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Thank you for Smoking!

The Discursive Battle about the Meaning of Smoking

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Abstract

<i>Title:</i>	Thank You for Smoking!
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<i>Keywords:</i>	Smoking, Germany, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, tobacco industry
<i>Thesis purpose:</i>	The purpose of the master thesis is to analyse the battle of meaning creation regarding the notion of smoking and to reveal the reproduction of unequal power relations. The battle is fought by different stakeholders through means of language and the study focuses on the tobacco industry in Germany.
<i>Methodology:</i>	A critical discourse analysis is applied with a qualitative research strategy. Our data collection was inspired by grounded theory and is limited in scope through a relevant case within the context of smoking in Germany. Empirical data is collected by means of an internet based document study of publicly available texts. Metaphors are used to structure our analysis of selected texts.
<i>Theoretical perspective:</i>	Critical discourse analysis and related theories as discourse analysis and the construction of reality by means of language form the theoretical frame.
<i>Empirical data:</i>	Different types of documents, such as corporate websites, magazines, scientific articles, reports and forum texts of the identified stakeholder groups are included in the analysis.
<i>Conclusion:</i>	<p>The identified stakeholders assign different meanings to the notion of smoking through language use. The analysis reveals with what meaning the notion is filled and what they accomplish by establishing their meaning of smoking as <i>normal</i>. Contradictory goals can be found within the same stakeholder group.</p> <p>The thesis contributes to existing research on the German tobacco market and the use of language in that context.</p>

Preface

During the period from the 17th of March 2008 until the 28th of May 2008, we have worked on our Master Thesis in Lund, Sweden, doing a critical discourse analysis on the meaning of the notion of smoking.

The main task of this master thesis is to bring the theoretical knowledge we have gained throughout the year into practice. We would like to thank Mr. P. Svensson for his help, his support, his patience, the coffee and the knowledge he gave to us and for the inspirational meetings during this thesis period. We also thank Ms. M. Arvidsson for her intellectual help with our initial ideas.

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Abbreviations

ASH:	Action on Smoking and Health
BAT:	British American Tobacco
BGN:	Berufsgenossenschaft für Nahrungsmittel und Gaststätten
CDA:	Critical Discourse Analysis
CSI:	Corporate Social Investment
CSR:	Corporate Social Responsibility
CSU:	Christlich Soziale Union
DEHOGA:	Deutscher Hotel- und Gaststättenverband e.V.
DKFZ:	Deutsches Krebsforschungszentrum
DM:	Deutsche Mark
DZV:	Deutscher Zigarettenverband
ETS:	Environmental Tobacco Smoke
EU:	European Union
FCTC:	Framework Convention on Tobacco Control
GT:	Grounded Theory
JPS:	John Player & Sons
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organisation
NID:	Nichtraucher-Initiative Deutschland
NIM:	Nichtraucher-Initiative München
PM:	Philip Morris
PMI:	Philip Morris International
RYO:	Roll Your Own
UK:	United Kingdom
UN:	United Nations
US:	United States
USA:	United States of America
VAT:	Value Added Tax
VdC:	Verband der Zigarettenindustrie
VEBWK:	Verein zum Erhalt der bayerischen Wirtshauskultur
WHO:	World Health Organization

1. Introduction

*A cigarette is the perfect type of a perfect pleasure.
It is exquisite, and it leaves one unsatisfied.
What more can one want?
(Wilde O. , 1890)*

The image of smoking and the tobacco industry has changed throughout the decades. Selling and consuming tobacco products is becoming increasingly socially unacceptable in industrial countries. This development is enhanced through legal restrictions and anti-smoking movements.

This study focuses on the German market, as this market is the main producer of tobacco in the European Union (EU) with a market share of 23% (Economics of Tobacco for the European Region, 2001) and has a comparably large number of smokers (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, 2005). It is estimated that 20-22 million people are smokers and cigarette sales in 2005 were worth €19.8 billion. The German cigarette industry employed approximately 11,000 employees during the same period (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, 2005). Although the consumption of cigarettes has decreased, still 96 billion cigarettes were consumed in Germany in 2004 (excluding cigars and rolling tobacco) (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, 2005).

The main objective of this paper is to contribute to the discussion on the legitimisation attempts by the tobacco industry, who is struggling to defend the legitimacy of selling tobacco against the attacks from different stakeholders. This creates a battlefield around filling the notion of smoking with meaning. The report depicts certain stakeholders which are related to the tobacco industry on the German market. Each stakeholder fills the notion with a meaning through language use that is advantageous to their purpose. Our goal is to reveal the current battle and to illustrate which meaning the participants assign to smoking and what they accomplish by this.

To be able to define the area of our research we will start by giving the reader an overview on the literature found related to the topic. In this part recent studies on various research areas within the tobacco market and the smoking sphere are presented. This leads to the identification of our research problem and the research questions that we want to follow. It additionally includes the delimitations for our study in order to make clear where we are going and what paths will not be pursued.

Inspired by the theories and methods used in the literature related to our topic, we decided to use a critical discourse analysis approach. A theoretical and methodological framework is presented in order to give the reader an understanding of our point of view for the data collection, analysis and discussion, where we argue for our chosen approach.

The main participants in the battle are identified based on a case and exemplary presented thereafter. In addition, we provide an overview of the German tobacco industry.

Singular texts representing the point of view and language use of the stakeholders are looked at in detail in the analysis. In the discussion part we aim at revealing the different power relations and the attempt to sustain power by means of language.

1.1 Literature Review on Smoking

The literature on smoking, tobacco and the tobacco industry is extensive and several areas of research within this topic have been identified and analysed by authors from sociology, consumer behaviour, marketing, ethics, psychology and other disciplines. In the following, these research areas and some of the significant findings are presented in order to narrow down our research area.

Corporate Social Responsibility

The recent attempts of tobacco companies to imply Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs, and position themselves as ethical conscious companies, is the subject of the articles by Chapman and Hirschhorn. The former focuses on the industry's change in public strategy. Health damaging effects of smoking are no longer denied but "recognized" and a few companies even publish social reports to build up an ethical image. Some major tobacco companies have made the effort to participate in ethical conferences. This involvement has been eliminated due to massive criticism by international ethicists who do not credit the companies any ethical responsibility. Contradictory actions, by e.g. Philip Morris (PM), such as spending large sums on youth smoking prevention programs, but still keeping the revenues from all their underage customers, do not support the endeavour of the industry to be "ethical" (Chapman, 2004).

The paper by Hirschhorn (2004) reflects upon whether the CSR attempt of tobacco companies is antithetical to social responsibility. The study is based on the recent adaptations of this concept by PM and British American Tobacco (BAT). The author emphasises that CSR is not legally mandatory but voluntary and this gives corporations the possibility to define it the way they like and use the term for public relations without really getting involved or being morally conscious. The definition of CSR and its criteria vary widely between authors, industries and Non Government Organisation's (NGO). The studies of PM's documents, focusing on CSR, show that they present themselves as an ethical company, based on the fact that smoking is legal and that the people working at PM have principles and are honest. They emphasise the company goals to be the most responsible, effective and respected manufacturer of tobacco products and highlight their initiative to reduce the health risks associated with smoking. According to Hirschhorn the company cannot be socially responsible when pursuing these goals because their products are addictive and deadly, killing a high percentage of the customers. These goals are also not compatible with the definition of a company showing ethical responsibility towards their stakeholders since this requires corporations not to harm them (Hirschhorn, 2004).

Marketing

The marketing of tobacco products has been researched regarding several aspects. Of these, most attention has been paid to the marketing towards adolescents and youth. Pechman & Knight (2002) for example analysed the influence of cigarette advertising and peers on adolescents and their consumption of tobacco products. According to them, cigarette advertisements make adolescents non-consciously look for peers who smoke, enhancing their intention of smoking themselves, while anti-smoking advertisements create a negative view of peers smoking. The more positive adolescents observe smokers, the more likely these adolescents will start smoking as well. The research concluded that 90% of the youth found that the cigarette advertisements made smoking look pleasurable. The findings show that underage

smokers are an important target group of the industry, which other studies show as well (Pechman & Knight, 2002).

Anderson, Hastings & MacFadyen (2002) conducted a study looking at the marketing strategies of tobacco companies in the United Kingdom (UK), focusing on the groups targeted by advertising. The findings of the paper revealed that most marketing activities are directed towards young adolescents and that the marketing is crucial for the industry to influence the behaviour and attract new consumers (Anderson, Hastings, & MacFadyen, 2002).

Tobacco Control Campaigns

There has been a focus on the effect of tobacco control campaigns as well and their struggle against the tobacco marketing efforts, e.g. a study conducted by Pierce (2007). The study researches the effect, or whether there is an effect, of tobacco control campaigns on the smoking behaviour in the United States (US). The findings reveal a decrease in smoking due to these campaigns, but also states that they are not yet convincing and still have to fight against regulations. The author concludes with some best practices to decrease smoking, such as increasing the price on tobacco products; conducting mass media campaigns; implementing an appropriate service to assist smokers to quit in the physician's office, in the workplace, and in the community; and more (Pierce, 2007).

Another study shows that tobacco control campaigns attacking the industry's tactics are more effective than campaigns just educating about the health damage of smoking. The industry tries to work against tobacco control campaigns by putting up their own smoking prevention campaigns directed at the youth and pregnant women and by removing funding for governmental campaigns. Furthermore, most of the companies have taken legal action during recent years against campaigns attacking the industry and trying to assign them a negative public image (Ibrahim & Glantz, 2006).

Consumer perceptions of smoking and cigarettes have been researched by McDaniel & Malone (2007). The paper researches the marketing of "natural" cigarettes in the US. According to the authors, most smokers thought of their cigarettes as 100% tobacco, being natural per se. Others associated natural with being healthy, which does not link to smoking. The majority of smokers believe natural cigarettes to be less harmful than those with additives. The advertising with the word "natural" is nowadays accompanied by the disclaimer "No additives in our tobacco does NOT mean a safer cigarette." to avoid misleading advertising (McDaniel & Malone, 2007).

Media

Research on media coverage of health issues related to risk-associated behaviours, such as smoking or bad eating habits, has been conducted by several scholars, partly due to the fact that content related to health has increasingly become a huge part of popular media since the 80's. The consequences of this development are also negative, resulting in the superficial treatment of issues, creating fear or non-scientific publishing. Furthermore, the publishers are caught between a rock and a hard place, because they have to take their paying customers, companies advertising in the paper, into account and cannot do contradicting statements. The study of Menashe & Siegel (1998) revealed that the New York Times (American newspaper) published the industry view on the discussion over smoking coherently. In this context, it is crucial to pay attention to the journalistic tool of framing. This means that each author decides what to say,

what to emphasise, and what is not mentioned at all. The power of framing is made clear in the statement of Tankard (2003): "Through frames, journalists can focus a debate, highlight certain aspects of issues, and even select the terms used to describe the principal ideas." (Tankard, 2003). As a consequence, not only the issue is framed, but the problem solution as well. Relating this to the issue of tobacco and smoking, the reader is provided with a view and attitude towards both the topic of smoking and the way to deal with that "problem" (Connolly-Ahern & Broadway, 2008).

In addition to the articles discussing marketing or behavioural issues of smoking, Chapman & Freeman (2008) analyse the stigmatisation of smoking as a new field. Through restrictions and anti-smoking actions, the social acceptability of smoking in industrial countries has decreased and smoking itself has been de-normalised.

The article acknowledges that there is a myriad of influences on the way that smoking is "talked" about in the media, everyday life, and other contexts. This also means that it is not only due to legal restrictions or campaigns that smoking habits and the attitude towards smoking has changed. Nevertheless, the meaning of smoking has changed more in countries with extensive tobacco control, as in Australia, the focus country of the paper. The meaning of smoking is, according to the authors, formed in public consciousness through every day discourse, by advertising, movies and popular culture representations. The reputation of smoking and smokers has turned negative through anti-smoking advertising and media. Issues addressed are, amongst others, litter produced by smokers, bad smells, health issues, undesirable housemates and partners, selfishness, addiction and even working less due to smoke breaks.

These developments additionally cause other effects than just a decrease in smoking and higher cessation that might not be as positive. Smokers might not be honest about their habits due to feelings of shame, therefore distorting research and survey outcomes. Furthermore, smokers might be discriminated against by health insurance companies and employers and probably they are less likely to seek medical help, because they are by means of public opinion not entitled to do so (Chapman & Freeman, 2008).

Politics in Document Studies

A flood of new material for researchers was released in 1998, when the major companies had to make millions of formerly internal documents public due to a master settlement agreement in the United States. Since then, a lot of document studies of the archives have been conducted, revealing the industry's motives, tactics and fears.

Bero (2003) analysed the documents regarding the industry's tactics to influence politics and the consumers. She states that deception has been the main tactic of the industry, using third parties or front groups to hide their own involvement in some action and lying about hazardous effects. The industry operates on a global level, cooperating with other competitors as well. Nevertheless, the different country companies were not agreeing on every aspect. The analysed documents clearly state that the industry knew of the health damaging effects and that nicotine is addictive even when they publicly denied these facts. They conducted many scientific studies on health issues, sometimes not publishing them if the outcomes were not positive for the industry, and they sponsored research that should prove the diseases linked to smoking could be caused by other things. Organising conferences and sponsorships through third parties to cover up the involvement of the industry was common practice. The document studies also

reveal the attempts by the industry to influence policies to control tobacco by lobbying, bribing and other strategies. Contradictory to their former statements the industry did clearly target the youth with their marketing (Bero, 2003).

Further research reveals that the industry deliberately designed products to “fool” their consumers about the nicotine level and thereby the perceived health damage of the cigarettes. These findings were the outcome of a paper about secret scientific studies of smoking behaviour and nicotine levels in cigarettes commissioned by tobacco companies (Hammond, Collishaw, & Callard, 2006).

Language in Document Studies

The former internal documents have also been analysed regarding linguistic methods, for example by Brown & Rubin (2005). The aim of their study was to reveal the relationship between language and responsibility in an industry that has been denying any causality between cancer and smoking for decades. It analysed the use of causal markers with either a strong causality (because) or a weak, disjunctive relation (since, as). The results showed a clear pattern that the industry used linguistic devices to avoid responsibility for health damaging effects. Strong causal associations were used when the industry was legitimising or admitting positive marketing outcomes. For sentences expressing probable responsibility weaker causal makers were used (Brown & Rubin, 2005).

The research studies mentioned above are conducted mostly in the US and some in the UK and Australia.

Studies focused on Germany

The German market has not been the focus of many studies in any of the mentioned research areas. Grüning is the most prominent researcher regarding the tobacco industry in Germany. In a recent study together with Gilmore he analyses the influence of the industry on policies in Germany, stating that the tobacco companies still are a credible partner with some influential allies within politics (Grüning & Gilmore, 2007).

Other research conducted by Grüning et al. (2006) examined whether the strong opposition to tough tobacco restrictions and control in Germany is due to the industry’s influence on science in that country. The industry managed to build a strong network of scientists and establish close links to organisations and the government, resulting in favourable outcomes for the industry (Grüning, Gilmore, & McKee, 2006).

Some research has also dealt with youth smoking in Germany and the factors this has been influenced by. Hanewinkel & Sargent (2007) analysed the exposure to smoking in internationally distributed films and correlated this to smoking habits of adolescents. The findings showed a correlation did exist. The authors nevertheless emphasise here that smoking is socially more accepted in Germany than in other countries. Therefore, the exposure to smoking is generally high, due to the amount of smokers and the weaker tobacco control policies, public smoking and sponsoring (Hanewinkel & Sargent, 2007).

Conclusions from the Literature Review

This part is far from a comprehensive review on the literature dealing with smoking and the involved industry. Instead it is meant to give a broad overview over the research areas related to this topic and important findings made in the recent years. After the study of the literature we found ourselves astonished about the fact that despite all the critical studies and public opinions the tobacco industry still is doing well. Several research articles touch upon discourse in relation to the industry and the topic of smoking. The media coverage and within that area the framing processes arouse our first interest. However, the research by Brown and Rubin (2005) on the linguistic devices used by the industry to strengthen or weaken causalities really caught our attention. We realised that this could be one of the reasons why the industry manages to remain economically successful. By using the underlying power relations in order to constitute who is the one to define the commonly accepted meaning of smoking, the industry tries to legitimise its activities. The research area got even more intriguing as we started to look into the industry's environment, to discover if someone is trying to anticipate their legitimisation attempts and their effort to fill the notion of smoking with meaning.

The meaning of smoking and tobacco does not have an objective meaning nor does it *mean* one and the same thing to everyone. The notion of smoking is not just out there, independent from people and their perception of it. Rather, it is open to discussion by different points of view, different cultures or attitudes towards life and indulgence. Accordingly, it is a matter of filling this notion with meaning by those who want to dominate what the *collective* meaning entails.

In this case, the tobacco companies might be successful because they have tried for decades to build up a meaning of smoking that is beneficial for their purpose, i.e. selling tobacco products. They have done this consistently through advertising, sponsoring and other marketing activities, such as publishing research reports with favourable findings for the companies.

However, there are several other players in the field of filling the notion of smoking with meaning. These are among others health organisations, anti-smoking associations and the government. All players, including the tobacco companies, are referred to as stakeholders in the following, as they all have a relationship with and are influenced by the notion of smoking. These stakeholders attempt to assess a meaning to smoking that complies with their purpose or goal. For example, health organisations strive for the reduction of smoking related diseases and will most probably aim at defining the meaning of smoking in accordance. This in turn is opposing the meaning constituted by the companies. As a result, a battle is taking place about who is providing the commonly accepted meaning of smoking and thereby achieving his goals as well as being in a powerful position.

Additional to the struggle between the various stakeholders, there is an internal struggle within each stakeholder group. Contradicting goals, as e.g. for the government reducing the amount of smokers versus earning taxes on cigarette sales, leads to inconsistent construction of meaning regarding smoking. Furthermore, the inequality of resources which the specific stakeholders are able to draw upon is substantial; regarding their credibility, financial means and content access. For instance, the companies will most likely have great financial resources, whereas some of the anti-smoking associations are privately run and depend on donations by their members.

This phenomenon made us curious and led to the following problem description.

1.2 Problem Description

Many different parties are trying to assign meaning to the notion of smoking. In most cases these efforts are pursuing specific purposes, varying from stakeholder to stakeholder. These often conflicting purposes create a battlefield around the meaning of smoking (figure 1).

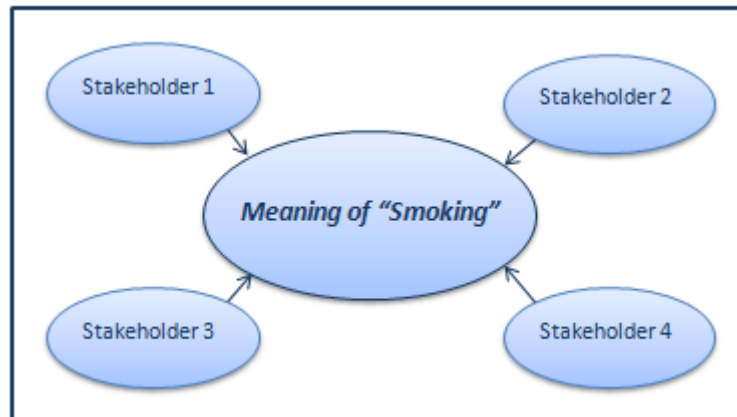


Fig. 1: Different Stakeholders in Relation to the Term "Smoking"

Although one might think that the stakeholders opposing the industry, such as the government and anti-smoking organisations, would share one meaning in order to be more powerful, this is not entirely the case. Additionally, the goals within the stakeholder groups are conflicting or not consistent.

De-marketing campaigns by the government to discourage the consumption of health damaging products influence attitudes towards smoking and smokers (Inness, Barling, Rogers, & Turner, 2008). De-marketing is defined by Kotler & Levy as "the practice of trying to reduce, control or shape demand for a product." (Coyné & Traflet, 2008, p. 193). With de-marketing they mean that the marketers may not only persuade people to purchase the product, but they must also inform and warn people that the product might be harmful (Coyné & Traflet, 2007). Anti-smoking organisations are keen on pointing out the damage smokers cause to national health systems by generating enormous costs through tobacco related illnesses. The media is showing more documentaries about the health damaging effects of smoking and the entertainment industry is adapting more than ever before by e.g. showing fewer characters smoking in movies. Books like Allen Carr's "The Easy Way to Stop Smoking" have become very prominent and number one bestsellers worldwide.

The industry itself is full of contradictions; during recent years there have been five tobacco tax increases and several other restrictions, like advertising bans in Germany (Bätzing, 2007, p. 22). Yet, the industry is still doing well, with increasing sales and stock prices. Although the competition is fierce, the companies engage in co-operations to fight against regulations, activists and medical discourse. Anti-smoking organisations are getting more powerful and legal restrictions are increasing.

Because smoking has been banned in many public places, the tobacco industry is continuously seeking new ways to invest in new innovative products which are allowed to be consumed in public (ex. smokeless tobacco). Snuff and snus are good examples of these. However, the sale of snus is illegal in the European Union (EU), except for Sweden (Brand Strategy, 2007).

Cigarette advertising has been restricted in order to protect consumers from being exposed to the message that smoking is “cool” or not health damaging. Especially adolescents are very prone to perceive consumption stereotypes shown in smoking advertisements as positive (Pechman & Knight, 2002). Research done by these authors has found that the more positive adolescents observe smokers, the more likely these adolescents will start smoking as well. The same research concluded with the fact that 90% of the US youth found that the then published cigarette advertisements made smoking look pleasurable (Pechman & Knight, 2002).

The only remaining advertising allowed in Germany are spots in cinemas and on bill boards (BGBl, 2006). Consumers have become more price-sensitive and conscious about health issues. Because of this, the amount of “new” smokers is decreasing. This leads to increased competition between the companies to entice customers from competitors and to develop new marketing tactics.

To fight against the decrease in smoking, the industry is trying to build a product demand which encourages non-smokers to experiment and then in turn become regular traditional smokers; to make sure that current smokers do not quit and to make former smokers start using their products again. The main characteristics which influence the smoking of cigarettes are the industry’s marketing and the public health tobacco-control activities. These two areas compete with each other to affect the amount of people who start smoking, the level of consumption, and the amount of time before smokers quit their habit successfully (Pierce, 2007).

