within a professional community that has developed high standards of ethical conduct for the community members. Nevertheless, a business belongs to various communities. As stated by Solomon, (1992): "[t]o see business as a social activity is to see it as a practice that both thrives on competition and presupposes a coherent community of mutually concerned as well as self-interested citizens" (p. 146). Therefore, an ethical business must pay attention to both business performance, as well as the impact of the business activities on the wider community. Virtue ethics emphasises that humans should apply reason to avoid both excess, and deficiency, in their actions (Murphy, 1999). Based on this view, marketers must conduct their marketing activities with moderation and prudence (Robin & Reidenbach, 1987). Trust, self-control, empathy, fairness and truthfulness are the elements of virtue that are important for business practices (Ferrell, Fraedrich and Ferrell, 2015). The aggressiveness of tobacco marketing in Indonesia may not comply with the principle of virtue ethics. The following section will evaluate the practice of tobacco marketing in Indonesia from virtue ethics perspective.

3. Tobacco marketing practices in Indonesia

The new regulations imply that tobacco advertisements should not show cigarettes, cigarette packs, or the use of cigarettes or tobacco (Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, 2011). But tobacco marketers have been creative in sidestepping these restrictions, by endorsing the themes of fun, youthfulness, modernity, masculinity and togetherness in their advertisements, all of which may be attractive to young people. For instance, in 2011 Sampoerna (owned by Phillip Morris International) used an advertising slogan "Dying is better than leaving a friend. Sampoerna is a cool friend". This message implicitly suggests that dying is better than leaving (i.e. not smoking) Sampoerna cigarettes. More recently, in 2013 Indonesian tobacco giant PT Djarum (owned by Gallager Group), promoted its popular brand of L.A. Lights cigarettes with the provocative slogan "**DON'T QUIT**" and "Let's Do It!" (Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, 2013a). These examples can be categorised as deceptive and do not reflect the integrity of a moral agent because the advertisements glamorise the temporary pleasure customers get from smoking but say nothing about the products well-known danger to health.

Adults may choose to smoke, even if they are well-informed about the danger of cigarettes. They may smoke for various reasons such as to alleviate anxiety, combat weight gain or simply for pleasure. In most contexts, adults are permitted to make harmful choices that are primarily self-regarding (Thomas & Gostin, 2013). Nevertheless, as moral agents, individuals have the responsibility to maintain and protect others' well-being. In Indonesia it has been estimated that 78 per cent of children aged 13-15 are exposed to second hand smoke in public places and 69 per cent are exposed to second hand smoke at home (Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, 2013b). Furthermore, smoking initiation also begins early with over a quarter of urban and rural 10-year-old boys smoking (WHO, 2012). In May 2010 the world was shocked by the "smoking baby", a two-year-old Indonesian boy who smoked forty cigarettes a day. He became the youngest person in the world to receive tobacco addiction treatment. The ethical implications of marketing campaigns directed at well-informed customers are different to those targeted at children, who may not be able to make well-informed decisions, and who may not understand the persuasive content of advertising

(McNeal, 1992; Nicholls & Cullen, 2004). In order to reduce children's exposure to tobacco marketing campaigns, the Indonesian government advises that tobacco advertising on TV and radio is restricted to the hours between 21:30 and 05:00 local time (Campaign for Tobacco-free Kids, 2011). Despite this restriction, children are still exposed to aggressive tobacco advertisements on street billboards. According to a survey conducted by Indonesian National Commission on Children Protection (Komnas Anak), 93 per cent of Indonesian children are exposed to cigarette advertisements on television, and 50 per cent regularly see cigarette advertisement on outdoor billboards and banners (Sagita, 2013).