This situation and the surrounding actions are present in our everyday lives but still we usually are not aware of them. To be able to recognise some of the developments regarding the ongoing struggle we formulated two research questions.

Research Questions

- With what meaning do different stakeholders fill the notion of smoking?
- What do they accomplish by defining the notion of smoking?

1.3 Research Objectives

The objective of this paper is to present various notions of the meaning of smoking as inherited by the different stakeholders in this context. It is further aimed at illustrating the battle about being the dominant meaning creator which is taking place between these different interest groups in the context of cigarette smoking in Germany. An analysis of different written material is conducted to bring forth their attempts to normalise their ideologies through language use.

1.4 Delimitations

This paper focuses on the stakeholders acting on the German market. The country has been chosen because of its high percentage of smokers, the presence of all major tobacco companies, increasing advertising restrictions and increasing power of anti-smoking organisations leading to a recent smoking ban in many public places. We limit our research to cigarettes because it is the most commonly used tobacco product in Germany.

Due to time and cost constraints (10 weeks and a student budget), the paper will not contain a detailed description of insight information of the organisations. Based on past experiences, we assume that managers of international organisations are not likely to give away company information which might be relevant to us, and therefore will be omitted. Also the study of the available internal documents is not a suitable tool for our thesis as the data base is not structured and a research within it very time consuming, which we had to admit to ourselves after trying.

This paper presents an analysis of the status quo of the battle about meaning. Data and material collection will be limited to a specified time frame. Due to the dynamic nature of the industry it is acknowledged that changes in the future or even during 2008 might occur, presenting opportunities for future research which cannot be anticipated at this point in time. The objective is not to provide the reader with a set of conclusions or a deep insight into the research on the tobacco industry. It is more about revealing the current battle of meaning that is dominating the industry and about giving insights on the different stakeholders and the tobacco industry.

2. Theoretical Framework

*Whenever people talk to me about the weather,
I always feel quite certain
that they mean something else
(Wilde O. , 1895)*

The distinction between theory and method is in our case not absolutely clear. CDA is both a theory and a method and therefore this chapter and the following one are not two separate entities but very much related. We have decided to divide the content into two chapters in order to provide a clearer structure for the reader.

This chapter aims at providing the reader with some insight to the context and to situate this master thesis in a theoretical frame and the next one is concerned with the methodological frame.

All participants involved in the battle to fill the notion of smoking with meaning are using language to express their point of view, criticise the other participants and persuade the public to acknowledge their meaning of smoking as the “true” one. This touches upon several theoretical areas which are looked at in the following.

Before we start to look at language use and how it creates our social reality, it should be mentioned that our point of view on the theoretical frame is based on Norman Fairclough’s view that a consensus regarding meaning emerges from a negotiation process. This entails competing ideologies and hegemonic struggle to remain or become the dominant meaning. We already emphasise this here, so that the reader can keep in mind how important these processes are, as the struggle described can have immense consequences for politics, society and the economic value of the industry, hence the power relations have a huge financial and social impact.

But before we go deeper into the discussion on discourse we should take a look at how language creates our social reality.

2.1 Construction of Social Reality through Language

Language has become a focus of many different research areas, such as organisational theory, social psychology or communication theory (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000). The conventional way to see the relationship of social reality and language, which emphasises the representation of reality through language, is being criticised lately by several researchers. Postmodernists and discourse analysts regard language as entailing functional capabilities as well; meaning the use of language accomplishes something (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000, p. 137). In view of these critics, language is not a transparent way of transporting meaning, but has moreover an active, context-related and metaphorical nature. This of course complicates the study of the language use, regarding the complexity of language as such and the possible interpretations (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000). According to this view, language is more than just the medium transporting data; it is constructing reality in an active way, by producing a specific version of what it is thought to represent. It is used to achieve different things, such as expressing feelings, to criticise or to persuade (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000, p. 142).

Accordingly, we regard language not as representing reality; moreover we see the social construction of reality partly taking place through means of language use. The vocabulary of our society orders the objects surrounding us, the relationships we have to other human beings and creates the boundaries within which our life makes sense (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 36). The everyday life reality is a shared world, it is real to us and others as well and it is intersubjective. Although the perspective on the common world is differing from one member of a society to another, we share common-sense knowledge. Everyday life is just *there* and hence to us it is *reality*. This life is based on the common use of linguistic signification, i.e. language. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966) "Everyday life is, above all, life with and by means of the language I share with my fellowman. An understanding of language is thus essential for any understanding of the reality of everyday life." (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 51).

Even though we share common-sense knowledge, there exists underlying relevance structures for individuals. This means that the relevance of knowledge of the everyday life concerns is higher for me than something just indirectly touching upon my "reality". If something is not relevant to me, I might not know it or actively look for it, because the pragmatic interest is missing (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Language has the ability to communicate meanings out of the spatial and temporary subjectivity (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 52). This means we are not limited to our experiences when we talk or write. We can speak about concerns we have never experienced, enabling language to be the reservoir of a myriad of meanings and experiences unbound to time and space. Moreover, language is used to share opinions, create meanings and construct reality.

The use of language is hence central to the meaning making process. It can be seen as "one of the primary means in the process of reality construction" (Svensson, 2003, p. 51f). Various versions of the world are actively constructed through language use. Thus, meaningful interaction, based on interpretations of symbols such as spoken and written language drives everyday life and constructs the objects around us (Svensson, 2003).

Both the communicator (i.e. sender) and the audience (i.e. the receiver) take part in the construction of meaning and likewise the construction of "social reality". Meaning can be attached to a concept, context, product and many other things and depends to great extents on the social and cultural contexts surrounding us. Humans are regarded as being essentially defined by systems of meaning around them (Tietze, Cohen, & Musson, 2003).

This implies that the meaning of words and language is not just *there* but that it is always context-related and does not have abstract meanings. Tietze et al. argue that the construction of meaning is initiated, shaped and negotiated by individuals in interaction, thus it is a dynamic process and meaning can be subject to change. Furthermore, the term interpretation plays an important role in this process. We interpret what we hear or read by drawing upon our knowledge about language and our knowledge of memories of things we have said, heard, seen or written before (Tietze et al., 2003).

The notion of "smoking" as such has therefore not one distinct meaning but can be filled with very different meanings depending on the viewer and the writer, the perspective and the socio-cultural context. Underlying this is the relationship between the literal meaning of a word (i.e. its actual spelling) and its interpretive meaning (i.e. what one thinks of when hearing or reading a word). There exists a difference between the written word "smoking" and the meaning or

symbol it is assigned by each person reading it. For a smoker the notion might stand for relaxation or freedom of choice, for a non-smoker it might denote second-hand smoke or a nuisance.

Regarding this active and collective process of meaning making, people or groups of people are able to shape and manipulate meaning in order to legitimise their purpose of being and acting which can lead to struggles over power and legitimacy (Tietze et al., 2003). Power is displayed in all social interactions. The conveyance of social meanings and cultural values is entailed in all social and cultural processes and these processes are somewhat about their own reproduction (Kress, 1989, p. 1). So language also reproduces meanings and social relations. We will look more detailed at the power-relations in the next part, where we talk about discourse.

So far we have looked at how language creates social reality and meaning. This is crucial not only to this thesis but for our everyday lives, as language surrounds us everywhere and in many forms. Written texts for example are a big part of our life. The first thing most people do every morning is to make a coffee and read the newspaper, as print-version or online. After that we look at our real or virtual mail. Texts are ubiquitous and we are confronted with them all the time. Company reports or statements by the government or health organisations are also part of these everyday texts we stumble over (Stillar, 1998). Every text we read causes a reaction, sometimes an active one and sometimes just ignorance of the subject matter.

According to Halliday, "Text represents choice. A text is 'what is meant', selected from the total set of options that constitute what can be meant. In other words, text can be defined as actualised meaning potential." (Halliday, 1978, p. 109).

2.2 Discourse Analysis

There are several theories regarding the analysis of language and language use. For reasons of clarity we will focus on a few, nevertheless recognising the influence and importance of the other approaches. Many of them are overlapping or have been developed from one another.

The term "discourse" has numerous meanings and several authors use it in very different ways. It is sometimes defined as either spoken language, as a situational context of language or the interaction between a reader or writer and a text (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000).

Tietze et al. for example describe discourse as a "system of shared meaning which we use in making sense of cultural texts" (Tietze, Cohen, & Musson, 2003, p. 78). This system defines the ways in which we think, talk and act. A more specific definition is from Watson, defining discourse as "a connected set of statements, concepts, terms, and expressions which constitutes a way of talking or writing about a particular issue, thus framing the way people understand and respond with respect to that issue" (Tietze, Cohen, & Musson, 2003, p. 81).

We will refer to the definition of Michel Foucault, who states that "institutions and social groups have specific meanings and values which are articulated in language in systematic ways" (Kress, 1989, p. 6). These systematic modes of talking are referred to as discourse. A discourse demarcates what can be said and what cannot about a certain area. It provides a set of rules and limitations and structures the mode in which way to talk about a topic or object not only within the institution or social group, but also on a broader scale. Because this is the ambition of discourses: to divert into even more areas of social life, meaning that the systematic way of one

institution or social group to talk about a topic spreads out to other institutions or groups. Hence, discourses are not segregated but exist within a larger system of discourses. What is more, the discourses can be conflicting or simply diverse, which leads to a dynamic relationship and constant development (Kress, 1989, p. 7).

What is said or written and what it is intending to be perceived as depends on the participants; who are the intended audience and the text producer. It is also dependent on the fact if the producer is talking or writing on his own behalf or just passing something on, as e.g. a company opinion (Johnstone, 2008, p. 128).

In this paper we understand “Discursive practice [...] as the various acts of the production, distribution and consumption of a text” (Svensson, 2003, p. 57). In order to understand a text, we usually draw upon already established and shared meanings (Tietze et al., 2003). The social context we live in configures our experience and knowledge of language. The discourses, texts and modes how to speak and write with which we grow up are our linguistic resources. The knowledge of language users about language is hence fractional, as we have not experienced every systematic way to organize the modes of talking (Kress, 1989, pp. 50-51). Therefore, language use cannot be separated and analysed secluded from the particular social, political and cultural context embedding it (Svensson, 2005).

The relationship between discourse and the world is reciprocal. The world as our “reality” around us forms discourse and is formed by discourse. We create worlds and reality by talking or writing about it. We name things and places to be able to talk about them and to make them “real”. But in some cases the word is not just a word describing an existing thing out there, but refers to an idea that is created as people talk about it (Johnstone, 2008, p. 33). Due to this, there are discussions and debates about definitions. For example the word “smoking” used in context with health and responsibility would certainly cause protests by several interests groups, due to the idea behind the pure word “smoking”. The struggle is to be the one with the accepted view and legitimate presentation of the issue, in our case for example the industry against anti-smoking activists, a struggle between knowledge and power.

As mentioned before, power presents a central part of all social practices and processes (Tietze et al., 2003, p. 80). The relationship between power, knowledge and language is visible in the concept of discourse which defines “who can speak, about what issues, in which contexts and styles (how) and for what reasons” (Tietze et al., 2003, p. 82). Knowledge is seen as being “mediated through discourses and power relations are constructed within discourses” (Tietze et al., 2003, p. 82).

Discourse is a way to make ideologies normative, communicate and legitimise them. Hence, discourse is crucial to create and change ideologies (Van Dijk, *Social Cognition and Discourse*, 1990, p. 177). When writing a text, the author, be it a private or corporate author, finds himself in a certain position from which he is looking at the topic or area. This position is determined by already existing point of views on the area and the underlying ideology (Kress, 1989, p. 68). The reader is positioned in the text by the discourse, by providing a constructed reading position (Kress, 1989, p. 36). Of course, one can have the position before reading the text, e.g. a smoker reading a petition against tobacco control, or he can refuse to take the position, e.g. think of a non-smoker reading the same text.

The roots of discourse analysis lie in the field of rhetoric. It has been, and is, influenced by several disciplines such as ethnography, linguistics, psychology and micro-sociology (Van Dijk, *Social Cognition and Discourse*, 1990, p. 163) and has important implications for other areas since it generally considers human interaction in society (Johnstone, 2008).

A discourse analysis is not solely a language analysis because it entails more than just the abstract system of language. Moreover it broadens the focus to take into account the knowledge we have about language, based on our experiences and memories (Johnstone, 2008, p. 3). It is the way how to answer the asked questions where the difference between discourse analysis and other language studies lies; this is by examining aspects and functions of language (Johnstone, 2008, p. 4). Linguistic theories for example do not try to answer the question *why* someone wrote a text or *how* they are read (Kress, 1989, p. 4).

Let us have a look at the example conversation analysis. This approach emerged from the everyday life sociology and views language as an everyday life social system that exists autonomously from any speaker. Conversation is both context related and context shaping through interaction (Adler, Adler, & Fontana, 1987, p. 226). A more contextual approach in several studies has focused on the interaction in institutional settings. However, the conversation analysis represents naturally occurring conversation and has an objective orientation (Adler, Adler & Fontana, 1987, p.226). The conversation analyst is more an observer than a participant and focuses on what is relevant to the participants.

Differing from that view, according to the approach by discursive analysts, the empirical data is seen as what it is, i.e. just data. So a text is a text and not a general expression of meaning. The analysed texts are related to that particular situation and not transferrable to other situations (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000). More specifically this means that a text from a health organisation on smoking does not apply to the health organisation's opinion of tobacco companies.

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emerges from a conjunction of different kinds of discursive activity. There is not one single critical discourse analytical approach, but several and they differ in their theoretical understanding of discourse, ideology and historical perspective.

One example of a related discursive discipline is critical linguistics. It is concerned with reading the meanings in texts as an outcome of social processes. Texts have an ideological and political function. In this approach discourse is text, but the relationship between social meaning and textual features is assumed without taking the production and interpretation into account. This ignores the possibility of social change through discourse (Fairclough, 2002).

Differing from other discourse theories, CDA focuses on both the construction of social subjects and social relations, including power relations, through discursive practice and on the reproduction of unequal power relations (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 63). Accordingly, in CDA the dialectical feature of language use is taken into account, meaning that by saying something, we craft this into the context and situation, but at the same time, what we say creates that context and situation (Svensson, 2003). In that way, discourse is shaping and reflecting social structures concurrently (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 61). The conception of discourse as a social phenomenon and the starting point in social theory is common ground of most CDA

theories (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, p. 451). Another commonality is the aim for integrating linguistic analysis and social theory and certain methods for the empirical analysis, such as systemic-functional linguistics (Halliday, 1978), conversation analysis, metaphor approaches (e.g. Lakoff) or social psychology (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, p. 454).

CDA is concerned with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures, not with the language use as such. The nature of discourse analysis is explanatory and interpretative and the interpretations are dynamic. A relationship between the texts and their social conditions, ideologies and power relations is implied (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000, p. 146). In view of that, core interests for CDA are theories of power and ideology, mainly referring to the theories of Foucault, Gramsci and Althusser. Bourdieu and Habermas are influential in CDA regarding the relationship between social processes and communicative processes (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, p. 452).

Discursive practices can have ideological effects, i.e. facilitate the production and reproduction of unequal power relations (Wodak, 2002). Ideologies are used to form a collective will in order to achieve the agreement of the majority with the political society. Through ideologies human beings are located as specific social subjects (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000, p. 145). This in turn leads to the reproduction of, mostly unequal, power relations. CDA is often, though not exclusively, concerned with political issues.

The “critical” element of CDA is to disclose the part discursive practice plays in the sustainment of the social order, e.g. how discursive practice is used to keep up unequal power relations. By revealing this, CDA aims at contributing to social change towards more balanced power relations (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 63). This understanding of the value of science to have the perspective to develop positive conditions for human beings is the same within Critical Theory (Alvesson, 1996, p. 20). Accordingly, most current forms of CDA are influenced by critical theory (Threadgold, 2003).

2.4 Understanding Critical Discourse Analysis

Norman Fairclough

Norman Fairclough was among the first to use the label CDA. His theory of discourse and social change is based on Foucault and other social theorists, combining functional linguistics with social and cultural theory. His work emphasises that discourse, as language use in social processes, has to be seen in relation to the surrounding discursive contexts, which are referred to as “orders of discourse”. Context refers to the participants involved, the situations in which the discourse occurs, and the social structures that have an influence on how participants interpret texts. Accordingly, the analysis has to comprehend both the texture and the intertextuality (Threadgold, 2003). This approach is concerned with the way in which individual texts relate to other texts, networks of texts and discourses. Underlying this approach is the view that discourse is a social practice reproducing and changing social structures, identities and social relations, while it is formed by other social aspects. Social structure is here referred to as social relations in the society as a whole and in institutions. The power relations are exercised, reproduced and negotiated in terms of discursive practice (Fairclough, 1995). His focus is on building a theoretical model for research in everyday social interaction. Accordingly, to Fairclough discourses are both socially conditioned and socially constitutive.

Teun Van Dijk

Van Dijk is an acknowledged scholar regarding CDA as well. According to him, CDA is a perspective of doing research with a focus on social problems and “on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination” (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 96). Therefore, CDA has to make obvious how shared conviction is reproduced through discourse and used to sustain and legitimise domination.

2.5 Criticism towards Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA has been criticised by several authors for its view that texts have a certain ideological meaning that is forced upon the reader. The possibility of a text to be read in different ways is not taken into account, so the interpretations of the analyst are meant to represent the average reader. Additionally, criticism has been expressed regarding the personal political biases of the researchers which influence the analyses (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, p. 455).

Jones even goes further in his critique and states that critical discourse analysis does not exist at all. He argues that linguistic methodology is not capable to capture the communicative acts in their context and that critical responses to communicative acts are not operationalisable (Jones, 2007).

Some scholars within the field of CDA have addressed some aspects critically as well. Chilton for example argues that “humans may already have a critical instinct, even perhaps something like a [cognitive] module for CDA” and that it is not the analysis of language itself that is needed but moreover a historical, social, economic and political analysis. Because it is the “economic forces or socio-political institutions that restrict freedom of expression and freedom of access to information” (Chilton, 2007, pp. 45-46).

3. Method

*It is only about things that do not interest one
that one can give a really unbiased opinion,
which is no doubt the reason why an unbiased opinion
is always absolutely valueless.*
(Wilde O. , 1890)

In the theoretical framework we have depicted some point of views on the construction of social reality and the role of language in this ongoing production. Fairclough's theoretical basis has guided our train of thought on the subject of the method for this paper. Accordingly, we are regarding society as being actively constructed through social and symbolic interaction. The world as it appears to us is produced intersubjectively in everyday life. This means to us that there is no absolute truth or a one-and-only conclusion to the questions we are raising in our study.

Our object of study is the behaviour of the stakeholders involved in the discourse regarding their creation of the meaning of the notion smoking and the effects of this creation. By effects we refer to the purpose of language as seen by discourse analysis, i.e. to accomplish something. The data needed for the research problem is words, in our specific case the public communication by the stakeholders. Therefore we have chosen a language-based approach in order to understand how the meaning is created and to capture the competing ideologies within the discourse.

Discourse analysis is a method that enables a researcher to make sense of the meaning of cultural texts. According to Johnstone (Johnstone, 2008, p. 27) discourse analysis generally results in a description. As our purpose is not only to describe the current situation of the meaning construction of smoking but also to reflect and reveal upon how these discourses are used to sustain power relations, we consider CDA as more suitable. As a context-sensitive approach CDA seeks to contextualise the use of language by analysing the historical and social circumstances in which it is produced by treating texts as interrelated to each other and dependent on context (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 548f).

This approach assumes the epistemological view that knowledge of the social world is the outcome of our interpretations of the sense data. We are trying to understand the underlying ideologies and power relations through the interpretation of that world by its participants (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 402), meaning that our understanding depends on our interpretation of what smoking means to the research subjects and what consequences that entails from our point of analysis.

The qualitative research strategy is more suitable for our aim than the quantitative strategy, as we intend to emphasise on the ways in which social reality, i.e. meaning, is constituted (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 28) and want to comprehend nuances and depth of the issue rather than to generalise quantitatively. Strauss and Corbin describe qualitative research in a more general form as "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 17). It gives us the opportunity to be more flexible in our approach and to take into account unthought-of occurrences, which would not be possible in quantitative research. The main objective of the latter research strategy is to provide measurements. It is usually construed as a research

strategy that emphasises quantification in the collection and analysis of data, which does not comply with our aim (Bryman & Bell, 2007).

The chosen research design is a case study. This choice is mainly based on the need for limiting the context to be able to go into depth in the restricted time frame of this thesis and to be able to limit the data collection in some way, as this would otherwise be an endless process. The battle between the stakeholders to fill the notion of smoking with meaning is taking place on an international and national level and trickles down to the personal level in every background. Additionally the stakeholders involved are numerous and might differ from context to context; these conditions have led to the decision to scale down the battlefield.

We have decided to take the local elections in Bavaria, Germany, in March 2008 as a framing context for our study. This decision is based on the sequence of events before and after the elections regarding the implementation of a comprehensive smoking ban in Bavaria. The ban was introduced and implemented before the elections and then suddenly eased again after the leading political party discovered they had lost votes. This appears to us as a good foundation to build a case.

After defining the context for the analysis, the next step is to identify the stakeholders involved in the struggle. Although the case is limited in space, i.e. Bavaria, the stakeholders influencing the meaning making are not necessarily bound to that space and the relations between them are still very complex. We decided to choose stakeholders with relatedness to the case, but allowing for geographical distance. This means that e.g. the international organisations and the national government are taken into account, because their decisions influence the context on a broad level. Also the stakeholders anti-smoking organisations and consumers are usually operating on a national level and it is impossible to allocate all of them to one federal state.

Due to the limited time frame it is clear that we have to choose a few stakeholders out of those involved. In order to present an extract from the battlefield of meaning we have decided to take stakeholders from different levels, meaning from legislation to the consumer, from the tobacco company to the health institution.

These thoughts have led to the following identification of stakeholders for our analysis and their relation to the case:

- *German Government and Bavarian Government:*
As the legislator and constitutive force the government on the national and federal state level are closely related to the context. The Bavarian government has implemented a comprehensive smoking ban, supported by the national government, and thereby formed our case. Both are initiators of tobacco de-marketing programs.
- *Tobacco Companies:*
International tobacco companies are selling their products everywhere in Germany and therefore also in Bavaria. The German market is an important market due to the number of smokers in the country. Their relation to the defined context is close as well, as their products are being banned from public spaces and the consumption rate could thereupon decrease. Furthermore, the industry is actively lobbying on a national level.
- *Consumers:*
The consumers, in this case smokers, are affected by the smoking ban in public places because they are not allowed to light up their cigarette in any bar, pub or restaurant.
- *Anti-smoking Organisations:*

The anti-smoking organisations are favouring the ban and striving for more restrictions. They are additionally working against the tobacco industry in general.

- *Health Institutions:*
International and national health institutions are engaged in research on the health effects of smoking and passive smoking and also often referred to by the other stakeholders as a scientific source for different study results.
- *Hospitality Industry Associations:*
The interest representation of the hospitality industry¹ is related to the context through the direct effects the implementation of the ban has on that industry and their actions against it. As the ban is mandatory the industry as a whole is influenced.

Although we have selected the stakeholders partly due to their appearance in media and their potential to influence the meaning construction of smoking, we do not define media itself as a stakeholder for this analysis. We know that we would not be able to access all the newspapers in our time frame and that our physical distance to Germany during the writing process additionally limits the access. Furthermore, the media as a stakeholder in the battle of meaning creation is such a comprehensive issue, that it would exceed the restrictions of this thesis.

The limitation in time of the context is partly shaped by the elections that took place this year. Accordingly most of the data is contemporary; from mid last year until the time this master thesis is written, March till June 2008, but we have decided to expand the time restriction. This is due to the influence of events taking place previous to our context, e.g. research findings by health institutions or legislation decisions whose influence reaches into current and future events. According to Titscher et al. the term “context” is used differently in CDA than in e.g. ethno-methodological text analysis. Here it includes socio-cultural knowledge and inter-textuality. This means that discourses, or texts, are not isolated entities but invariably relate to other discourses and texts written before, after or at the same time (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000, p. 148). Therefore, some data that is timely outside our time frame relates to our case and study in a way that we cannot exclude it.

We have selected the specific case also according to our set of knowledge and experience. Two of us have grown up in Germany and are native speakers. Therefore we have a similar cultural background as the supposedly average reader of the texts and the third of us is Belgian, which adds a different view but still is close to the culture.

The way how to collect data for CDA is not determined, as there is no typical way for the analysis (Meyer, 2001, p. 23). Our approach to the data collection and analysis has been inspired by grounded theory (GT), which is a research method developed by Glaser and Strauss (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). We have to point out here that we are not using GT as an overall methodology for our thesis; moreover we are motivated by the reciprocal relationship between the data collection and the analysis process described in GT. This approach enables us to take into account how the individual texts relate to other texts because we are not bound to follow linear steps during the course of our study.

According to Bryman & Bell, GT can be defined as “theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analysed through the research process. In this method, data collection, analysis, and eventual theory stand in close relationship to one another” (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 585). Strauss and Corbin (1990) later defined GT as a theory “[...] that is inductively

¹ In the following hospitality industry and gastronomy are used synonymously.

derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis, and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. One does not begin with a theory, and then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge.” (Siegel, 1995).

Accordingly, the objective of GT is the finding of theoretically comprehensive explanations on a particular phenomenon. The development of a significant theory that is generalizable and reproducible is based on analytical procedures. As the development of theory is not the aim of our study, we are considering the other feature of GT; that is the iterative approach. This means that the data collection and analysis are referring back to each other during the process and are not divided. In view of that, we are able to collect the thoughts from the start of our thesis and to examine the data at the time of collection, and altering the collection during the process (Noerager Stern, 1994). This helps us in order to reach our aim, based in the theory of CDA, to disclose the part discursive practice plays in the sustainment of power relations. The intersubjective production of social reality and within that the meaning creation can hereby be taken into account; this is due to the possibility to move from the analysis back to the data collection.

Language and communication are not an explicit theme of GT, but there are many indicators that interactions are primarily investigated with reference to linguistic communication. Although GT procedures are equally applicable to non-textual data, a central importance is attributed to text as data material in the form of interview transcripts, observers’ notes, books, newspaper articles, etc. (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000, p. 75).

How to collect the data

Empirical data for this study has been collected through an internet based document research, collecting text documents of the identified stakeholders. All analysed material is openly available and published. Many of these documents are initially developed for mass media communication. This means that the texts are mostly phrased to be easily understandable by the desired and addressed audience. It is generally not possible to engage in interactive negotiation and clarification of meaning.

Different types of documents, such as corporate websites, magazines, scientific articles and reports are included in the analysis. The texts of interactive elements such as forums, presenting some sort of conversation, will be regarded as written documents as well. Our analysis will therefore not include any type of conversation analysis.

As we discussed previously, media is not regarded as a stakeholder itself; but it is also a medium for opinion publication of our chosen stakeholders and some texts used in the analysis are published in media channels. It must be stated that the publications in magazine or newspaper articles include individual persons viewpoints, e.g. of reporters, editors, publishers, and can thus never be totally objective. Nevertheless, we will regard the media as a communication medium for the stakeholder groups and imply that they have influence on the published content. We acknowledge the possible bias through media representatives’ own framing of context and creation of meaning.

How to analyse the data

We have chosen to examine the metaphors in texts because they can be ideologically significant. In CDA the analysis of metaphors is commonly used to reveal their implied values and to disclose how they reproduce social and political inequality and domination. For this thesis the metaphors are analysed at the level of discourse, drawing on Lakoff's and Johnson's (1980) approach to metaphors.

By using metaphors we aim at simplifying the complexity of the concept of meaning construction by the identified stakeholders and to make the exercise of power relations by means of language less abstract. Metaphors are not precisely definable due to the problem of differentiating them from for example literal language or other descriptions (Scheithauer, 2007, p. 76f). According to our epistemological point of view, we take the constructivist approach to metaphors, meaning that metaphors create reality. This is in line with the understanding of metaphors in cognitive terms, as by Lakoff, where it is pointed out that metaphor is more than a linguistic expression but moreover a part of human conceptualisation. It functions through mapping domains of experience onto schematic ones (Chilton, 2004, p. 51f). As Lakoff and Johnson put it: "[...] we typically conceptualise the nonphysical in terms of the physical" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 59). This means that we devise one thing in terms of another, in this case the less confined in terms of the more confined.

Metaphors are not only apparent in language but also in the ways we think and act thus determining a large part of our conceptual system; although this is mostly happening unconsciously. Traces of this can be found in the way we communicate which is reflected in the language we use (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 3).

Lakoff and Johnson see dominant metaphorisation as a way to exclude other discourses, meaning that other ways of talking and thinking in that socio-cultural context are precluded by the prevailing metaphor (O'Halloran, 2007). This is a way to fight the battle of meaning through language.

During the collection and study of the data, we identified several metaphor concepts regarding the meaning of smoking in the texts and wrote them down. Then we read the texts again and identified categories, to which the metaphors could be assigned to. We here regard concepts and categories as defined by Strauss and Corbin (1990): "Concepts are labels placed on discrete happenings, events and other instances of phenomena. Category is a classification of concepts. This classification is discovered when concepts are compared one against another and appear to pertain to a similar phenomenon. Thus the concepts are grouped together under a higher order, more abstract concept called category." (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 61).

We have determined the following metaphors that are used to assign meaning to the notion of smoking:

- Smoking as Harmful
- Smoking as Addiction
- Smoking as Negligent Act
- Smoking as Economic Factor
- Smoking as Pleasure
- Smoking as Private Right

For some of these metaphors it could be argued that they are not metaphors because of the closeness to the subject. The distance between the first subject “Smoking” and the second subject “Economic Factor” is too small and too close to the literal meaning. This is due to the feasible connection we could see for example between the tobacco industry and economy when reading the metaphor. But we focus on the notion of smoking as accomplishing an act which is more distant from the notion of economy. Our metaphors might not be totally unrelated but the metaphorical meaning is created by transferring implicit and explicit attributes from the second subject to “Smoking”, whereby it is described as *being* or *equal* to it.

The texts were then studied regarding these categories and we chose four to five examples of each category to analyse in depth. For this analysis not single words or expressions were picked out, but a larger text part, representing the ideology behind the text and its author, i.e. the stakeholder. Within the categories, the level of argumentation and what the metaphor accomplishes can vary from stakeholder to stakeholder or even within one interest group. We additionally decided to include in the analysis the deconstruction of metaphors, as they are an important part of the battle of whose meaning of smoking is legitimate. They furthermore enable us to reveal the unequal access to linguistic resources by different stakeholders.

We as researchers are part of the analysis because we ourselves are bound to particular socio-cultural contexts which affect how we make sense of texts and new sets of meanings. Our conceptualisation and perception of language and metaphors is influenced as well. Accordingly, the sense data are analysed through our personal frame of reference, hence it is subjective and could be interpreted differently. It has to be mentioned that our group consists of two smokers and one non-smoker. Due to this constellation we have had several discussions about our individual point of views about the meaning of smoking, which opened up our perspective, both personally and in this thesis.

As mentioned before, we have chosen the German market as source for our data collection because two of us have grown up in this country and are therefore familiar with the socio-cultural context. This is crucial to our study, as we commonly draw upon already established and shared meanings in order to understand a text and every discourse is influenced by its underlying social and cultural context (Tietze et al, 2003).

The findings of our research will most likely not be applicable to similar cases. Although they might have some relevance for other related contexts (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, & Lowe, 2002), it has to be acknowledged that other contexts are always influenced by different political, historical and socio-cultural aspects. Due to our decision to employ a singular case study our findings are probably not generalizable.

Also the classical concepts of reliability and validity are according to most scholars in the field not applicable to CDA without alteration (Meyer, 2001). We are therefore referring to other criterions to assess the quality of a critical discourse analysis. As Easterby-Smith et al. put it, the reliability for qualitative studies is based on the transparency of the transformation of raw data into sense data (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, & Lowe, 2002, p. 53). This corresponds with the criterions mentioned by Titscher et al. and Van Dijk. The former emphasises that the findings have to be intelligible and plausible (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000, p. 195). The latter suggests accessibility as a criterion for CDA, meaning that the findings have to be accessible and readable for the researched social groups (Meyer, 2001, p. 29).

The approach we have chosen has many weaknesses that we have to be aware of while conducting the research and analysis. Collecting the data on the Internet entails the disadvantage that the documents and texts might not be available for other researchers in the future, as it is a very fast changing medium. So the texts could be object to change or completely deleted. Due to the vast range of available data we needed to make decisions on what data to include or exclude in the collection and analysis.

During the process of identifying the metaphors we might have focused too much on particular categories, missing other important ones. The translation from the original source in German into English is a weak point as we are not skilled translators and although we have aimed at translating the meaning rather than the actual words, some paragraphs could be hard to understand for the readers who do not understand German.

We also cannot escape the criticism that has been addressed by several scholars towards CDA, meaning the criticism of the “reading position” that is assumed by CDA. When we state that the language use of the stakeholders accomplishes something, we always refer to what it accomplishes in us. The different levels of education, social aspects or other differences between the readers are not taken into account. This can lead to a distortion of the results, as there is no such thing as the “average” reader.

Our decisions are biased from the start, regarding certain data according to personal preferences and neglecting other possibly relevant data. Furthermore we have decided which stakeholder groups would be part of the analysis based on our personal point of view. Accordingly, not only the interpretation of the data is subjective but also the choice of texts and stakeholders.

We are aware that the chosen theoretical and methodological foundation of CDA is not easy to depict and that the needed skills to conduct the analysis might exceed ours. Still, we are convinced that it is able to reveal some accomplishments of the stakeholders by analysing their language use. And within that to be able to attract the attention of the reader towards the underlying unequal power relations and attempted normalisation and legitimisation processes in our context.

4. Case: Local Elections in Bavaria

*The believing we do something
when we do nothing is the first illusion of tobacco.*
(Emerson, 2007)

To be able to define the limitations in time and space more clearly, we present the context of empirical data collection in the form of a case. The purpose is to delimit the context of the meaning making regarding tobacco and smoking to a particular event and by doing so to identify relevant stakeholder groups that will become the core of our analysis.

On September 1st 2007, the German government passed a law (Gesetz zum Schutz vor den Gefahren des Passivrauchens) which is supposed to increase the protection of non-smokers in Germany (Bundesministerium für Gesundheit, 2007). This law stipulates a smoking ban in public buildings and workplaces, health care institutions as well as the hospitality industry. Especially the planned smoking ban in the hospitality industry has led to a number of discussions and protests among not only the smokers, but also the hospitality industry which fears losses in their revenues.

According to German legislation, the decision making power concerning health issues lies with the 16 federal states (i.e. Länder) and it is therefore the duty and right of each state to decide on time, extent and control questions of the national smoking ban. In Bavaria, the political party Christlich Soziale Union (CSU) had decided to implement the strictest version of the smoking ban as compared to all other federal states. This ban became operational on January 1st 2008.

Unlike other federal states in Germany, Bavaria grants only a small number of exceptions, e.g. the acceptance of smoking in the so called smokers clubs (Fischer, 2008). Furthermore, smoking in party tents (beer/ wine tents) during mass events is forbidden by law. During the communal elections in Bavaria in March 2008 the CSU lost a considerable amount of votes which meant the party's biggest loss since 1966 and threw them into a crisis (Spiegel Online, 2008). The CSU regarded the smoking ban as one of the major reasons for their failure, and fierce inner-party discussions began concerning the abolishment of the smoking ban in beer tents for the current year (Kruse B. , 2008). These discussions were followed with scepticism by other political parties and external stakeholder groups and covered by the media with great interest. As a result, the CSU decided in March 2008 to grant an exemption on the smoking ban in beer tents. This exemption entailed that the smoking ban will be implemented as of January 1st, 2009 (Wenzel, 2008).

It is unsure whether the main reason for the CSU's failure was the smoking ban. However, this case will demonstrate the Bavarian situation and define its relevant stakeholders on the topic described above. The following stakeholders can be identified as being involved in this context:

- Government (Bavarian and national)
- Consumers
- Anti-smoking organisations (e.g. Nichtraucherverband Pro Rauchfrei e. V., Nichtraucher-Initiative Deutschland, Forum Rauchfrei)
- Hospitality industry (Deutscher Hotel- und Gaststättenverband, Berufsgenossenschaft Nahrungsmittel und Gaststätten, Verein zum Erhalt der bayerischen Wirtshauskultur)
- Medical institutions (Deutsches Krebsforschungszentrum, World Health Organization)

- Tobacco industry (British American Tobacco, Philip Morris International, Deutscher Zigarettenverband)

The German government plays a central role in this context and the example of the CSU shows that the notion of smoking can be influenced by different motives. In this case, the governing party CSU aimed at securing votes for the upcoming regional state elections (Landtagswahlen) in August 2008.

Non-smokers have previously welcomed the strict form of the smoking ban and have stated their disagreement with the law relaxations through, for example protest mails (Spiegel Online, 2008). Anti-smoking organisations such as the Nichtraucherverband Pro Rauchfrei have called for a boycott of the CSU during the upcoming elections (Der Tagesspiegel, 2008). Another anti-smoking organisation, Nichtraucher-Initiative München (NIM), a local branch of the Nichtraucher-Initiative Deutschland, claimed that they intend to reverse the exemptions by means of a lawsuit (N-TV.de *, 2008).

Another group of stakeholders which is important in this case study is the hospitality industry. Even though the association Bayerischer Hotel- und Gaststättenverband, the local branch of the Deutsche Hotel und Gaststättenverband, would have in general preferred a voluntary enactment of the smoking ban by each restaurant owner, the association considers a total smoking ban as more appropriate than one with exemptions. They believe that by granting exemptions to some parties in hospitality the discrimination of some hosts is increased. A total ban would at least provide the same conditions for every host (Kruse, Kottra, & Marusczyk, 2008).

Finally, the medical and scientific discourse is represented by institutions such as the German Cancer Research Centre (Deutsches Krebsforschungszentrum). The German Cancer Research Centre is against exemptions of the smoking ban (N-TV.de **, 2008). This is closely related to the fact that since January 1st 2008, already approximately 1,500 pubs in Bavaria have declared themselves as smoker clubs or offer possibilities for having closed communities with the license for smoking (N-TV.de **, 2008).

5. German Tobacco Industry

Today's teenager is tomorrow's potential regular customer, and the overwhelming majority of smokers first begin to smoke while still in their teens.
Philip Morris internal document (1981)

Tobacco, originally discovered by Columbus in 1492, received its first attention as part of a medical discourse in Germany in 1571. After being used in various forms (pipe smoking, snuff and cigars) throughout the following centuries, the cigarette saw its rise in Germany in the first half of the 20th century and greatly increased in consumption numbers during the second half (Borio, 1993).

For many years the tobacco industry has denied that nicotine is addictive, that smoking can cause serious diseases, and that advertisements of cigarettes arouse the interest of children.

Cigarette consumption in Germany is decreasing, from 170 billion in 2003 to approximately 160 billion units in 2004. This particularly concerns the machine-made cigarettes which include industry brand products and trade cigarettes. This means a loss in total sales volume of 15.5% from the year 2003 to 2004. The total market for machine-made cigarettes and fine-cut products in Germany accounted for 144.3 billion units in 2004 (2003: 156 billion) which results in a loss of 7.5% of unit volume (BAT Germany, For Non German Speaking Visitors, 2008). As a result, the production of tobacco has consequently decreased during the years 2005 to 2006 as well. A total amount of 33,231.86 tons was produced in 2005 while this number decreased to 22,702.43 tons in 2006 (Tabakjahrbuch 2008, 2007).

In contrast to the machine-made cigarettes, fine-cut products are taxed lower and thus less expensive. Their sales increased from 21.6 billion units in 2003 to 30.8 billion units in 2004 which led to an expansion of this segment (BAT Germany, For Non German Speaking Visitors, 2008).

The net decline in total tobacco consumption during the years 2002 to 2006 comprised less than 10%, a number that still seems modest when considering the decrease of over one third in factory-made cigarettes during this period.

In the years between 2002 and 2006, the German government implemented a total number of five tax increases including excise tax and value added tax (VAT). This led to a rise in cigarette prices of 30% to 40%. As a result, a lot of German consumers switched to producing their own home-made cigarette substitutes (RYO: Roll Your Own), which have a lower tax rate or to importing cheaper cigarettes from Eastern European countries. Hence, the federal government got lower tax revenues. According to P. Halacz, director of corporate regulatory affairs for British American Tobacco (BAT) in Germany, the loss amounted to €4 million. Losses for the tobacco industry due to these developments totalled €60 million (World Tobacco, 2007).

Germany is one of the last western European countries implementing smoking bans. The graph (figure 2) below describes the environments which are smoke free since January 2008.

Smoke-Free Environments	
Health-care Facilities	Fully implemented
Educational Facilities	Fully implemented
Universities	Fully implemented
Governmental Facilities	Fully implemented
Indoor Offices	Fully implemented
Restaurants	Exceptions exist
Pubs and Bars	Exceptions exist

Fig. 2: Smoke-Free Environments in Germany since 2008 (World Health Organization, 2008)

Statistics

In the World Health Organization's (WHO) report on the global tobacco epidemic, 2008, it is stated that Germany belongs to the ten countries in which two thirds of the world's smokers live. Germany, as well as Bangladesh, Turkey, and Brazil, each represents 2.3 % of the smoking world population (figure 3). This number is relatively high since in Europe many bans on tobacco consumption have been implemented throughout the years.

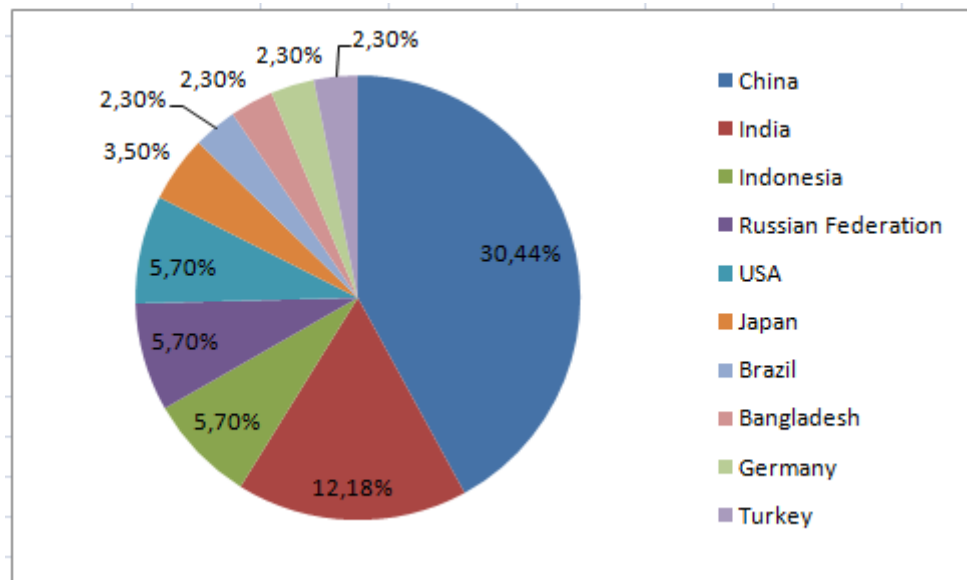


Fig. 3: Nearly two thirds of the world's smokers live in ten countries (World Health Organization, 2008)

The German government spent €1 million on tobacco control programs in 2007. From the figures given above and below, it appears to have limited effects on the consumption rates (World Health Organization, 2008).

Germany has a population of approximately 80 million. Out of these 80 million, 27% are smokers which count for 22 million German citizens (figure 4). This number can be divided by a percentage of female and male smokers. Out of this 22 million people, 39% are female smokers and 61% are male (figure 5).