Studies have identified that teenagers' intention to smoke and smoking initiation can be linked to their receptivity to tobacco advertising (Altman et al., 1996; Evans et al., 1995; Feighery et al., 1998). The average age of daily smoking initiation in Indonesia is 17.6 years, and 12.3 per cent smoked before the age of 15 years (WHO, 2012). Based on this evidence, it can be suggested that tobacco advertising must have a significant influence on Indonesian teenagers' intention to smoke. In addition, there is a lack of public awareness about the danger of tobacco to both active and passive smokers. A study indicates that even though boys between 13 and 17 years old can repeat the health warnings on cigarette packs, they believe smoking one to two packs per day is not harmful to health (Barber et al., 2008). The exposure of Indonesian teenagers and children to cigarettes, and their lack of awareness about the harm cigarettes do to their health can impact on their quality of life from an early age.

Tobacco companies tend to design marketing strategies that are aimed at young potential smokers, targeting them not only with pro-tobacco messages, but also with sales promotional features (King & Siegel, 1999; Pucci & Siegel, 1999a, 1999b). Despite the new regulations requiring the following statement to be imprinted on cigarette packaging, "sale or giving to children under the age of 18 years and to pregnant women is prohibited" (Health Minister of the Republic of Indonesia, 2013), they do not ban the sales of individual cigarettes, a practice that makes them easily accessible to young consumers with low budgets. The Indonesian consumers have access to single cigarettes for as little as USD 0.05 or can purchase a pack for USD 1.

The new regulations stipulate that sponsorship that uses tobacco product trademarks and logos, has the intent to promote tobacco products and covered by the media is prohibited. Since this stipulation, many national music and sporting events have moved away from using tobacco companies as sponsors (Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, 2013b). Nevertheless, in June 2014 Djarum still sponsors a national badminton competition event, which was broadcasted by the media (Djarum Foundation, 2014). Furthermore, the new regulations allow tobacco companies to contribute to corporate social responsibility (CSR) campaigns only if the contribution does not use tobacco product trademark and logos and does not intent to promote a tobacco product. CSR has become one of the strategies employed by tobacco companies to enhance their image and maintain legitimacy with the public, press and regulators who are increasingly against their business practice (Friedman, 2009; Jura & Velasco, 2011). As the regulations on conventional tobacco marketing practice in Indonesia becomes stricter, most tobacco companies focus their efforts on CSR campaigns. The CSR activities conducted by the tobacco companies in Indonesia include providing educational scholarships, helping underprivileged schools to achieve national standards, helping low-income entrepreneurs develop their business and helping natural disaster victims. Companies such as Sampoerna and Djarum dedicate separate bodies, Putera Sampoerna Foundation and Djarum Foundation, to create partnership with government agencies, NGOs and corporate and individual donors and to manage their CSR activities. It was reported that in 2011 Philip Morris spent 6.2 million on CSR in Indonesia (South East Asia Tobacco Control Alliance [SEATCA], 2013) (SEATCA, 2013). It is argued that as the products of the tobacco industry are harmful when used as directed, no amount of CSR activity can resolve the fundamental

contradiction with ethical corporate citizenship (Friedman, 2009). The Framework Convention on Tobacco Control to which Indonesia does not sign for, suggests that countries that have signed for the convention should not endorse, support, form partnerships with or participate in tobacco company's CSR activities.

4. Research methods

Focus groups are group interviews with the purpose of obtaining data. In this study, focus groups were used to gather opinions and to create discussion between smokers about the ethics of tobacco marketing in Indonesia. The study was conducted in three *kelurahan* (administrative villages) in the city of Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Brontokusuman, Gondokusuman and Muja Muju. Community leaders of these districts were contacted in advance to help the researchers recruiting potential participants. The focus groups were designed in an interactive group setting, which allows respondents to talk with other group members freely (Krueger, 1998). Following the principle that the members of focus group "must be small enough for everyone to have an opportunity to share insights and yet large enough to provide diversity of perceptions" (Krueger & Casey, 2000, p.10), the number of respondents for each focus group was between 6 and 7. The focus group participants have different background in term of age, gender, occupations and interest. However, out of 20 participants, there were only 2 female smokers participated in study. This small number of women respondents reflects the small number of female smokers in Indonesia (4.67%). This might be due to the fact that socially female smokers are often seen as taboo and consequently many potential female participants probably hesitated to discuss their perception towards cigarettes and smoking openly in public.