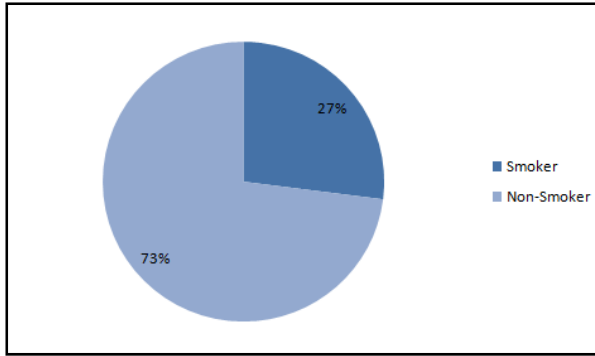


Fig. 4: Smoker vs. Non-smoker in the German population (80 Mil.) (Mikrozensus Rauchen, 2005,2003 & 1999)

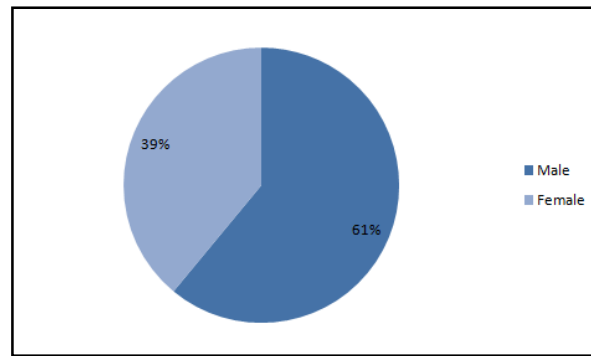


Fig. 5: Male vs. Female smokers in the German smoking population (22 Mil.) (Mikrozensus Rauchen, 2005,2003 & 1999)

A minority of 7% of all smokers smoke “only” one to five cigarettes a day. The majority of people, as expected, consume between 5-20 cigarettes a day. The real addicts, the people who cannot spend a day without a cigarette, the ones who smoke > 20 cigarettes a day are almost 20% out of 22 million, which are approximately 4.5 million German citizens (figure 6).

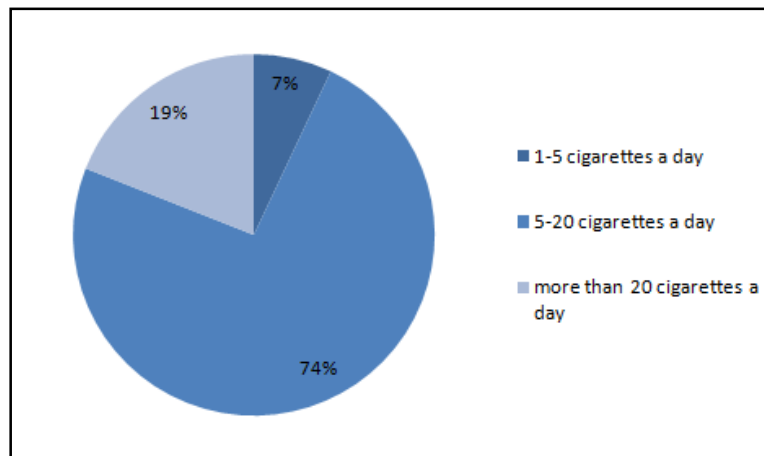


Fig. 6: Cigarette consumption per day for the regular smokers (19 Mil.) (Mikrozensus Rauchen, 2005,2003 & 1999)

A comparison of the amount of cigarettes smoked in 2000 between similar western European countries has been made to show the reader the consumption rate in Germany (figure 7). The figure below shows that The Netherlands had the highest consumption rate in 2000, which was 2401 cigarettes per person. Germany comes in third place with an amount of 1.553 units.

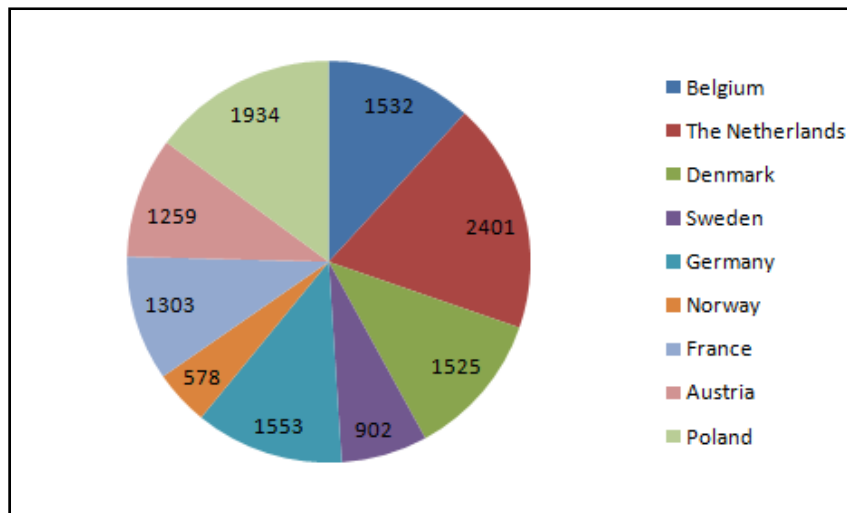


Fig. 7: Amount of cigarettes smoked per person in 2000
(World Health Organization *, 2007)

Compared to other EU countries, Germany's cigarette retail price (in €) is similar to the prices in Belgium and The Netherlands in 2001 (figure 8). Denmark and Sweden have a higher rate for their most popular cigarettes being sold. One of the main reasons for this is that the taxes in these countries are generally higher.

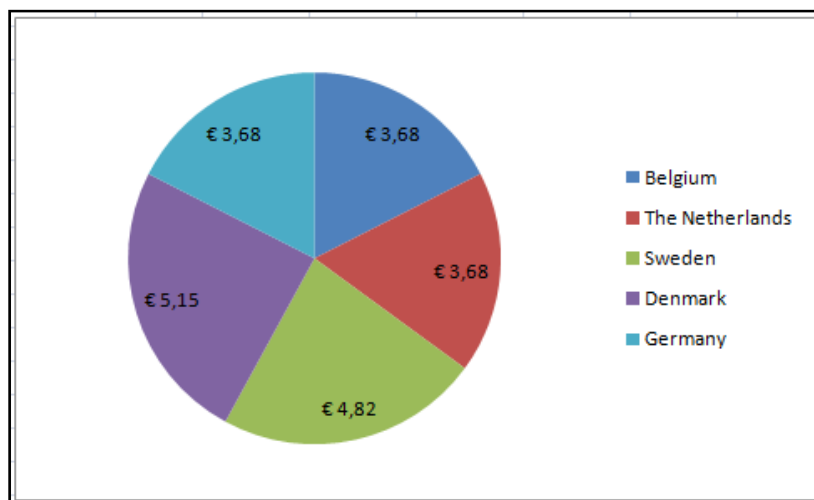


Fig. 8: Retail Price in € of popular international cigarettes (2001)
(World Health Organization, 2008)

According to statistics offered by the Tabakjahrbuch 2008, the Philip Morris (PM) brand Marlboro is the most consumed brand in Germany (figure 9). With a market share of 14.56%, Marlboro is far ahead of the brand West Red (5.01%) by Reemtsma. (Tabakjahrbuch 2008, 2007).

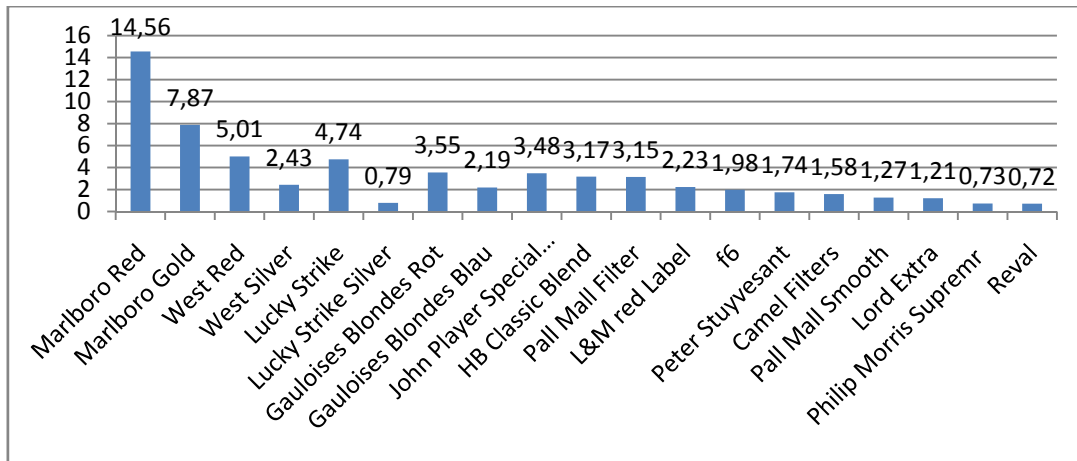
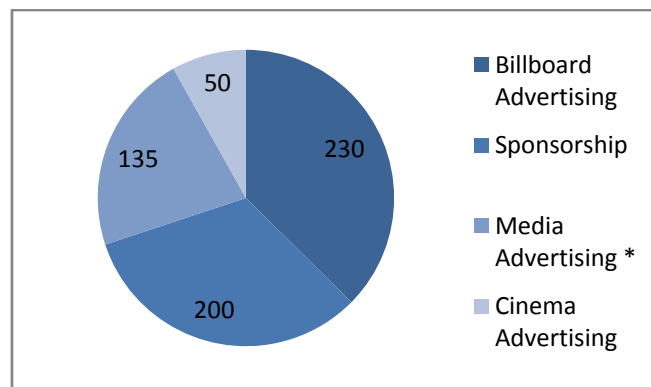


Fig. 9: % Market share of brands in Germany in 2006
(Tabakjahrbuch 2008, 2007)

In 1999, the tobacco industry was more or less “free” to utilise different types of marketing communication tools. A total of 615 million DM (approximately €314 million) in 1999 was spent on different types of advertising (figure 10). This has changed during the past years, and now only billboards and cinema advertising are allowed.



*Advertising on radio and TV only for non-tobacco products e.g. Camel Boots

Fig. 10: Advertising spent by the German tobacco industry in 1999. Print media spend not available.
[Fig. in millionDM]
(Schunkn & Poetschke-Langer, 2001)

6. Stakeholders

The only thing worse than being talked about is not being talked about.
(Wilde O. , 1890)

6.1 Medical Institutions

Deutsches Krebsforschungszentrum



The German Cancer Research Centre (Deutsches Krebsforschungszentrum (DKFZ)) was established in 1964 on behalf of the federal government of Baden-Württemberg. The centre is a member of the Hermann von Helmholtz Association of National Research Centres and the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft). Research programs are evaluated by the Helmholtz Association and funded by the German federal government (90%) and the state government of Baden-Württemberg (10%). Other financial resources are obtained through external funding, license revenues, and donations. The objective of the DKFZ is to research the origins of cancer and develop innovative ways for the prevention of cancer, its diagnostics and therapies (Deutsches Krebsforschungszentrum, 2008).

The DKFZ collaborates with the World Health Organization (WHO) on tobacco control (WHO-Kollaborationszentrum für Tabakkontrolle). The facility in Heidelberg is one of eight WHO collaboration centres worldwide and aims at contributing significantly to the national and international efforts for the minimisation of tobacco usage. Core activities include the allocation of knowledge and research, the presentation of tobacco-related health and economical consequences, and the development of effective measures to decrease tobacco consumption. Special emphasis is put on the communication with decision makers in politics, media and health care. With regards to the presented context, the DKFZ collaboration centre is especially inclined to warn about the health damaging effects of second-hand smoke (World Health Organization **, 2007).

World Health Organization



The WHO was founded on the 7th April 1948 by the United Nations (UN). It is the directing and coordinating authority on international health issues within the UN's system. The organisation promotes health research, and creates standards and guidelines for countries to support them concerning certain health issues. The WHO provides supplies to those countries lacking such necessities as medicines and food. Together with governments and a host of agencies, foundations, non-governmental organisations (NGO), and representatives of the private sector and civil society, they try to bring health topics and current foreign situations to the minds of worldwide citizens in developed countries.

The main areas on which the WHO is focusing on are:

- International health regulations;
- Health action in crisis;
- Prevention of chronic diseases;
- Cut child death;
- Improvement of maternal health;

- Ensure environmental sustainability;
- Develop a global partnership for development; and,
- Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases.

In their Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC), they highlight that tobacco kills about 5 million people every year. Because of this dramatically large number, the organisation aims at setting international standards on tobacco control measures such as tobacco prices and taxes, advertising and sponsorships, product warning labels, smuggling and second-hand smoke.

The WHO FCTC was created in February 2005 in Geneva because of the global increase of tobacco usage. This trend goes along with many complex factors with cross border effects, including trade liberalisation and direct foreign investment. Other factors such as global marketing, transnational tobacco advertising, promotion and sponsorship, and the international movement of contraband and counterfeit cigarettes have also contributed to the explosive increase in worldwide tobacco use.

6.2 Tobacco Industry

The tobacco industry has many players in the German market. In order to limit the wide range of companies in this segment, we have chosen to focus on the two biggest parties in the tobacco industry in Germany, Philip Morris International (PMI) and British American Tobacco (BAT). In addition, the association Deutscher Zigarettenverband (DZV) is an important representative for the German tobacco industry.

Philip Morris International; Altria

The company Phillip Morris (PM) was founded in England in 1854 and later moved to the US (wer-zu-wem.de, 2002-2008).



Today, Phillip Morris International (PMI) is the leading international tobacco company and sells its products in over 160 countries worldwide. PMI Germany is the largest affiliate in Europe, which has been present since 1970 and the company became the German market leader in 1987 (wer-zu-wem.de, 2002-2008).

In 2007, PMI had a 15.6% market share of the international cigarette market outside the USA. Out of the 15 top brands in the world, PMI owns seven. In the same year, the net revenues were \$55.096 million (2006: \$48.260 million), their operating income was \$87,873 (2006: \$86.368 million) and they sold 851 billion cigarettes (2006: 831 billion) (Philip Morris International *, 2008). Today, the German market share accounts for approximately 35% and holds a net income of €6.9 billion in 2006 (wer-zu-wem.de, 2002-2008).

The first quarter of 2007, PMI reported a decline of sales of 2.1% in Germany and a drop in their market share. This was a result of the reduction of sales through cigarette vending machines. PMI stated that the total sales through the vending channels dropped by 38% in the first quarter of 2007 due to the new legal regulations (World Tobacco, 2007).

The current PMI product portfolio entails 150 brands with different blends and styles. The most known brands with the highest portfolio share in Germany are listed below (Philip Morris International *, 2008):

- Marlboro
- L&M
- Phillip Morris
- Boston
- F6
- Parliament

According to PMI, the company is engaging in responsible marketing activities and claims to adhere to the legal advertising restrictions and laws. Despite this restrictive environment, PMI sees marketing still as one of their core competencies. Active communication to their adult consumers is regarded as crucial to distinguish PMI's products from those of their competitors. Specific marketing tools are, however, not revealed on their corporate website. But PMI states a number of principles for their marketing activities (Philip Morris International ****, 2008):

- Children and adolescents are not target of PMI's marketing (no comic figures, celebrities or models under 25 years old are used in their advertising);
- PMI adds warning signs to all their marketing materials and product packages (no front or back page ads used in print media);
- PMI's marketing must respect and live up to international standards of decency, regional cultures, traditions and behaviours;
- PMI is against product placement.

The company states that they recognize the addictive and health damaging nature of their products. PMI affirms that increasing sales is not their sole priority. Preventing children and adolescents from smoking and the development of less dangerous products are important factors as well (Philip Morris International **, 2008).

PMI wants to be perceived as a socially responsible company. To achieve this image, the company provides financial support to initiatives in local communities. The company also states their commitment to fight child labour in the tobacco industry and expresses their intention to reduce the environmental impact of their operations (Philip Morris International **, 2008). PMI is eager to publish their CSR activities on their website, in press releases and during their annual shareholder meetings (Philip Morris International *, 2008).

PMI's goals (Philip Morris International ***, 2008):

- To meet the expectations of adult smokers by offering innovative tobacco products of the highest quality available in their preferred price category;
- To generate superior returns to our stockholders through revenue, volume, income and cash flow growth and a balanced program of dividends and share repurchases;
- To reduce the harm caused by tobacco products by supporting comprehensive regulation and developing products with the potential to reduce the risk of tobacco related diseases;
- To be a responsible corporate citizen and to conduct our business with the highest degree of integrity.

British American Tobacco

British American Tobacco (BAT) was founded in 1902 as a joint venture between the UK's Imperial Tobacco Company and the American Tobacco Company, and started its operations in Germany in 1926. Today, BAT has a German market share of 23%, what makes them the second largest supplier after PMI. In Europe, Russia is their largest market, followed by Germany (BAT Germany, For Non German Speaking Visitors, 2008).



In 2004, the annual sales comprised 25.9 billion packages, which is a decrease compared to the year 2003 (30.6 billion units). The main reason for this decrease was a drop in the overall market for machine-made cigarettes due to tax related price increases in the previous years, and the increase in legal and illegal imports from neighbouring countries (BAT Germany, For Non German Speaking Visitors, 2008).

German consumers can choose between 60 different brands and variations in tastes offered by BAT. Their current product portfolio consists of many well-known international brands. Some of the most prestigious BAT brands offered in Germany with their 2004 market share are listed in the pie chart below (figure 11):

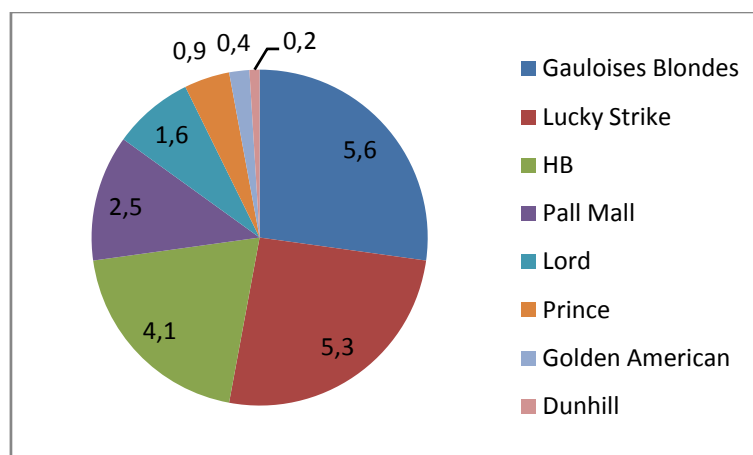


Fig. 11: % Market share of BAT brands in Germany 2004 (BAT Germany, For Non German Speaking Visitors, 2008)

The company regards marketing and their marketing mix as an important part for their success. They acknowledge that most mass-media promotion is no longer possible due to several restrictions. BAT ensures they make use of marketing tools in an appropriate way and to adults only. They stress that the most important marketing rules for them are not to focus their marketing tactics to under-aged people, not make use of product placements in films, plays or TV programs and not to link their product brands to celebrities or to sporting, professional, social or sexual success. The company states to accept the given restrictions, and regards them even as useful in order to bring "focus and discipline" to the marketing they can do (British American Tobacco *, 2008).


BAT perceives CSR as following (Ibrahim Thani Bin Jabr & Hamanda, 2008):

- How a business takes account of its economic, social and environmental impact in the way it operates;

- Maximise the benefits and minimise the downsides of its operational footprint;
- Voluntary actions that a business can take, over and above compliance with minimum legal requirements, in terms of responsible behaviour;
- To be increasingly seen as a contributor to sustainable development goals.

Similar to PMI, BAT supports local community and charitable projects by means of financial donations. The company BAT claims that they “approach corporate social investment (CSI) as an end in itself, rather than as a way to promote themselves” and that they are encouraging their companies to focus on CSI activities around the core themes of sustainable agriculture, civic life and empowerment (British American Tobacco **, 2008).

Deutscher Zigarettenverband

The German cigarette industry has been represented by their association  Verband der Zigarettenindustrie (VdC) since 1948, a union of the major tobacco companies, founded to represent their interests on non-competitive issues. One important function included the funding of research which would provide favourable results for the industry (Grüning, Gilmore, & McKee, 2006). The association was able to develop good relations with ministers and federal authorities and had therefore great influential power on industry related policy-making. After the withdrawal of the main financer PM in May 2007, the association broke up (World Tobacco, 2007). In March 2008 a smaller version of the former VdC, now called Deutscher Zigarettenverband (DZV) was formed by representatives of BAT Germany, Reemtsma Zigarettenfabriken, JT International Germany, Heintz van Landewyck GmbH and Von Eicken GmbH. These companies represent more than 60% of the German cigarette industry (Ahlemeier, 2008). The association could win the former member of “Die Grünen” (green political party) Marianne Tritz as their director and main representative. The DZV portrays smoking as pleasurable activity for adults. In the context of the current legal changes in Germany the association proposes to rely on the personal responsibility of smokers concerning the protection of non-smokers rather than the passing of laws (Ahlemeier, 2008). The association sees itself as the representative of interest for the German tobacco industry and for the 22 million smokers in Germany. Their aim is to be the central contact institution for politics, economy and media (Deutscher Zigarettenverband, 2008).

6.3 Anti-smoking Organisations

A large number of clubs, associations, organisations and other communities have been formed around the topic of non-smoking. Their major motives are to increase the protection of non-smokers, to inform about the dangers of tobacco and to convince people to quit smoking.

Three of the national organisations are Verein Pro-Rauchfrei, Nichtraucher-Initiative Deutschland (NID) and Forum Rauchfrei. In addition to this, an internet search reveals the existence of a vast number of anti-smoking forums and portals where members exchange information and tips around the topic of “smoking”.

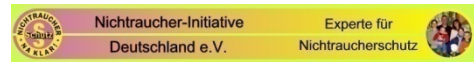
Pro-Rauchfrei e.V.



The anti-smoking association Pro-Rauchfrei e.V. describes itself as a lobbyist for non-smokers. One of their major requests is a total smoking ban in the hospitality industry, granting no

exemptions and guaranteeing effective sanctions. The association further fights for the abolishment of all outdoor and indoor cigarette vending machines (Pro-Rauchfrei, 2008).

Nichtraucher-Initiative Deutschland



The Nichtraucher-Initiative Deutschland (NID) e.V., founded in 1988, sees their main purpose in the protection of non-smokers and focuses on the areas of home, workplace, public transport and hospitality industry. The NID functions as an umbrella-organisation for about 30 regional and local anti-smoking initiatives and includes the Nichtraucher-Initiative München. The latter is NID's largest member and has been cited several times within the context of the Bavarian local elections (Krause, 2006).

Forum Rauchfrei



The association Forum Rauchfrei was formed in 2000 and its members belong mainly to the educational and health care sector. The organisation aims at increasing non-smoker protection and wants to create a smoke-free environment. They are critically assessing tobacco companies' marketing and sales strategies and their exertion of influence on politicians. Through campaigns and public relations Forum Rauchfrei tries to change the public opinion (Forum Rauchfrei).

6.4. Government

German Government

The German federal government is in charge of many tobacco-related policies and legislative decisions. One of their major activities is the levying of tobacco taxes. According to the tobacco tax law (Tabaksteuergesetz), cigarettes, cigars, cigarillos and loose tobacco are subject to tax. The tobacco tax is, after the tax on petroleum, the second most important source of revenue for the federal government when it comes to excise duties (Bundesministerium der Finanzen *, 2007). Total tobacco tax revenues in 2007 amounted to €14.1 billion (2006: €15.74 billion) (BDTA, 2008). The current tax is determined by a fixed amount per cigarette plus a percentage of the package's retail price (Kleinverkaufspreis). Since January 1st 2007, the amount is €0.0827 per piece and 24.66% of the retail price *or* at least the amount that arises from 96% of the total tax burden. This total tax burden comprises the tobacco tax and the value-added tax (VAT) of the retail price of cigarettes based on the most common price-class (as given by the Ministry of Finance) minus the VAT amount of the particular cigarette to be taxed (Bundesministerium der Finanzen **, 2007). Individual retailers are not allowed to charge a price other than indicated on the package (Tabakjahrbuch 2008, 2007).

Another important function of the government in the context of smoking is to take action concerning the health of the German citizens. The Bundesgesundheitsministerium (Ministry of Health) is responsible for a variety of health care related policy areas for which prevention, health protection, disease control and bio medicine belong to the major ones. The prevention of drug and addiction risks is another central area of responsibility for the ministry (Bundesministerium für Gesundheit*, 2008). The Bundesgesundheitsministerium has been launching a number of anti-smoking campaigns during the past years, often in cooperation with health institutions, sports clubs and media. Their current campaign is titled "Rauchfrei 2008"

(smoke-free 2008) and offers prizes up to €10,000 for successful smoke quitters (Novitas Vereinigte BKK, 2008).

The protection of children and adolescents is an important issue for the government. Regulations for the protection of minors cover for example the possibilities of access to cigarettes from vending machines. Vending machine operators were forced to install an ID-based age identification system into each of their 500,000 machines by January 1st 2007, to prevent people younger than 16 from purchasing cigarettes. In addition, the legal age to buy tobacco products was changed from 16 to 18 years as of September 2007. For vending machines the new age limit is valid from January 1st 2009 (Tabakjahrbuch 2008, 2007).

The protection of non-smokers has become another crucial issue for the government. Historically, and influenced by the strong tobacco lobby, the German government has acted quite favourably towards the tobacco industry. Since the turn of the millennium, pressure from the EU and other interest groups has led to a change in their position. On September 1st 2007, the German government passed a law to increase the rights and protection of non-smokers in public areas. Cornerstones of the law were decided on a federal basis but it is up to the regional governments of the 16 federal states to decide on details. Each federal state can decide on areas of implementation and exceptions of the law for the protection of non-smokers. The only national smoking ban was established in September 2007 for the public transportation sector and governmental administration buildings (Bundesministerium für Gesundheit**, 2007).

Bavarian Government

Bavaria is with 11.6 million inhabitants the second largest federal state. As described in chapter four the Bavarian governing party Christlich Soziale Union (CSU) has decided on passing the strictest version of the non-smoker protection law on December 12th, 2007. This became effective on January 1st 2008 and includes the prohibition of indoor smoking in the following places (Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Umwelt, Gesundheit und Verbraucherschutz **, 2008):

- Public buildings (governmental buildings, administration and courts)
- Facilities for children and adolescents (including outdoor areas)
- Educational facilities for adults
- Health care facilities, esp. hospitals
- Nursing homes
- Publicly accessible cultural and leisure time facilities, esp. cinemas, museums, libraries, theatres, and clubs
- Sport clubs
- Restaurants
- Beer, wine and event tents
- Passenger airports

Responsible for the compliance to the indoor smoking bans are the managers of the respective facilities. The installation of extra smoking rooms in the hospitality industry, cultural and leisure time facilities and sports facilities is forbidden in order to prevent the distortion of competition among facilities. The law for the protection of non-smokers accounts only for public or publicly accessible areas. Facilities for private use including stores, pharmacies and offices are not subject to the law. Closed community events (e.g. private birthday parties, marriages, company

events) are also excluded from the smoking prohibition (Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Umwelt, Gesundheit und Verbraucherschutz **, 2008).

A slight, however controversial, change was made in the implementation of the smoking ban for party tents. The governing party CSU decided on March 12th 2008, a lessening of the smoking ban for party tents for a period of up to 21 subsequent days.

6.5 Consumers

Many researchers found a relation between living in a city, ethnicity and religion, income and parental educations, regarding the reasons why people smoke. But not all of these researchers agreed with the fact that age, gender, living status, having siblings, working status of parents, and marital status have anything to do with why people smoke (Chaloupka & Wechsler, 1995) (Chaloupka & Taurus, 1999).

According to a research done by Göhlmann (2007), individuals who smoke are more often keeping company with other smokers. Furthermore, German smokers can be more often found being in the labour force instead of among adolescents and the elderly. Looking at the demographic characteristics, non-smokers are more frequently in a relationship than smokers (Göhlmann, 2007). Göhlmann added to this that more non-smokers have a vocational degree compared to smokers. The labour market is influenced as well by the number of smokers versus non-smokers. It has been proven that unemployed people are commonly the ones who smoke, regardless of gender and geographic aspects (Göhlmann, 2007).

There are several aspects which influence the smoking behaviour of German citizens. The main reasons for shifts in demand can be found in an increase or decrease in prices, different types of advertising being used, health information and anti-smoking campaigns, and smoking bans in public places (Taurus, Peck, & Chaloupka, 2006). However, as mentioned previously, education, status, marital status, etc. are reflected as well in the smoking behaviour of the German society.

According to Mellor (2005), stress is the main indicator for smoking. Stress can be defined as “[...] the emotional and physical strain caused by our response to pressure from the outside world. Common stress reactions include tension, irritability, inability to concentrate, and a variety of physical symptoms that include headache and a fast heartbeat.” (Health Information Publications, 2004). The people who believe that smoking might reduce stress are wrong (Mellor, 2005).

Other reasons for people to smoke are (Dichter, 1947):

- Fun
- Pleasure
- Rewarding
- Time indicator
- Looking at the smoke
- Memories
- Social talk
- Social class
- Relaxation
- Concentration
- Consolidation
- Tastiness/ smell
- Not addicted
- To be one of “them”
- Impression

6.6 Hospitality Industry

One stakeholder group that is severely influenced by the recent changes in Germany is the group of restaurant, bar, pub owners and other hosts in the hospitality industry. The recent smoking ban regulations are diverse and depend on the federal state. The topic of smoking concerns not only the hosts but the employees working in the hospitality industry as well. A number of regional and national associations exist representing the interests of this industry. These associations can be regarded as the conjoint voice of the hospitality industry.

Deutscher Hotel- und Gaststättenverband



The association Deutscher Hotel- und Gaststättenverband e.V. (DEHOGA) is the main representation of interest for the hospitality industry in Germany. It is also a major contact point for politicians, media, government administration and various business stakeholders. DEHOGA's main activities concern the areas of labour market and tariff policies, education and law-based matters of the industry. Their objective is to secure the present and future of the hospitality industry with regards to the safeguarding of jobs and the quality of life (DEHOGA Bundesverband **, 2008).

The DEHOGA generally supports the smoking ban but strives for equal rights for all its members, no matter if they operate one-room or multiple rooms facilities. Therefore, they state that no exceptions should be allowed (DEHOGA Bundesverband ***, 2008).

The DEHOGA is subdivided into a number of regional associations. One example is the Bavarian hotel and restaurant association (Bayrischer Hotel- und Gaststättenverband).

Berufsgenossenschaft Nahrungsmittel und Gaststätten



The association, Berufsgenossenschaft Nahrungsmittel und Gaststätten (BGN), is a major provider of statutory accident insurance for employees in the hospitality and food-related industries. Especially the prevention of workplace related health risks lies in their interest. With regards to the topic of smoking, their position concerns especially the issue of second-hand smoke at the work place. An international symposium about the risks and causalities of second-hand smoke at the workplace was held by the association in co-operation with the University of Mannheim in October 2007 (BGN, 2005).

Verein zum Erhalt der bayerischen Wirtshauskultur



The association Verein zum Erhalt der bayerischen Wirtshauskultur (VEBWK) (i.e. association for the conservation of the Bavarian restaurant culture) is a union of Bavarian hosts and brewers which was established because of the non-smoker protection law in the federal state of Bavaria. Its members strive for the reversal of a total smoking ban in restaurants, bars and pubs. The association regards the Bavarian hospitality industry as a unique cultural asset. According to them, being able to smoke in a restaurant or pub is part of this culture. The association regards the smoking ban as restriction to people's personal freedom of choice and interference in the property rights of restaurant and bar owners. Their aim is to protect the industry from laws and overregulation by the state. The association offers its members support and recommendations how to handle the total smoking ban (Rauchen erlaubt, 2008).

7. Analysis

*Language exerts hidden power,
Like a moon on the tides
(Brown R. M., 2007)*

In this chapter we will present selected texts from different stakeholders to reveal the created meaning. To demonstrate differences within each metaphor, we chose several examples of meaning creation through language. Some have the same metaphorical meaning in different nuances and some are contradictory. The identified metaphors we bring forth are:

- Smoking as Harmful
- Smoking as Addiction
- Smoking as Negligent Act
- Smoking as Economic Factor
- Smoking as Pleasure
- Smoking as “Private” Right

7.1 Smoking as Harmful

Many stakeholder groups are building their argumentation and communication based on the health damaging effects of smoking and second-hand smoking. They also refer to the direct consequence of smoking leading to death. These arguments are summarised under the metaphor of Smoking as Harmful.

Smoking as Health Damaging

The notion of Smoking as Health Damaging is particularly constructed by stakeholders related to the area of medicine and science.

Tobacco consumption is a significant cause for more than 40 diseases, to which a series of severe and terminal diseases belong^{28,44}. Smoking is the most significant single risk factor for a series of widespread chronic diseases such as cardiovascular diseases, cancer and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease^{28,80}. Besides lung cancer, which is 90% related to smoking in states with already decades long widespread tobacco consumption⁴⁴, there is a known causal connection between tobacco consumption and several other types of cancer. This applies to the cancer development in mouth, nose and throat, larynx, oesophagus, stomach, pancreas, liver, kidney, bladder and cervix as well as certain forms of leukaemia^{13,14,28,44,46,62}.

“Der Tabakkonsum ist bei mehr als 40 Krankheiten eine bedeutsame Ursache, unter ihnen sind eine Reihe schwerwiegender und tödlich verlaufender Krankheiten^{28,44}. Rauchen ist der bedeutsamste einzelne Risikofaktor für eine Reihe weit verbreiteter chronischer Krankheiten, wie Herz-Kreislaufkrankheiten, Krebs und chronisch obstruktive Bronchitis^{28,80}. Neben dem Lungenkrebs, der in Staaten mit bereits jahrzehntelang weitverbreitetem Tabakkonsum zu 90% auf das Rauchen zurückzuführen ist⁴⁴, ist ein ursächlicher Zusammenhang mit dem Tabakkonsum bei einer Reihe weiterer Krebskrankheiten bekannt. Dies betrifft die Krebserstehung im Mund-, Nasen- und Rachenraum, in Kehlkopf, Speiseröhre, Magen, Bauchspeicheldrüse, Leber, Niere, Harnblase und Gebärmutterhals sowie für bestimmte Formen der Leukämie^{13,14,28,44,46,62}.“ (DKFZ, 2002)

The text presents an extract from the recommended course of action on tobacco policies issued by the medical institution Deutsches Krebsforschungszentrum (DKFZ). The cancer research institute uses several methods within this text extract in order to create the meaning of smoking as health damaging. Words such as *significant (bedeutsam)* and *severe (schwerwiegend)* are used to support their presented facts and as a result attach a serious undertone to the text. The repetition of the words *widespread (weit verbreitet)* and *disease (Krankheit)* even increases this tonality. Especially the utterance *terminal (tödlich verlaufend)* underlines the severity of the damaging effects of tobacco. The DKFZ makes use of particularly severe examples of diseases such as *cardiovascular diseases* and *cancer*. These are also in other contexts the most often referred to damaging effects of smoking. Stating smoking as the cause of 90% of all lung cancer occurrences they provide a very convincing number. The enumeration of possible types of cancer that can occur due to smoking gives more weight to their argument. Since the purpose of the DKFZ is to research cancer, not many people will actually question this statement. Finally, through the use of foot notes, referring to references (e.g. studies of other researchers), they are enhancing the credibility of their statements. Overall, the DKFZ does not leave any doubt that smoking is health damaging.

Similar constructions of the metaphor Smoking as Health Damaging can be found for the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Bundesgesundheitsministerium (Ministry of Health). The metaphor is not explicitly deconstructed by any other stakeholder group. The tobacco industry for instance does not deny that smoking is health damaging.

Passive Smoking as Health Damaging

Second-hand smoke and passive smoking is a main subject of discussion within the current context of smoking bans and non-smokers health protection. The government, at least part of it, and anti-smoking organisations fight for the condemnation of second-hand smoke from public places, workplaces and other related areas such as the hospitality industry. These stakeholders often base their argumentation on claims of medical institutions. One of these institutions is the DKFZ, whose ambition is to prove that passive smoking causes diseases, conducted a number of experiments on the health damaging effects of second-hand tobacco smoke. The results of these were published in a series of health reports called red series (rote Reihe). The following can be read on the DKFZ website:

Passive smoking is harmful to health and can lead to disease and death - this is indisputably proven by science. Only representatives of the tobacco industry or their clients still deny this fact. Passive smoking causes a series of acute and chronic diseases including lung cancer and coronary heart diseases. Especially for already sick and weakened persons such as the millions of asthmatics does passive smoking presents a constant danger to health. Passive smoking is particularly dangerous for children because their organisms are not yet fully developed. Unborn life can sustain lasting damage through tobacco consumption by pregnant women.

“Passivrauchen ist gesundheitsschädlich und kann zu Krankheit und Tod führen – dies ist wissenschaftlich einwandfrei erwiesen. Lediglich Vertreter der Zigarettenindustrie bzw. deren Auftraggeber bestreiten diese Tatsache nach wie vor. Passivrauchen verursacht eine Reihe von akuten und chronischen Krankheiten, einschließlich Lungenkrebs und die koronare Herzkrankheit. Insbesondere für bereits erkrankte oder geschwächte Personen, so wie z.B. die Millionen Asthmatiker, ist das Passivrauchen eine konstante Gesundheitsgefährdung. Für Kinder

ist das Passivrauchen aufgrund ihres noch unausgereiften Organismus besonders gefährlich, auch ungeborenes Leben kann durch den Tabakkonsum schwangerer Frauen nachhaltig geschädigt werden.” (DKFZ, 2007)

The paragraph starts with a strong statement; *passive smoking is harmful to health and can lead to diseases and death*, which is then legitimised and made credible by scientific proof. This suggests that there is no need to question this statement in any way. By using the word *fact* in the following sentence the truth of this is underlined. They do not provide any facts or refer to studies they themselves or others conducted in order to strengthen their point. By stating that *only representatives of the tobacco industry or their clients deny* the “dangers of passive smoking”, they imply that the general knowledge and conviction is that passive smoking is health damaging. By directly naming the tobacco industry, the DKFZ points out who is responsible for the existence of second-hand smoke. The direct accusation implies that this group denies the health damaging effects because their business goal is to increase revenues through the sales of tobacco products. By making use of exaggerations (*millions of*), by enumerating different threatened groups (*asthmatics, children, foetuses*) and by presenting concrete examples of related diseases (*lung cancer, coronary heart diseases*), the DKFZ is emphasising their message that passive smoking has damaging effects. Finally, by claiming that the effects of passive smoking are particularly harmful to children and foetuses they signify the irresponsibility of exposing others to second-hand smoke. This metaphor of Passive Smoking as Health Damaging is also communicated by the anti-smoking association Nichtraucher-Initiative Deutschland (NID).

The DKFZ is regarded as a reputable institution for cancer research by other stakeholder groups. The German federal government and the Bavarian government refer in their communication to the findings of the DKFZ in order to legitimise their decisions with regards to the non-smoker protection law.

The CSU parliamentary fraction has agreed on comprehensive non-smoker protection for Bavaria. Through this a significant health-plus for all visitors and guests, and especially for the employees in gastronomical facilities, will be achieved. [...] Bavaria has therewith initiated the most widespread non-smoker protection law in all of Germany, for the health protection of the citizens. The law is scheduled to go into effect on January 1st 2008.

“Die CSU-Landtagsfraktion hat einen umfassenden Nichtraucherschutz für Bayern beschlossen. Damit wird ein deutliches Gesundheits-Plus für alle Besucher und Gäste erreicht, vor allem aber auch für die Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter in der Gastronomie.[...] Damit hat Bayern das weitreichendste Nichtraucherschutzgesetz in ganz Deutschland auf den Weg gebracht, zum Schutz der Gesundheit der Bürger. Das Gesetz wird voraussichtlich am 1. Januar 2008 in Kraft treten.” (CSU, 2008)

The governing party in Bavaria, Christlich Soziale Union (CSU), presents this text on their official website. The text refers to the CSU decisions about smoking bans in public places and the hospitality industry as part of the non-smoker protection law issued by the German federal government. The party describes their version of the non-smoker protection law as *comprehensive (umfassend)* and they pride themselves with having initiated the *most widespread (weitreichendste)* law as compared to all other federal states. They particularly refer to their decisions on smoking restrictions for the hospitality industry. The smoking ban is promoted under the banner of protecting the health of public house guests and employees. The utterances

health plus (Gesundheits-Plus) and *non-smoker protection (Nichtraucherschutz)* suggest that the party regards smoking and passive smoking as health damaging. By emphasising the word *health plus (Gesundheits-Plus)*, the CSU creates a positive image for the regulations. They replace the negative connotation of the concept *ban* with an association of a positive effect for the citizens. These positive rewards are especially associated by the word *plus*. This text suggests that people in smoke-free environments will benefit by an extra amount of health or well-being. The CSU justifies and promotes their decision by stating that the law serves the *health protection of the citizens (Schutz der Gesundheit der Bürger)*. With this sub-sentence the party presents their non-smoker protection law as beneficial not only for guests and employees in the hospitality industry but for all citizens.

In contrast to the meaning of passive smoking as health damaging, the company British American Tobacco (BAT) is communicating a different image of second-hand smoke. On their website the following text can be found:

Tobacco smoke in the air has many denotations: For some it is a sign of relaxation and pleasure, while others perceive it as bothersome. Under the name "passive smoking" the smoke even counts as harmful to health. When tobacco products are consumed, smoke is also emitted into the ambient air. This smoke is very quickly diluted in the air. The degree of dilution is dependent on many factors such as room size, room temperature, air circulations and air conditioning. Already because of this dilution is tobacco smoke in the environment not comparable with the smoke that a smoker inhales. We consequently consider the designation "passive smoking" as misleading since this designation suggests that a non-smoker unintentionally inhales the same smoke as a smoker. In the following we will therefore talk of tobacco smoke in the environment (ETS – Environmental Tobacco Smoke).

„Tabakrauch in der Luft hat viele Bedeutungen: Für die einen ist er ein Zeichen von Entspannung und Genuss, andere empfinden ihn als störend. Unter der Bezeichnung "Passivrauchen" gilt der Rauch sogar als Gesundheitsgefährdung. Wenn Tabakprodukte konsumiert werden, dann wird der Rauch auch in die Umgebungsluft abgegeben. Dieser Rauch verdünnt sich in der Luft äußerst schnell. Der Grad der Verdünnung ist abhängig von vielen Faktoren, wie beispielsweise der Größe des Raumes, der Raumtemperatur, der Luftbewegung und der Belüftung. Schon allein aufgrund dieser Verdünnung ist der Tabakrauch in der Umgebung nicht vergleichbar mit dem Rauch, den ein Raucher einatmet. Wir halten deshalb die Bezeichnung "Passivrauchen" für irreführend, da sie nahe legt, ein Nichtraucher würde ungewollt dasselbe einatmen wie ein Raucher. Daher sprechen wir im folgenden von Tabakrauch in der Umgebung (ETS – Environmental Tobacco Smoke).“ (BAT Germany, 2006)

BAT communicates that passive smoke is not harmful. They denote tobacco smoke with very positive words such as relaxation and pleasure before acknowledging that it might also be perceived as negative. By emphasising the word *even (sogar)*, they suggest that regarding second-hand smoke as a risk to health is highly exaggerated and make people who claim that appear naive. They stress the point that directly and passively inhaling tobacco smoke are two very different actions with the latter being harmless. The second-hand smoke, which is emitted into the air, is according to them diluted very quickly and therefore not comparable with the amount a smoker directly inhales. The impression they want to give is that this smoke cannot be really harmful since it is thinned instantly. By providing the information that the degree of dilution depends on many factors they keep their argument vague, probably in order to protect

themselves against potential accusations that might arise in case precise values of critical limits for passive smoking will be discovered.

The paragraph has the overall purpose of changing the negative connotations that are associated with passive smoke by many non-smokers and other stakeholders in society. BAT does that by renaming passive smoke to environmental tobacco smoke. Passive smoke and environmental smoke can both be perceived as something not directly influenced by the individual. They are prevalent in the air. The difference is that the word environmental smoke has a more positive connotation than passive smoke. It suggests that tobacco smoke is something natural even biological therefore diminishing the negative associations of second-hand tobacco smoke. By providing these statements, the company neglects the potential harmfulness of passive smoking.