5. Findings and discussion

Overall the findings suggest a multifaceted, contradictory set of thoughts and feelings. It is a fragmented view on ethic-business integrity whereas there were desires to see fair and justice from the virtue perspective of the potentially victimised consumers, the existing marketing practices conducted by cigarette firms seem to be difficult to argue at legal and economic basis. In sum, the findings tend to converge into 'not-ideal-but-what-can-we-do' kind of impression. The followings articulate the data into extracted, key themes with corresponding citations.

5.1. 'Not me the existing, but newcomers'

All of the focus group participants stated that cigarette advertisements did not have any influence on their willingness to buy or consume tobacco. However, some participants believed that the key target group of these advertisements is the novices such as children and teenagers. All participants recognised the advertising themes such as macho, fun, adventurous, travel, masculine and togetherness and agree that they "***do not explicitly persuade people to smoke***". However, they might have an impact on the younger generation because they are on the journey of "***finding their identity***", as stated by one of the respondents: "***When seeing an cigarette advertisement with a slogan "Men have a taste" [i.e. Gudang Garam International brand], teenagers in their puberty, may think that I want to look like an adult or more masculine, so I will smoke that cigarette***". The findings of this study supported the findings of previous studies (Altman et al., 1996; Evans et al., 1995; Feighery et al., 1998) which indicate that teenagers' intention to smoke can be linked to their receptivity of advertising. Because of this reason most of the respondents agree that cigarettes advertising must only be broadcasted between 9.30am and 5pm, during children's bedtime. However, one respondent argued that the restriction of cigarette advertisements on television is less effective because children are also being exposed to cigarettes on other places. Since

cigarette advertisements are considered to have less influence on the supposedly target market (adults over 18), the regulators in Indonesia may want to consider the banning of cigarette advertisement.

5.2. 'Virtually incompliant but legal'

Despite the concern on the effects of cigarette advertising to children, some respondents highlighted: *“Since cigarette is legal, from the company’s point of view it is only ethical if they are allowed to advertise their products”*. Furthermore, *“Companies, including the cigarette companies, are allowed to use different strategies to earn profit”*. Some may argue that tobacco marketers have a professional responsibility to generate profit for their companies. Thus, as long as their marketing practice is conducted within the legal requirement, this practice may be deemed acceptable. Nevertheless, the fact that tobacco can harm its users, as well as other people around them, cannot be ignored. The great proliferation of marketing communications for tobacco products are, thus, not compliant with virtue ethics traits such as integrity and trust (Treviño & Nelson, 2011).

5.3. 'Soft disguise part 1: celebrity'

One respondent was concerned about the use of social media by cigarette companies: *“For instance, a cigarette brand organised a music band competition. I ‘liked’ one of the music bands in that competition. Automatically all of my friends would know that I “liked” the band as well as the cigarette brand. My teenage brother [who is on Facebook] could also see that I ‘liked’ that band and the brand too. Even though he could not see the product [i.e. cigarette], he could remember and recognise who organised the competition and when he grows up he probably would use that brand”*. The respondent added this is “a soft way” of cigarette companies promoting their brands.

5.4. 'Infringement but who is responsible?'

Some respondents argued that it was acceptable to sell individual cigarettes because it was more economical and sellers were trying to fulfil market demands. Nevertheless, they recognised that children and teenagers could access individual cigarettes sold at mom-and-pop shops quite easily. Despite the selling of cigarettes to anyone under 18 years of age being prohibited, all of the respondents have witnessed the many infringements of this regulation, especially in small villages. All of the respondents believed that cigarette sellers must have moral responsibility for not selling cigarettes to children. Furthermore, it was also common to see parents asking their children to buy cigarettes. One respondent added that he had witnessed a mother buy a pack of cigarettes for his child. These phenomena suggested that the lack of awareness about the harm cigarettes do to children. Furthermore, despite the prohibition of selling cigarettes to under 18 years old, it is not accompanied by an enforced penalty. Therefore, the regulators need to put more effort in increasing the awareness of educating the danger of smoking and seriously consider implementing penalty for those who sell cigarettes to children and/or teenagers and ask them to buy cigarettes. These findings also indicate that implementation virtuous business practice is not only the responsibility of manufacturers but also the regulators and society.

5.5. 'Soft disguise part 2: athlete'

Although all of the respondents recognised the unhealthy association between cigarettes and sport, some of them believed that not many companies had the financial capabilities to sponsor sporting events like the cigarette companies. Nevertheless, some also questioned their intention of sponsoring sporting events. One respondent believed that many athletes in Indonesia earned a living from sponsorship, *“If the athletes are successful they will go everywhere and can promote the cigarette brands who sponsor them”*. Furthermore, some respondents also added that children and teenagers often viewed these events. These also applied for music event sponsorships. Before the enforcement of the new regulations, some

respondents witnessed the distribution of free packs of cigarettes during cigarette sponsored music events to adults as well as teenagers and children. These activities are the evidence of the dishonesty cigarette companies and their intention to target the vulnerable groups.

5.6. 'Soft disguise part 3: financial assistance'

When discussing cigarette companies sponsoring scholarships, the responses were mixed. Some respondents stated that the practice was ethical and they should be responded positively. One of the respondent stated: ***"Although the cigarette companies sponsor scholarship, they did not persuade the receivers to smoke, so it's fine"***. However, other respondents stated that although the scholarship would have helped students from lower socio-economic background, they believed that the practice was unethical: ***"No matter how small their contribution, they would want to use it as a promotion vehicle"***. Again these show that some of cigarette consumers question the integrity of tobacco companies as stated by one of the respondent: ***"Despite their defence that they made contribution and their action is legal, we need to look at their intention"***.

5.7. 'Soft disguise part 4: social responsibility'

When discussing cigarette companies' effort in helping natural disaster victims, some respondents thought the practice was good but the majority of respondents felt it was unethical: ***"Based on law and regulations, cigarette companies can help natural disasters. It's good. But if we look at their intention, it is unethical. They just want to promote their products"***. One respondent indicated that one of the Muslim religious groups in Indonesia considered smoking as ***"haram"*** or forbidden, and therefore some people might think that receiving help from cigarette companies is also forbidden. Another respondent added: ***"If you look closer I think it's [cigarette companies helping natural disaster victims] an evil practice. It's like to revel in someone else's misfortune"***. These comments suggest cigarette companies are not perceived as virtuous and therefore, their effort of helping the community is found to be dubious.

5.8. 'Soft disguise part 5: employment and economic contribution'

During the focus groups, some respondents questioned how the implications of further restriction on the tobacco marketing practices would have an impact on the labours and the country's income. Nevertheless, one respondent highlighted that even though cigarette companies claimed that they made contribution to the society, their contribution was only a little percentage of their overall profit. Another participant added ***"Cigarette companies always use the excuse that if their factories are closed down, what's going to happen with the labours. I think it's not about being closed down or not. The companies' regulations are not pro-society. They only care about making profits and don't bring benefits to the society at all"***. This statement suggests that from virtue ethics perspective, the marketing practice of cigarette companies cannot be considered ethical because their contribution to the society is not compatible to the amount of profit earned from selling harmful products.

6. Conclusions, managerial implications and future research

From the virtue ethics point of view, the contradiction between the tobacco industry's harmful products and their activities may suggest that the industry's intention in conducting these activities is not purely to become a responsible corporate citizen. Rather, their intention is likely to mask the distribution of their deadly products and enhance their image in the public and corporate spheres. As once quoted by one of the retired Phillip Morris Executives, George Knox: "I never use the word corporate philanthropy. That implies that you do something without any regard to yourself... I don't see any corporation giving money without a reason" (Demick, 1993, p. 47). Given the weight of evidence which shows that tobacco are harmful, it would seem to be a clear cut argument that marketing communications for tobacco

products should be drastically curtailed in Indonesia, in line with the policies adopted in most other parts of the world. The findings of the current study could be compared with focus groups that involved general public who do not smoke. The study could also be used as a foundation of developing quantitative research. Furthermore, future research could examine the perception of teenagers on tobacco marketing practices in Indonesia.

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