The metaphor is criticised by several stakeholders. Besides the tobacco companies another interest group questions the publications of the DKFZ. The Berufsgenossenschaft Nahrungsmittel und Gaststätten (BGN) claims that the results of the second-hand smoke experiments are generalizable and that the methods used are lacking transparency. They also criticise that concrete critical values are missing regarding type, severity and frequency of diseases related to passive smoking for different groups of individuals (Marsch & Grieshaber, 2007).

Smoking as Killing

Within the notion of Smoking as Harmful the government creates the even stronger meaning of Smoking as Killing. In a report published by the Bundesgesundheitsministerium the following text is available.

Tobacco consumption is the biggest avoidable health risk. 33% of all adults in Germany smoke. The average initiation age into the tobacco consumption is ca.13 years. Approximately 140,000 people die annually as a direct result of smoking. In addition to this around 3.300 non-smokers die as an outcome of the effects of passive smoking. Passive smoking presents an underestimated health risk and causes a series of acute and chronic diseases including lung cancer and coronary heart diseases.

„Der Tabakkonsum ist das größte vermeidbare Gesundheitsrisiko. 33% der Erwachsenen in Deutschland rauchen. Das durchschnittliche Einstiegsalter in den Zigarettenkonsum liegt bei etwa 13 Jahren. Etwa 140.000 Menschen sterben jährlich an den direkten Folgen des Rauchens. Hinzu kommen rund 3.300 Nichtraucherinnen und Nichtraucher, die durch die Folgen des Passivrauchens sterben. Passivrauchen ist ein unterschätztes Gesundheitsrisiko und verursacht eine Reihe von akuten und chronischen Krankheiten, einschließlich Lungenkrebs und koronare Herzkrankheiten.“ (Bätzing, Drogen- und Suchtbericht Mai 2007, 2007)

According to this text by the Bundesgesundheitsministerium, smoking causes diseases leading to death. The extract is taken from the ministry's drug and addiction report (Suchtbericht) 2007. The ministry attaches the meaning to the notion of Smoking as Killing by presenting a number of reportedly hard facts, which are presented in short sentences in order to highlight their severity, for instance the young initiation age for tobacco consumption and the large amount of people smoking in Germany. They are also making use of a statement which is used by the WHO without referring to them as the original source. The ministry portrays that tobacco consumption is generally regarded as being the biggest avoidable health risk.

When reading the documents for this analysis, we came across a set of numbers referring to the amount of smoking related deaths which is frequently cited by several stakeholder group representatives. This number ranges from 110,000 to 140,000 deaths related to active smoking and 3,000 to 3,300 deaths related to passive smoking (stated by e.g. DKFZ, Bundesgesundheitsministerium, Pro Rauchfrei e.V.). The above presented text is one example. The Bundesgesundheitsministerium choose to use the upper end of the range to strengthen their argumentation of the negative effects of smoking. They do not provide the reader with a reference or description about the origins of these amounts. Another document mentions that these numbers are based on calculations which originate from several, often unrelated, studies. The latest study was published in 2006 by Neubauer et al. (Neubauer, Welte, Beiche, Koenig, Buesch, & Leidl, 2006) and researches the mortality, morbidity and costs attributable to smoking in Germany. According to this study, approximately 115,000 deaths of this category occurred in 2003. It is however unclear from which study the numbers for the deaths due to passive smoking originate. Neither the DKFZ nor other medical institutions have provided any concrete limits on the precise intake amounts of second-hand smoke for causing verifiable harm. One accusation, often used by tobacco companies and other smoking-prone stakeholders, is therefore, that there exists no evidence of a relation between the inhalation of second-hand smoke and the 3,000 to 3,300 supposed passive smoking deaths.

These three examples show one existing battlefield where different stakeholders try to fill the notion of smoking with meaning in order to achieve a particular purpose. The Bundesgesundheitsministerium and the DKFZ denote smoking as harmful whereas the tobacco industry, and also one of the hospitality industry representatives (BGN), partly deny or at least criticise certain arguments of the former mentioned stakeholders.

7.2 Smoking as Addiction

The metaphor “Smoking as Addiction” is closely related to the previously analysed notion of “Smoking as Harmful”. Today, the addictive effects of tobacco are widely recognized by many stakeholders and in society. This recognition becomes obvious through the existence of available tobacco withdrawal therapies, governmental campaigns (Rauchfrei 2008 campaign), books advising people on how to quit smoking and the growing industry of nicotine replacement products. Two of the well known institutions who denote tobacco as addictive are the WHO and the DKFZ.

The nicotine contained in tobacco products is strongly addictive. Besides the psychopharmacological effects of nicotine also learn psychological nicotine effects are regarded as responsible for the development of a tobacco addiction. The majority of smokers are addicted to tobacco. When referring to the addiction criteria from the 10th revision of the WHO international classification system of diseases, it has to be concluded that between 70% and 80% of all smokers are addicted to tobacco.

“Das in Tabakprodukten enthaltene Nikotin ist stark suchterzeugend. Neben dem psychopharmakologischen Nikotinwirkungen werden auch lernpsychologische Faktoren für die Entstehung der Tabakabhängigkeit verantwortlich gemacht. Die Mehrheit aller gewohnheitsmäßigen Raucher ist tabakabhängig. Bei Zugrundelegung der Abhängigkeitskriterien der 10. Revision des Internationalen Klassifikationssystems von

Krankheiten der WHO (ICD-10) muss davon ausgegangen werden, dass 70% bis 80% aller Raucher tabakabhängig sind.“ (DKFZ, 2002)

This text is an extract of the recommended course of action for an effective tobacco control policy, published by the DKFZ. The text communicates a clear message; that smoking is an addiction and the addictive substance in cigarettes is nicotine. This message is enforced by the repeated usage of the words *tobacco addiction*, *addiction*, *addiction criteria* and *addictive*. The DKFZ describes their standpoint in a medical way, using the words *psychopharmacological* (*psychopharmakologisch*) and *learn psychological* (*lernpsychologisch*). By referring to the WHO classification system of diseases credibility is enhanced. Even though they do not claim that nicotine leads to an addiction for every smoker, they state that it does for 70% to 80% of all smokers. Explicitly presenting such a high number clearly demarcates smoking as dangerous and calls for action. By using expressions such as strongly addictive (*stark suchterzeugend*) the DKFZ highlights the dangerous effects of smoking.

The metaphor of Smoking as Addiction is also communicated by other stakeholder groups. The Bundesgesundheitsministerium for instance uses expressions such as *quitting cigarette consumption* (*Ausstieg aus dem Zigarettenkonsum*), *nicotine withdrawal* (*Nikotinentwöhnung*), *to facilitate smokers the quitting process* (*Rauchern den Ausstieg erleichtern*) in their communication media (Bätzing, Drogen- und Suchtbericht Mai 2007, 2007). The anti-smoking organisations Nichtraucher-Initiative Deutschland and Forum Rauchfrei refer to smoking as addictive as well and offer advice on smoke quitting programmes on their websites.

The term addiction has different connotations in the German society. It can be used and referred to things in an everyday life context for instance when saying “I am addicted to chocolate, shopping, coffee” etc. Mostly, however, the term addiction is connected with drugs, alcohol or other addictive substances which harm your body. Cigarettes are often called an *everyday drug* (*Alltagsdroge*), a term which trivialises the addictive nature of smoking by using the word *everyday* but nevertheless points out the negative associations of the product by using the word *drug*.

Another stakeholder group provides a somewhat different image of the severity of nicotine as a drug and the addictive nature of smoking. Both tobacco companies, PM and BAT, publicly state that they accept the general opinion that cigarettes are addictive. Interestingly, they communicate this in very different ways. The first paragraph is published on the website of BAT.

We accept that, according to today's common understanding, smoking is seen as addiction (i.e. as pleasure which is difficult to give up despite a personal conviction of its harmfulness). Everyone who carries the thought of starting to smoke should consider that he/she might find it difficult to quit afterwards. However, no one loses their personal freedom of choice through smoking. In our opinion it is important for smokers to be aware of the fact that they can quit if they have the required motivation and faith in themselves to do so. And indeed: the vast majority of the millions of people, who successfully quit smoking, achieve this without nicotine replacement products or medical assistance. We think that smokers who want to quit should be encouraged and supported in doing so. It is the best way to reduce risks.

„Wir akzeptieren, dass nach heutigem allgemeinem Verständnis das Rauchen als Sucht angesehen wird (d.h. als Genuss, den man trotz der persönlichen Überzeugung um die Schädlichkeit schwer aufgeben kann). Jeder, der sich mit dem Gedanken trägt, mit dem Rauchen

anzufangen, sollte bedenken, dass er es schwierig finden könnte später aufzuhören. Aber durch das Rauchen verliert man nicht seine persönliche Entscheidungsfreiheit. Unseres Erachtens ist es wichtig, dass Raucher sich der Tatsache bewusst sind, dass sie aufhören können, wenn sie die nötige Motivation und den Glauben an sich selbst haben. Und in der Tat: Die überwiegende Mehrheit der Millionen Menschen, die jedes Jahr mit dem Rauchen aufhören, schafft es ohne Hilfsmittel oder ärztliche Behandlung. Wir denken, dass Raucher, die aufhören wollen, dazu ermutigt und unterstützt werden sollten. Es ist der beste Weg, Risiken zu reduzieren.“ (BAT Germany, 2007)

This extract presents BAT's statement on the addictive nature of tobacco, published on their website under the category of Smoking & Society (Rauchen & Gesellschaft). In their first sentence, the company obviously assures their acceptance of the addictive effects of smoking. The utterance of smoking as addiction is weakened by several means. By using the utterance *today's common understanding (nach heutigem Verständnis)* the author implies that it is not scientifically proven, as it is just an understanding and not knowledge. Additionally pointing out that it is *today's understanding* hints at the possibility that this understanding might change in the future. Reading further, BAT creates a swift from the negative word *addiction* to denote it with the positive word *pleasure* when describing the meaning of addiction, again downplaying any dangers of smoking. The company never directly accepts any responsibility for people's dependence; which they would have done if they had said that cigarettes (i.e. their products) are causing this addiction. Instead, they constantly refer to smoking as a general term. The next sentence *Everyone, who carries the thought* depicts the smoker as a rationally thinking person who is carefully taking into consideration all pros and cons prior to lighting the first cigarette - a very unlikely picture considering that many people start smoking during their adolescence. By highlighting the words *personal conviction* and *personal freedom of choice*, the company gives all responsibility to the consumer. Keeping one's personal freedom of choice also implies that smoking is no dependency. It is up to the consumer to quit whenever he wants because it is his choice. It only needs a bit of motivation and self-confidence to do so. This image is enforced by underlining in an exaggerating way that *millions of people* have already succeeded to stop smoking. The phrase can even be interpreted as reassuring smokers that there is no need to stop right now because they will be able to do so easily whenever they feel like it. Finally, they say that smokers who want to quit should be encouraged to do so but it is not said who should do that. It is certainly not them. The responsibility is handed over to the society. All in all, BAT provides smokers (their customers) with a euphemised impression of the addictive nature of smoking. The company also neglects their liability for this addiction, and communicates a very positive image of the ease of quitting.

PM deals a little differently with the issue of addiction than BAT. The following excerpt is titled "Gesundheitliche Auswirkungen des Rauchens" (Health Effects of Smoking) and is taken from PM's company website.

Cigarette smoking and addiction: We agree with the widely predominating medical and scientific opinion that smoking cigarettes is addictive. It can be very hard to quit smoking. This should not deter smokers who want to quit from trying to do so.

For more information about how to quit smoking please click on the internal links in the right column.

“Cigarettenrauchen und Abhängigkeit: Wir stimmen mit der bei weitem vorherrschenden medizinischen und wissenschaftlichen Meinung überein, dass Cigarettenrauchen abhängig macht. Es kann sehr schwer sein, mit dem Rauchen aufzuhören. Dies sollte jedoch Raucher, die aufhören wollen, nicht von dem Versuch abschrecken.

*Für nähere Informationen, wie man mit dem Rauchen aufhört, klicken Sie bitte auf die internen Links in der rechten Spalte.“ (Philip Morris International *****, 2008)*

PM, similar to BAT, acknowledges the opinion of others that smoking is addictive without claiming that they think so as well. They, however, name the *medical* and *scientific* discourse in that sentence which gives the statement of smoking as an addiction more weight than BAT does when they refer to the *common understanding* in society. People usually believe what is published under a scientific or medical banner. They offer links to well known institutions such as the WHO and the US Food and Drug Administration. Their overall picture of the ease of quitting is not that positive or exaggerated as the one depicted by BAT. PM simply states that even though *it can be very hard to quit*, people should try it anyway. By providing links for information on quitting they even seem to offer some sort of assistance. When comparing PM's communication to that of BAT, the former can be perceived as the more responsible company - an image which they certainly want to achieve.

Under the header *addiction (Sucht)*, PM presents in total ten facts issued by the US Food and Drug Administration on their website. These are two examples:

84, 3% of people who smoke more than 20 cigarettes a day have already unsuccessfully tried to reduce their cigarette consumption. A smoker who seriously tries to quit smoking has a chance less than 5% to still be a non-smoker after one year. Many other health organisations all over the world report similar results. The conclusion is obvious: Smoking is addictive.

*„84,3 % der Menschen, die über 20 Zigaretten am Tag rauchen, haben bereits erfolglos versucht, ihren Zigarettenkonsum zu reduzieren. Ein Raucher, der ernsthaft versucht, mit dem Rauchen aufzuhören, hat eine Chance von weniger als 5%, ein Jahr später Nichtraucher zu sein. Viele weitere Gesundheitsbehörden auf der ganzen Welt berichten von ähnlichen Ergebnissen. Die Schlussfolgerung liegt auf der Hand: Rauchen macht süchtig.“ (Philip Morris International *****, 2008)*

Publishing these statements on the company's website presents a total contradiction to PM's actual purpose of being: selling cigarettes. These two statements demonstrate the severity of the addiction very explicitly. Reading both parts in combination, PM is stating that people should try to quit and then present the fact that less than 5 % achieve this. This positions the company as the ultimate winner in the struggle between them and the consumers. By publishing these US Food and Drug Administration statements on their website, PM seems to say: You can try to quit and we will be happy to advise how but according to these statistics you will not make it anyway. By presenting these statistics they demarcate every other tobacco company (i.e. their competitors) as liars when these neglect or downplay the fact that smoking is an addiction. Being the market leader, PM finds itself in the position of being able to drive such a strategy.

7.3 Smoking as Negligent Act

Within the metaphor Smoking as Negligent Act we have identified the discussion around the effects of second-hand smoke and passive smoking as central. Unlike the metaphor of Smoking

as Health Damaging in this context it is the actual act of smoking by smokers that is addressed and the need to protect non-smokers; and not the mere medical issues. This discussion includes smoking in public areas as well as in work places and especially the case of the hospitality industry has been a source of conflict between different stakeholders. Several interest groups (e.g. DKFZ and anti-smoking organisations) are keen on pointing out the negative effects of second-hand smoke on people's health and well-being caused by the negligent acts of smokers.

Smoking as Irresponsible

Today's decision by Koblenz Constitutional Court of Justice demonstrates that we are on the right track with the laws on non-smoker protection. The protection of health is to be evaluated higher than the freedom of smokers to smoke in all places.

„Die heutige Entscheidung des Verfassungsgerichtshofs Koblenz bestätigt, dass wir mit den Nichtraucherschutzgesetzen auf dem richtigen Weg sind. Der Gesundheitsschutz ist höher zu bewerten als die Freiheit der Raucher, an allen Orten zu rauchen.“ (Bätzing, Bundesministerium für Gesundheit, 2008)

This sentence was stated by Sabine Bätzing, drug commissioner of the German Federal Government, in the context of the restrictions for smoking in the hospitality industry. The event preceding this statement is a complaint by some public house owners at the constitutional court of justice in Koblenz concerning the legitimacy of the smoking ban in single-room gastronomy. In her statement, Bätzing compares the protection of health to the decision-making freedom of smokers and clearly emphasises the greater importance of the former. By using the utterance *protection of health* she implies that smoking and the second-hand smoke which comes as an unavoidable side effect of smoking is harmful. With regards to the hospitality industry the risks associated with passive smoking affect guests as well as the employees of a pub or restaurant.

The statement further implies that the Bundesgesundheitsministerium deems it necessary to restrict smokers in their action frame. This impairment shows that smokers are generally perceived as irresponsible and ignorant with regards to their fellow citizens, otherwise it would not be necessary to protect the health against them. They are, according to the Bundesgesundheitsministerium, causing harm by simply doing what they are doing: smoking. Smokers in that context cannot only be found among the guests of a public house but certainly also among the owners, managers and employees. The lawsuit demonstrates that the gastronomy owners are not willing to accept the law and its accompanying restrictions. This is related to several reasons but mainly to their fear of losing revenues which will be further analysed in the metaphor *Smoking as Economic Factor*. According to the Bundesgesundheitsministerium, hospitality industry owners act highly irresponsible regarding health issues if they operate a smoking restaurant or bar. The utterance *the freedom of smokers* is pointed out to be less important than preventing some unspecified bigger harm to the society. The term is specially used in order to argue against pro-smoking interest groups who use the utterance synonymously to the *freedom of action (Handlungsfreiheit)*. The comment does not express that smoking should be forbidden in general. It is "just" restricted.

There is also a different view on the subject of smoking as irresponsible. An article published on the BAT website written by a journalist for "The Independent" (British newspaper), D. Lawson, argues for the insanity of a smoking ban, when there are things that are much more harmful to society and individuals than smoking. The starting point of the article is a study by American

scientists published in 2003, which questions the causality between lung cancer and passive smoking which has been severely criticised by anti-smoking activists. The text challenges the circumstance that if smokers really are “killers”, then why is smoking not illegal? In order to weaken the argumentation of the metaphor “Smoking as Irresponsible”, the author compares the consequences to the social environment of smoking and drinking. Although the text is not written by a corporate author, the fact that it is published on the website of BAT suggests that it fortifies the corporate opinion.

“For there can be no doubts that alcohol is a much more pernicious social evil than tobacco. No one crashes his car into other people as a result of smoking. No one beats his wife as a result of effects of nicotine. No one assaults or murders someone else under the influence of tobacco. No one-despite the best efforts of ASH (Action on Smoking and Health)- terrorises his own children because of his cigarette consumption. But the beaten wife, the terrified children, the young widow – many thousands of these can be described as passive drinkers. Having cast doubt on the statistical claims of the anti-smoking lobby, I must be careful in my claims about the effects of alcohol abuse. But the most generally accepted figure is that about three-quarters of all violent injuries are linked in some way to alcohol. Even if it were half that, it would be a scandal.”

(Lawson, 2006)

The text does assert that smoking is a responsible or harmless act as such, it moreover points out the more negative effects that alcohol has. Four sentences start by the expression *No one* related to smoking and tobacco and then lists the negative outcomes of alcohol abuse. The repetition highlights the difference and really emphasises the *No one*, so that the reader just cannot miss that smoking does not cause violence or accidents as alcohol does. The mentioned effects of alcohol abuse are mainly directed towards the close social circle, meaning the family; *the beaten wife, the terrified children, the young widow*. It is not revealed if the young widow referred to has lost her husband through a violent act by an alcoholised person or if he drank himself to death. Again the author uses repetition to point out the victims of this behaviour. This focus on the families of alcohol abusers additionally points towards another problem; even if alcohol was banned from public places as smoking is, the effects on the families, or victims, would be the same, because drinking at home would still be possible. The use of the expression *passive drinkers* makes clear that although there is no obvious effect as smoke in the air, there are consequences for the society.

When the author talks about the anti-smoking organisations, the usage of the words *cast doubt* and *statistical claim* enhances the scepticism in the text towards their argumentation. To call it a claim instead of proof, as they put it themselves, weakens the credibility and additionally the text suggests there is a reason to doubt the statistics; so in fact, the text depicts the argumentation by these organisations as unreliable. To back up his own arguments, the author refers to statistics himself, regarding the cause of violent acts, but anticipates the criticism against this statistic at the same time. By stating that even if the number mentioned were a lot lower that it would still be way too much.

This text is trying to deconstruct the metaphor of “Smoking as Irresponsible” by mistrusting reportedly scientific publications by anti-smoking organisations and designing a picture of society where smoking almost seems as a responsible thing to do; in relation to the harmful effects of alcohol abuse. So the text is drawing upon the resource of relativity, in order to make something seem less harmful or irresponsible, find something else that is worse and point it out.

Smoking as Reckless

Smoking cannot only be perceived as irresponsible but might even create stronger reactions. The metaphor “Smoking as Reckless” illustrates how representatives of two stakeholder groups, the anti-smoking association Nichtraucher-Initiative Deutschland (NID) and a consumer, perceive smokers’ behaviour.

Open councils, general meetings, break rooms, lounges, waiting areas, hallways, elevators, administration buildings, hospitals, clinics, swimming pools, recreation centres, shopping malls, shopping centres, train stations, travel coaches, cabs - there are many places and opportunities where you can bump into smokers who don't give a whit for the well-being and health of their fellow citizens. What can one do against that?

„Bürgerversammlungen, Mitgliederversammlungen, Pausen-, Aufenthalts- und Warteräume, Flure, Aufzüge, Behörden, Krankenhäuser, Kliniken, Schwimmbäder, Erholungszentren, Geschäftspassagen, Einkaufszentren, Bahnhöfe, Reisebusse, Taxis - an vielen Orten und bei vielen Gelegenheiten trifft man auf Raucher, die sich keinen Deut um das Wohlbefinden und die Gesundheit ihrer Mitmenschen scheren. Was kann man dagegen tun?“ (Hotzler, 2006).*

This statement of Andre Hotzler, a representative of the anti-smoking association NID, is an extract from an article on the association’s website. It shows how the NID perceives smokers - namely as reckless persons who do not care at all that their actions might have negative or even harmful effects on others (*who don't give a whit- die sich keinen Deut scheren*). Hotzler lists an extensive number of public places where people were allowed to smoke at the time the text was published, namely in 2006. The examples present everyday situations where one can meet a smoker who exactly demonstrates this kind of rude behaviour. This enumeration highlights the actuality of the situation and depicts the problem as ubiquitous. Readers can easily recall a situation where they have met a “rude” smoker and can relate to this experience. Directly addressing the reader with a question suggests that there are possibilities to change the situation and that the reader can actively contribute to this. It further puts forward that this is not only regarded as a problem by this one anti-smoking association but concerns everybody else who feels disturbed by the portrayed “reckless” behaviour of smokers.

After reading this text, some people are prone to pay more attention the next time they encounter such a situation. And the possibility exists that they will react differently than they used to, simply because they have an increased awareness of the “problem” and feel reassured by knowing that others e.g. Hotzler or the NID as a group share the same opinion. The NID want to create awareness of a problem which has not been publicly addressed too often in the past or probably has not been seen as a problem. The readers can be assumed to be non-smokers who take an interest in the topic. Due to the current changes in the legal smoking environment the association experiences increased publicity also in the general media which potentially increases the number of people visiting their web domain.

The discussion around the metaphor Smoking as Reckless is also vivid with regards to the hospitality industry. The following string of comments represents multiple opinions of another stakeholder group, that of the consumers, with regards to the gastronomy owners’ attitudes.

Forum writer 1: *It would work, if one gave the hospitality industry hosts and their guests the choice....*

Forum writer 2: *The choice between what? Between smoke and more smoke? No no, it's fine that this is now regulated by the legislator, since the gastronomical hosts have impressively demonstrated that they are obviously not interested in the health of the non-smoking guests.*

Forum writer 3: *The choice between non-smoker and smoker pubs...*

Forum writer 1: *„Es würde funktionieren, wenn man den Wirten und den Gästen die Wahl lassen würde...“*

Forum writer 2: *„Die Wahl zwischen was? Zwischen Rauch und noch mehr Rauch? Nene, ist schon okay, dass dies jetzt vom Gesetzgeber geregelt wurde, da die Gastronomen eindrucksvoll bewiesen haben, dass sie an der Gesundheit der nichtrauchenden Gäste offenbar nicht interessiert sind.“*

Forum writer 3: *„Die Wahl zwischen Nichtraucherkeipe und Raucherkeipe...“*

(Beim Rauchverbot in Bayern, 2008)

Smoking in hospitality places is considered natural by many in German society. The thought of a beer or coffee consumed together with a cigarette presents a perfectly normal combination for a smoker and many non-smokers as well. For many non-smokers this has, up to now, been an unquestionable state of affairs. If smokers and the owners of public houses would be given the free choice as suggested by forum writer 1, they would, according to forum writer 2, continue as usual. His utterance *since the gastronomical owners impressively demonstrated that they are obviously not interested in the health of their non-smoking guests (da die Gastronomen eindrucksvoll bewiesen haben, dass sie an der Gesundheit der nichtrauchenden Gäste nicht interessiert sind)* refers to the attempt of the association Deutscher Hotel und Gaststättenverband (DEHOGA) to prevent the hospitality industry from a total smoking ban in the year 2006. This attempt included a proposal to the federal government to gradually increase the share of non-smoking areas in restaurants. The DEHOGA wanted to demonstrate that a voluntary solution for the hospitality industry as a whole would work and that no law would be needed. This attempt failed due to the unwillingness of the majority of gastronomy hosts to accommodate their premises for non-smokers to the extent requested by the government and the DEHOGA.

With regards to the current discussion on the damaging effects of smoking, this citation depicts gastronomy hosts as inconsiderate and careless. It could mean that gastronomy owners have only profit-making in mind and apparently do not care about either their non-smoking guests nor about their employees who are both exposed to other guests' second-hand smoke. For the majority of pub owners, smokers present an important share of customers. The pub owners assume that the majority of smoking guests will switch to places where they are allowed to consume their cigarettes together with their drink or meal, such as in designated smoker clubs which in turn would mean revenue losses. The problem refers mainly to owners of single-room bars who cannot make use of any of the exemptions provided by the law such as an extra smoking room. Hospitality industry owners still argue for a voluntary solution where each host would have the choice between a smoking or non-smoking facility (illustrated by forum writer 3).

Another metaphor and the most extreme in this context is used by an anti-smoking organisation. Since the metaphor is unique and does not appear in many texts including it in the analysis has been questioned by us. However, we have included the metaphor because along with the other

metaphors it demonstrates language use in competing ideologies. It is extreme because the author creates a comparison to history that is very controversial. In a text published in their online magazine, the organisation attacks politicians for supporting the tobacco industry by putting off the laws against smoking. The politicians are accused of aiding the industry and therefore being responsible for the death of 140,000 smokers annually.

They are also jointly responsible for the annual death of 3.300 second-hand smokers, who decay silently but miserably in German households. It is not astonishing that due to this dimension some are talking of a new Holocaust, which alone in Germany is accountable for 8,5 million deaths since 1945. We are not letting them get away again with telling their grandchildren they knew nothing of this.

„Sie tragen auch Mitverantwortung für die 3300 Passivrauchtoten jährlich, die still aber elendig in deutschen Haushalten zu Grunde gehen. Es ist nicht verwunderlich, dass bei dieser Größenordnung manche von einem neuen Holocaust sprechen, der allein in Deutschland seit 1945 ca. 8,5 Millionen Menschen auf dem Gewissen hat. Wir lassen es nicht durchgehen, dass auch sie wieder ihren Enkelkindern sagen, sie hätten von all dem nichts gewusst.“ (Der politische Kommentar: Die Quertreiber in der Union, 2006)

This metaphor of smoking as the new Holocaust is disturbing and it is quite impressive how the author draws parallels between cigarettes and probably the most discussed and horrible genocides in human history.

The text uses dramatic expressions to clarify the suffering of passive smokers by describing their death as *silently but miserably (still und elendig)* which implies that their deaths are tried to be kept secret. This refers to the way people just disappeared and were murdered in the Third Reich. Through *it is not astonishing (es ist nicht verwunderlich)* the text attempts to normalise the metaphor. Usually it will astonish the reader to be confronted with an analogy to the Holocaust when the topic is smoking. The use of the year 1945 as a frame of reference in time assumes that the Holocaust, that officially ended 1945, is actually still ongoing by means of smoking. The continuation is pointed out by the number of deaths caused by smoke since that time. The number of victims of the Holocaust during the regime of National Socialism, approximately over 6 million people, is even exceeded by that mentioned in the text, 8.5 million people. This points out how serious the threat of the new Holocaust is; and it is supposed to legitimise the comparison. Through using the expression *be accountable for (auf dem Gewissen haben)* the people behind the cigarettes are accused of being responsible for the dead. Although it is said that the Holocaust is accountable, there are always humans needed to accomplish the task. In this text the politicians and the industry are blamed and depicted as having no conscience. The last sentence is a direct comparison to the generation of the Second World War. Most German citizens, and soldiers, claimed after the war they had not known about the Holocaust and how many people had been murdered. By stating in the text that this is not happening again, because the anti-smoking organisation will not let it happen, the politicians and the industry are put on the same par as the people ignoring mass murder.

It seems as if the author is afraid of being criticised for creating this metaphor, as he is very vague about who came up with this comparison. It is not said directly that the anti-smoking organisation regards smoking as the new Holocaust. Instead the word *some (Manche)* is used which could be two people or hundreds. So the organisation utilises it, but they do not say it is their expression.

This metaphor is also mentioned in a few anti-smoking forums and even the title of a book, by Michael Rabinoff, uses the utterance as well.

7.4 Smoking as Economic Factor

During the study of the collected data, we discovered a lot of texts construct the meaning of smoking as an economic factor, not only for the tobacco companies but for other stakeholders as well. Smoking is portrayed as having a financial impact on companies, society and the government. This theme is very broad and can be positive or negative. A deeper look into the constructed meaning as economic factor identifies some subthemes that are presented in the following.

Smoking as Labour Factor

One metaphor that is used to fill the notion of smoking with meaning within the economic area is that of Smoking as Labour Factor. Especially the hospitality industry associations emphasise this economic issue of smoking, putting it as the basis of their existence. The German discotheque association and the DEHOGA together put up a constitutional complaint against the smoking ban.

*The main complainants, the managers of the discotheque "Musikpark Heilbronn" Wolfgang Wirsing and Patrick Geis view the absolute smoking ban as an unreasonable intervention in their entrepreneurial liberty and through this the endangerment of their professional existence. „Die Hauptbeschwerdeführer, die Geschäftsführer Wolfgang Wirsing und Patrick Geis von der Discothek „Musikpark Heilbronn“, sehen im absoluten Rauchverbot einen unverhältnismäßigen Eingriff in ihre unternehmerische Freiheit und hierdurch ihre berufliche Existenz gefährdet.“ (DEHOGA Bundesverband ****, 2008)*

This notion of smoking is built totally irrespective of the act of smoking or the product cigarettes. One important focus of this text lies on the *entrepreneurial liberty (unternehmerische Freiheit)* which includes the right to build up a business to earn money. Entrepreneurship has a very positive connotation in Germany and entrepreneurs are highly regarded and seen as hard working. Through mentioning the freedom to do business, they are asking for sympathy for the hard working entrepreneurs who are threatened in the exercise of their profession. By using the word *intervention (Eingriff)* for the smoking ban, they point out that it is not only a general law, but moreover intruding and even affecting them personally, as the word is usually connected with physical contact. This intervention is done without grounds, as stated in *unreasonable (unverhältnismäßig)*. Their main focus is on building the argument for smoking as being a labour source for the whole industry. It is not solely their jobs that are threatened, but their complete *professional existence (berufliche Existenz)*. According to this declaration the government interferes with their right to be autonomous business people and even takes their foundation to work away. By implementing the smoking ban the industry will not survive and many jobs will be at stake.

This is frequently mentioned in similar statements by other stakeholders of the hospitality industry in their own publications or media articles.

In opposition to this, the anti-smoking organisations do not want smoking to be associated with jobs or any positive economic issue. They try to demoralize that argumentation and the meaning

that comes along with it. In an article one of the organisations objects to the reasoning by local politicians not to implement the smoking ban in order to safeguard jobs. They imply that the battle is influenced by lobbyism and financial support for the region by tobacco companies.

At the same time it is also about business matters for the gentlemen Kaster and Koschyk. In the Bayreuther electoral district of Hartmut Koschyk a British American Tobacco (B.A.T.) cigarette factory with almost 1.000 employees is located. The University foyer in Bayreuth has been decorated with noble pictures by B.A.T. and the college itself is financially supported by the corporation. In the electoral district of Bernhard Kaster there are three tobacco companies located with ca. 1800 jobs. Certainly, these gentlemen will bring forward the beaten argument of job cutbacks when it comes to a strict smoking ban for the hospitality industry.

„Dabei geht es den Herren Kaster und Koschyk auch um geschäftliche Interessen: Im Bayreuther Wahlkreis von Hartmut Koschyk, steht eine Zigarettensfabrik der Firma British American Tobacco (B.A.T.) mit fast 1.000 Mitarbeitern. Das Foyer der Uni Bayreuth wurde von B.A.T. mit edlen Bildern dekoriert und die Hochschule selbst wird vom Konzern finanziell unterstützt.

Im Trier Wahlkreis von Bernhard Kaster sind gleich drei Tabakfirmen niedergelassen mit insgesamt ca. 1800 Arbeitsplätzen. Sicherlich werden diese Herren wieder das abgedroschene Argument des Arbeitsplatzabbaus vorbringen, wenn es um ein striktes Rauchverbot in den Gaststätten geht.“ (Der politische Kommentar: Die Quertreiber in der Union , 2006)

The anti-smoking organisation does not construct the meaning of smoking directly; it moreover tries to deconstruct the meaning built by the politicians and to criticize the politicians as persons. The politicians are referred to as *these gentlemen (diese Herren)*, which is a form that is used to accuse someone and pointing a finger at them. Through starting the sentence with the word *certainly (sicherlich)* the anti-smoking organisation makes clear that they, and every reader, already know how the argumentation by the politicians will look. There is nothing surprising, convincing or new in the reasoning not to implement the smoking ban.

Other stakeholder texts draw upon examples from other European countries where smoking bans have been implemented without negatively affecting the labour situation in general or in the hospitality industry in particular.

This attempted deconstruction of smoking as a labour factor is present in several texts by anti-smoking organisations and consumers as well.

Smoking as Cost Factor

Another meaning that is constructed is that of Smoking as Cost Factor. This is closely related to the meaning construct of Smoking as Health Damaging but has a different point of view on the issue. The damaged health constitution of smokers is mentioned as in the other metaphor but the focus of the construct is more on the consequences of this harm for companies and the society. The individual smoker and his health is only a figure related to costs, not a person. The following text is part of a report on non-smoker protection at the workplace that has the features of a handbook or guideline for providing a smoke-free work environment. The text refers to a bar chart (figure 12 and 13) picturing the frequency of sickness of smokers and never-smokers divided into age clusters from 20-64 years.

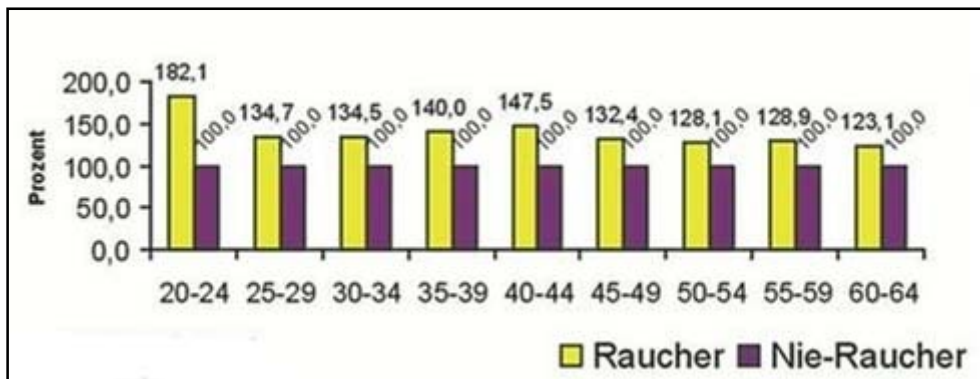


Fig. 12: Kranke Raucher und Nie-Raucher nach Altersgruppen (Nie-Raucher = 100 Prozent) (Hotzler**, 2006)

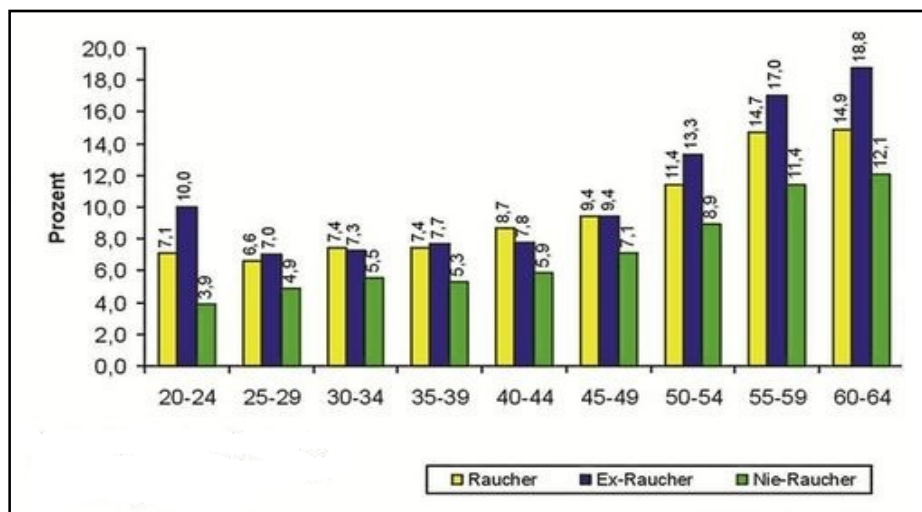


Fig. 13: Kranke Raucher, Ex-Raucher und Nie-Raucher nach Altersgruppen (Hotzler**, 2006)

As the chart shows, smokers in the employable age are in average 30 percent more often sick than never-smokers. [...]

1. Non-smokers cause the least health related costs.
2. Smokers and ex-smokers cause the highest health related costs.
3. Ex-smokers cause less costs, the sooner they quit smoking.

„Wie die Grafik offenbart, sind Raucher im erwerbsfähigen Alter im Durchschnitt um rund 30 Prozent häufiger krank als Nie-Raucher. [...]

1. Nichtraucher verursachen die geringsten krankheitsbedingten Kosten.
 2. Raucher und Ex-Raucher verursachen die höchsten krankheitsbedingten Kosten.
 3. Ex-Raucher verursachen um so weniger Kosten, je früher sie mit dem Rauchen aufhören.“
- (Hotzler**, 2006)

This text is constructing smoking as a cost factor on several levels. By highlighting the expression *employable age* (*erwerbsfähiges Alter*), which is evident even without mentioning, as they talk about the ages between 20-64 years, they bring forth other cost implications. Smokers are more often sick, meaning they work less than never-smokers; hence they pay less social security deductions but benefit from the payments of the companies and the health system. This is repeated in the listing, where smokers are presented as causing the highest health related costs. Here the extremes the *least/ highest* (*geringsten/ höchsten*) are pointing out the huge gap between smokers and non-smokers, constructing a very obvious inequity in costs. Interestingly,

this text creates the meaning of smoking as a cost factor based on all smokers, even those that have already quit.

The chart only distinguishes between smokers and never-smokers, so ex-smokers or occasional smokers are accused in the same way as chain smokers in causing expenditure. This is interesting because in most other texts in the category of this metaphor, it is highlighted how helpful it is to quit smoking and the texts try to motivate by pointing out the positive effects of stopping; whereas this text only mentions ex-smokers as slightly less cost intensive than smokers in the last statement.

Through using the word *never-smokers (Nie-Raucher)* the distance between the two identified groups becomes manifest. It is a very delineating expression that creates not only a non-smoker but someone who has never even touched or thought about a cigarette. The expression is only used by this text and once by the federal health department and does not usually exist in the German language.

The meaning of smoking as a cost factor is created in several texts by stakeholders from the anti-smoking organisations, health organisations and by the government, although especially the latter is much less accusing and does not base this argumentation on the same “facts” as the analysed text.

Consumers in smoking forums and stakeholders from the hospitality industry oppose the construction of the meaning of smoking as a cost by arguing with the costs caused by obesity, alcoholism or injuries as an effect of extreme sports, which are not criticised in the same way.

Smoking as Tax Income Factor

Smoking is not only portrayed as a cost factor for society and companies, it is also an income factor for the tobacco companies and related industries. Beyond that great amounts of money generated through sales of tobacco products find their way to the government and to the national finances. In several documents published by the German government it is mentioned that cigarette smuggling causes severe losses in tax income for the state. Even in the national report on addiction and drugs the financial impact is mentioned. The report deals with the current addiction rates and drug use in Germany including tobacco, alcohol, cannabis, gambling, prescription drugs and heroin. Programs for addicts and their results and positive outcomes are described as well as actions to prevent the usage. In the chapter about cigarettes and smoking one subpart deals with the measures against cigarette smuggling.

Cigarette smuggling leads to an enormous revenue loss for the tax authorities. The social threat through the establishment of organised European and worldwide networked structures are equally profound, as well as the health risks that come along with smoking, especially by counterfeit tobacco products which are not subject to ingredient controls.

„Der Zigarrettenschmuggel führt zu einem enormen Einnahmeverlust für den Fiskus. Ebenso schwerwiegend ist die gesellschaftliche Gefährdung durch die Etablierung organisierter Europa- und weltweit vernetzter Strukturen sowie die gesundheitlichen Risiken, die mit dem Rauchen, insbesondere durch gefälschte Tabakprodukte, die keinerlei Kontrollen auf Inhaltsstoffe unterliegen, einhergehen.“ (Bätzing, Drogen- und Suchtbericht Mai 2007, 2007, p. 22)

Cigarettes are the only “drug” out of all the mentioned addictives that is related to a financial issue in the whole report. Illegal gambling or alcohol smuggling is not referred to in one single sentence. This emphasises the importance of the economic value of cigarettes and smoking. Also the order, in which the issues related to cigarette smuggling are talked about, creates a certain meaning. First, and therefore obviously most important, the financial losses are listed, and then the danger based on criminal networks for the society. As before, it is solely regarding the cigarette smuggling that illegal structures are talked about. This is peculiar, as other drugs mentioned in the report, e.g. heroine, are illegal substance per se and the suppliers are acting against the law as well. But of course, the government does not earn money from these illegal deals any way. As a last item, the health issue related to smoking comes in, devaluated by the word *as well as (sowie)* compared to the other two items that are *equally profound (ebenso schwerwiegend)* and with that expression obtain priority.

The last part of the sentence legitimises the act of earning tax revenues by the government through tobacco products by pointing out that the state provides ingredient controls for the legally sold cigarettes. They stress the fact that they almost protect the consumers from harmful ingredients in cigarettes through these controls and by doing so have a right to collect taxes and fight against smuggling. Although it is mentioned that smoking in general involves *health risks (gesundheitliche Risiken)* the focus is put on the special risk of counterfeit products. Most notably, they legitimise their actions and effort to constrict cigarette smuggling through the necessity to protect the society from the organised criminal networks.

This meaning construction of smoking as a tax income factor is especially in the context of a report about drug use and addiction contradictory. On the one hand the report is aiming at showing all the efforts the government in general and the health department in particular are making to prevent addiction and help those who are addicted and abuse drugs; on the other hand they clearly state that smuggling cigarettes or even buying smuggled cigarettes is more a financial issue than a health related one.

The meaning of Smoking as Tax Income source is also expressed by the consumers in internet forums. They do not talk about tax revenue losses due to smuggling but due to a probable decrease in consumption caused by the debate on the smoking ban. The following conversation in a discussion forum is related to the smoking ban in Bavaria and the first comment is posted by a non-smoker supporting the strict decision by the Bavarian legislation.

Forum Writer 1: *There will be no exceptions to the smoking ban in Bavaria. How cool is that now??? Sorry, but that was necessary. I think it is soo great that rigorous steps have been taken. You certainly also have something to say, so go ahead...*

Forum Writer 2: *It can just say, wait and see till smoking is prohibited, in general I mean, and then look forward to the things coming up to you; when the government has to make up for the loss of tax revenues...*

Forum Writer 3: *I find it is bullshit. Many bars had already planned separated rooms. Is that prohibited now as well?*

Forum Writer 4: *Yes, because of competition and so on.*

Forum Writer 5 (referring to writer 2): *That is indeed a good argument, but unfortunately also one that you cannot get across to a militant non-smoker- until it is happening at last.*

Forum Writer 6: *That would be one good reason to quit smoking...I can already hear the begging and pleading we should smoke again 😊*

Forum writer 1: *“Beim Rauchverbot in Bayern wird es keine Ausnahmeregelung geben. Wie geil ist das denn??? Sorry, aber das mußte sein. Ich finde das soo klasse, dass man hier mal härter durchgegriffen hat. Ihr habt sicher auch was zu sagen, also los...”*

Forum writer 2: *„Ich kann nur sagen, wartet ab, bis das Rauchen verboten wird...ich meine generell...und dann freut euch auf die dinge die da auf euch zukommen werden, wenn die Regierung die fehlenden Steuereinnahmen auffangen muss...”*

Forum writer 3: *“ich find Mist. Viele Kneipen hatten schon abgetrennte Räume geplant, wenn ich richtig verstanden habe, ist das nun auch verboten?”*

Forum writer 4: *„japp, wegen Wettbewerb und so. “*

Forum writer 5 (referring to writer 2): *„Das ist zwar ein gutes Argument- aber leider auch eins, was Du einem militanten Nichtraucher niemals verständlich machen kannst- bis es dann letztendlich soweit ist).“*

Forum writer 6: *„Das wäre mal glatt ein Grund mit dem Rauchen aufzuhören...ich hör schon das betteln und flehen wir mögen wieder rauchen ☺“ (Beim Rauchverbot in Bayern, 2007)*

This conversation creates a meaning of smoking by the consumers that is quite different than the one by the government. Although it also refers to smoking as a tax income factor, it has a different meaning concerning the point of view. Forum writer 1 makes a clear distinction between himself and the other forum members, thus between non-smokers and smokers. In the entry he addresses the smokers with *you (ihr)* in a plural to make clear that he is on the other side. His enthusiastic approval of the law expressed through *how cool (wie geil)* followed by the invitation to say something about the smoking ban or his own comment is somewhat provocative, as it is clear that he does not want to discuss anything.

The forum writer 2 constructs a picture of smoking as being a favour for society, through paying a lot of taxes. He as well takes up the differentiation between non-smokers and smokers by saying *you look forward (freut euch)*, addressing the non-smokers. The scenario of the prohibition of smoking in general and the incidental great financial gap in the national budget fills the notion of smoking with a meaning of being an essential financial resource. He implies that the non-smokers will not be happy about the consequences, not going into detail how they would look like but indirectly warning them to think ahead.

This meaning is supported by forum writer 5, who also warns about the loss of tax income through stating *happening at last (dann letztendlich so weit ist)*. The last entry by forum writer 6 is almost a threat to quit smoking in order to punish the society for limiting the possibilities to smoke. By using the words *begging and pleading (betteln und flehen)* the writer implies the great extend smoking has to the financial budget of the state.

So the consumers try to create a meaning that entails the importance of their financial contribution to tax income, putting them in a positive light and a power position.

7.5 Smoking as Pleasure

The metaphor Smoking as Pleasure has not been used as often by the pro-smoking stakeholders as would be suspected before reading the collected data. Apart from just single sentences in smoking forums mentioning that smoking is pleasurable for smokers, the meaning of smoking as pleasure was expressed only by the tobacco companies. On the website of BAT there is a column called *Smoking & Society (Rauchen & Gesellschaft)* where the topic is addressed.

The cigarette is a legal stimulant. It is a product exclusively for the informed adult smoker, whereas no one misconceives that the pleasure of tobacco can be related to health risks. So the cigarette calls for- even more than other stimulants - the consumer's own responsibility and modest handling.

„Die Cigarette ist ein legales Genussmittel. Sie ist ein Produkt ausschließlich für den informierten erwachsenen Raucher, wobei niemand verkennt, dass der Tabakgenuss mit gesundheitlichen Risiken verbunden sein kann. So fordert die Cigarette - mehr noch als andere Genussmittel - vom Konsumenten den eigenverantwortlichen und maßvollen Umgang.“ (British American Tobacco, 2006)

The word *pleasure (Genuss)* is used three times in these few lines, emphasising the relation between cigarettes and enjoyment. Although the health related risks are mentioned, it is pointed out that the *informed adult smoker* is the target group. By putting *one's own responsibility (eigenverantwortlich)* before *modest (maßvoll)* the company declares the consumer to have the competence to decide what is right for himself and also legitimises their existence and actions by pointing out that it is not their responsibility.

Analogous creations of meaning are present in smoker forums but as mentioned before just in very short terms.

The metaphor Smoking as Pleasure is refuted by several stakeholders, actually even more often than it is created. Most texts arguing against the pleasure of smoking are based on medical reasoning. This entails that it is impossible to be pleasurable because it is addictive. The following text is published on the Internet by an institute offering seminars to quit smoking.

One who believes that the cigarette is a pleasure should ask oneself why one can resist other pleasurable things. [...] Some smokers maintain that they really enjoy certain cigarettes. The cigarette after dinner, after sex, after getting up. All these are cigarettes that primarily satisfy the nicotine addiction because it is hard to smoke while eating, having sex or sleeping. What you enjoy is the decrease of deprivation and agitation and relaxation kicks in. The comfortable cigarette with coffee or in a relaxed situation is redundant, because every non-smoker can enjoy that as well- without a cigarette!

„Wer glaubt, die Zigarette sei ein Genuss, sollte sich fragen, warum er andere Dinge, die auch genussvoll sind, tun oder bleiben lassen kann. [...] Manche Raucher wenden ein, dass sie bestimmte Zigaretten wirklich genießen. Die Zigarette nach dem Essen, nach dem Sex, nach dem Aufstehen. All dies sind Zigaretten, die vor allem die Nikotinabhängigkeit befriedigen, denn während des Essens, dem Sex und dem Schlafen kann man schlecht rauchen. Was man genießt ist, dass der Entzug und die Unruhe nachläßt und sich Entspannung einstellt. Die gemütliche Zigarette beim Kaffee oder in einer entspannten Situation ist überflüssig, denn das kann jeder Nichtraucher auch genießen - ohne Zigarette!“ (Milton Erickson Institut Hamburg, 2008)

The text deconstructs the creation of smoking as pleasure by challenging the arguments that smokers bring forth when they talk about the enjoyment of smoking. First, the utterance *one who believes (wer glaubt)* is used to show the naivety of smokers, stating that no one believes smoking is a pleasure and that they fool themselves. By saying that *some smokers maintain to really enjoy certain cigarettes* the author implies that not all smokers feel pleasure and of those who do, not every cigarette is pleasurable. So this containment degrades the metaphor as a comprehensive declaration. The text relates the perceived pleasure by the smokers to their

addiction. Accordingly they mistake the state of not being deprived anymore as pleasure, hence they need nicotine to be satisfied and relaxed. This is not necessary for non-smokers as they can enjoy and feel pleasure without smoking.

Similar deconstructions of the metaphor smoking as pleasure can be found in anti-smoking forums and medical institution publications.

7.6 Smoking as “Private” Right

So far, the metaphors surrounding the notion of smoking have a close relationship to either the physical and psychological consequences of smoking, e.g. addiction, harmfulness or pleasure, or to economic effects. After reading the texts a few times, another metaphor has come to the surface, which we had not paid attention to before. To several stakeholder groups smoking means a private right. This might sound a bit peculiar, as the law does not forbid anyone to smoke in general. But by limiting the space where smokers are allowed to light up a cigarette, the consumers feel deprived of their private rights. This meaning is constructed in an intimate private sphere and a distant public sphere.

In the first text, the writer in a smoker forum talks about bans and prohibitions that the government is currently discussing. The issues that are subject to prohibition comprise among other things speed limitation on highways, violent computer games and light bulbs.

***Forum writer:** Smoking in public places; soon we will probably have to do without this beautiful sight: Farewell smoking! This case is different. When you smoke while you are not alone, you let others inhale the tobacco fume, too. And second-hand smoke is also unhealthy. The federal cabinet has therefore decided to prohibit smoking in federal buildings, train stations and public transportation from September 1st. Smoking in public houses is still being argued, because there might be exceptions for them in some federal states. That the disposition to exaggerate is methodical in Germany was recently proven fulminantly by Sabine Bätzing from the SPD (social democratic party). The federal commissioner for drugs suggested in all seriousness to prohibit smoking in your own car. When Ms. Bätzing has implemented that she could fight for a compulsory membership in sports clubs. [...] Hopefully the EU gets around to doing so- before it is prohibited.*

***Forum writer:** “Rauchen in öffentlichen Räumen; Auf diesen schönen Anblick müssen wir wohl bald verzichten: Ade Rauchen! Hier liegt der Fall anders. Wer raucht und dabei nicht alleine ist, lässt andere den Tabaksqualm mitatmen. Und auch Passivrauchen ist ungesund. Das Bundeskabinett hat deshalb beschlossen, das Rauchen in Bundesbehörden, auf Bahnhöfen und in öffentlichen Verkehrsmitteln zum 1. September zu verbieten. Gestritten wird noch um die Gaststätten, für die es möglicherweise Ausnahmen in manchen Bundesländern geben wird. Dass in Deutschland der Hang zur Übertreibung Methode hat, bewies kürzlich fulminant Sabine Bätzing von der SPD. Die Bundesdrogenbeauftragte schlug allen Ernstes vor, das Rauchen im eigenen Auto zu verbieten. Wenn Frau Bätzing das durchgesetzt hat, könnte sie für die Zwangsmitgliedschaft in Sportvereinen streiten.“ [...] “Hoffentlich kommt die EU noch dazu- bevor sie verboten wird.” (Rösmann, 2007)*

The sentence *This case is different* refers to the previous paragraph, where he talks about alcohol bans for adolescents, meaning that drinking does not harm the people sitting next to you while you are doing it. While he mentions the health damaging effects of second-hand smoke and talks

about the government decision regarding the ban and the reasons for it in a matter of fact way the last part of the text is cynical. The *disposition to exaggerate (Hang zur Übertreibung)* clearly states that her standpoint is ridiculous. By highlighting that the commissioner *in all seriousness (allen Ernstes)* wants to ban smoking in cars, it is implied that this would actually be seen as a joke and not taken for real. The emphasis on *your own car (eigenen Auto)* creates the impression of intrusion by the government into your personal sphere and life. This is very different from banning smoking in transportation or government buildings; it is intimate and personal and the author creates a meaning of smoking as a private right which is in danger, representing a lot of other personal rights, e.g. the right *not* to be a member of a sports club.

A more general meaning of smoking as a private right is expressed in the text by the Deutsche Zigarettenverband (DZV), which is the German Cigarette Association.

The right, as an adult with freedom and responsibility, without constraints as well as within the boundaries of the law, to make one's own decisions is the foundation of our societal constitution... this freedom of decision should also apply to the consumption of legally permitted stimulants.

„Das Recht, als Erwachsener in Freiheit und Verantwortung, ohne Zwang, sowie im Rahmen der Gesetze eigene Entscheidungen zu treffen, ist die Basis unserer gesellschaftlichen Grundordnung. diese Entscheidungsfreiheit [sollte] auch für den Konsum gesetzlich erlaubter Genussmittel [...] gelten.“ (DZV, 2008)

This text draws upon the basic rules of society to argue for freedom of decision. This metaphor is based on two main terms; *adults (Erwachsene)* and the *law (Gesetze)*. The use of the word adults implies that the people involved are responsible, grown up citizens with rights and that the government is not entitled to interfere with these. The law is even mentioned twice; first as a boundary within which the *adults* act, and second to point out that smoking is legal. Accordingly, the text aims at posing the question to the reader, how the legislation dares to prohibit something that is officially allowed and thereby contradicting their purpose.

The meaning of Smoking as Private Right related to a business is created. Here it is not only the right as an individual private person to smoke, but, in addition, it is everyone's right to let people smoke in their bar or restaurant, if they are the owner and responsible for the business. This text is part of a class action law suit by the Verein zum Erhalt der bayrischen Wirtshauskultur (VEBWK) against the smoking ban.

The alignment of an absolute smoking ban in public houses and party tents constitutes a constitutionally unjustifiable intervention for the smoker in his basic right on general freedom of action stated in Art. 101 BV.

„Die Anordnung eines absoluten Rauchverbots in Gaststätten und Festzelten stellt für den Raucher einen verfassungsmäßig nicht gerechtfertigten Eingriff in seinem in Art. 101 BV verankerten Grundrecht auf allgemeine Handlungsfreiheit dar.“ (Scheele, 2008)

The Bavarian smoking ban furthermore intervenes with the freedom of occupational choice of multi-room gastronomy hosts as it constrains the freedom of exercise of profession in an unconstitutional way.

„Das bayrische Rauchverbot greift fernerhin in die Berufsfreiheit der Wirte von Mehrraumgastronomien als Berufsausübungsregelung in verfassungswidriger Weise ein.“ (Scheele, 2008)

The first paragraph depicts smoking similarly as the two afore analysed texts, with the difference that this one directly draws upon the specific law text and literally states that the smoking ban is constitutionally unjustifiable, which the other texts just did indirectly. Here, smoking is filled with the meaning of being the constitutional right of every person.

Smoking as a private right spreading into the professional occupation is addressed in the second paragraph. The authors take the meaning from the personal level of freedom of action to the level of the freedom of exercise of profession. According to this, the smoking ban is therefore not only interfering with a private right, but moreover with the right to accomplish the chosen profession as is expressed by *constrains the freedom of exercise of profession*. In other words this implies if there is a free choice of occupation and business, then there must be a free choice on how to do that job; in this case, if a landlord allows his customers to smoke or not to smoke.

A complete overview of the metaphors in relation to the stakeholders (figure 14 and 15) is presented below.

Metaphors Stakeholders	Smoking as Harmful			Smoking as Negligent Act		Smoking as Addiction
	Smoking as Health Damaging	Passive Smoking as Damaging	Smoking as Killing	Smoking as Reckless	Smoking as Irresponsible	
Medical Institutions	☑	☑	☑			☑
Tobacco Industry		☑		☑	☑	☑
Anti-Smoking Organisations	☑	☑	☑	☑	☑	☑
Government	☑	☑	☑	☑	☑	☑
Consumers						
Hospitality Industry		☑		☑		

Fig. 14: Overview metaphors in relation to the stakeholders 1

Metaphors Stakeholders	Smoking as Economic Factor			Smoking as Private Right	Smoking as Pleasure
	Smoking as Labour Factor	Smoking as Cost Factor	Smoking as Tax Income Factor		
Medical Institutions		☑			☑
Tobacco Industry	☑			☑	☑
Anti-Smoking Organisations	☑	☑		☑	☑
Government	☑	☑	☑	☑ ☑	
Consumers	☑	☑	☑	☑	☑
Hospitality Industry	☑	☑		☑	

Fig. 15: Overview metaphors in relation to the stakeholders 2

8. Discussion

*When people agree with me
I always feel that I must be wrong.*
(Wilde O., The Critic As An Artist, 1890)

In the analysis we looked at the different metaphors created by the participants in the battle about filling the notion of smoking with meaning in order to answer our research questions:

- With what meaning do different stakeholders fill the notion of smoking?
- What do they accomplish by defining the notion of smoking?

We identified altered nuances of the same metaphor and some contradicting argumentation between the stakeholders but also within the stakeholder groups. During the analysis and the study of the texts it became clear to us that the several metaphors used to create the meaning of smoking can be allocated to higher abstraction spheres (figure 16).

These more abstract spheres are used in order to reveal with what meaning the stakeholders fill the notion of smoking. They are closely related to each other and the boundaries are not fixed due to overlapping metaphorical meaning in some parts.

We assigned the metaphors “Smoking as Addiction” and “Smoking as Harmful” to the physical sphere. In this sphere, the meaning of smoking is directly related to the body and the negative consequences to it. The metaphors “Smoking as Negligent Act” and “Smoking as Pleasure” mainly build the personal sphere since the metaphors relate to an individual person doing or feeling something. “Smoking as Economic Factor” and “Smoking as Private Right” are assigned to the societal sphere. This sphere does not relate to individuals only but embraces the society, meaning that the consequences are influencing everyone. Furthermore, the spheres present different discursive strategies as certain resources are needed in each of them. The physical sphere for example needs scientific research or findings to be legitimate, whereas the personal sphere is emotional and hence a different type of argumentation.

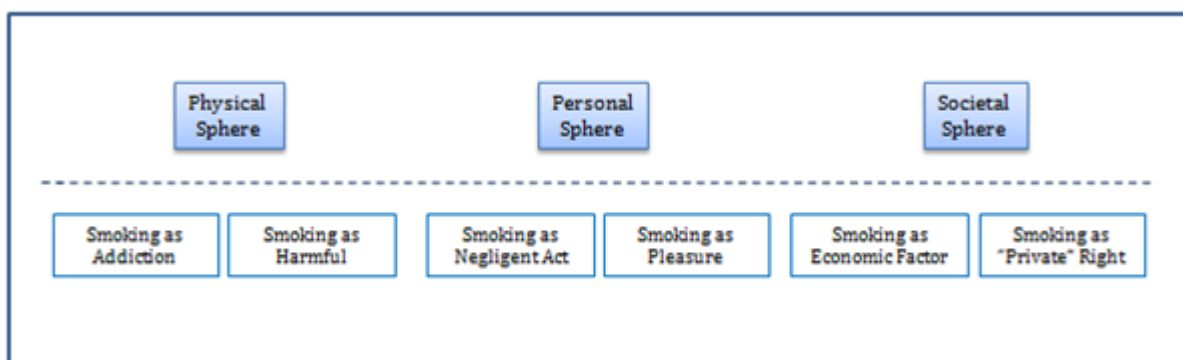


Fig. 16: Higher Abstraction Spheres

Medical Institutions

Physical Sphere

The medical institutions play an important role in the physical sphere. The notion of smoking as health damaging is mostly constructed by these institutions, as they have a lot of scientific findings and articles to base their results on. Medical institutions highlight the *fact* that smoking leads to many diseases and eventually might lead to death by using articles, papers and results. This *fact* is not new to society, since already for many years medical institutions and other stakeholders are doing their utmost to raise the awareness of the consumers and society. The institutions in this area argue for the *fact* that smoking is harmful by using harsh and severe words and relate them to the meaning of smoking. The usage of statistics and other convincing means makes the readers or their target groups aware of the dangerous effects of smoking and emphasises the *truth* of the findings. Medical institutions focus on every person in society, from young to old. Since many smokers believe that it is already too late for them to stop smoking because their lungs and/or veins are already “destroyed”, medical institutions focus their communication to them by saying: *it is never too late for one to stop*. Medical institutions state that if a consumer is addicted to tobacco, then it is hard for the person to stop. They show several numbers and figures to demonstrate what the body is in need of when quitting. Nevertheless, they show many ways to quit by making use of tobacco replacements products or other useful tactics which might help and support the quitter.

These institutions highlight the aspects of second-hand smoke or passive smoke and clearly state that second-hand smoke might lead to death as well.

Personal Sphere

The medical institutions present smokers as irresponsible in a way that they do not pay attention to the non-smokers around them. They try to protect children and adolescents in particular, stating that they cannot protect themselves. Because of this medical institutions put emphasis on the harmfulness of second-hand smoke, a topic which is often not taken seriously enough by society in general.

They portray it as ludicrous that non-smokers have to be in the presence of smokers when they want to go out for dinner for example, and thus bans are a good way to protect non-smokers. Other stakeholders are focusing more on the consumer itself; the institutions on the other hand focus more on the non-smoker, which in turn creates a battle between smokers and non-smokers. For the former, tobacco consumption can be seen as a pleasurable act and for the latter it is more or less uncomfortable.

Societal Sphere

Medical institutions portray smoking as a direct cost factor. They normalise this point of view by listing all the costs for medical treatment of smoking related diseases and the status of employee’s illness, which is higher than for non-smokers. Because they have scientific proof of the negative consequences and are regarded as credible, this meaning creation is very convincing. This is additionally predisposed by their image as being objective and not interested in profits. Most readers believe the medical institutions to be autonomous from any influence of the state and economy. But they are related to the government and the pharmaceutical industry by both political decisions and financial ties. However, they manage to convince a large part of

the non-smoker society to see it as ludicrous that smokers are medically taken care of with their tax money and that this situation is not acceptable. By blaming a certain part of society for producing health related costs for the rest of society these institutions create a malevolent feeling in non-smokers, providing arguments for the anti-smoking associations.

Tobacco Industry

The tobacco industry has a lot of resources to draw upon in the battle of meaning creation, as they have relations to the government through years of lobbying and sponsoring political events and to the media through their position as customer for advertising. Additionally, their financial resources exceed those of most other stakeholders. Their disadvantage is the lack of credibility in society.

Physical Sphere

The tobacco companies do not portray smoking as harmful. By playing with words, they phrase it in such a way that they do not want to persuade people to start smoking, since it might be harmful, but that they offer quality products. By using the utterance quality the reader gets a positive feeling towards the products, because quality and damage do not correlate in our understanding. The tobacco industry does not mention in any form that second-hand smoke is harmful for adults, since they argue for the fact that this has not been scientifically proven. It is of course obvious that the companies would not publish any such negative thoughts on their websites or other published documents, which might lead to a decrease in sales, when these cannot be proven by science or stated as facts. They make use of secure and harmless expressions, which in turn puts them in the safe position as not disagreeing with certain facts but also not agreeing. By playing it safe, they put the responsibility into the hands of the medical institutions. The reader is convinced that if smoking is proven to be *really* harmful, then the companies would not produce and sell such products.

This is emphasised by the industry's attempt to present themselves as ethical companies. So in order to gain trust and legitimise their business, CSR programmes are developed and implemented, creating the blaze of responsible action and behaviour.

Personal Sphere

The tobacco industry clearly focuses on filling the notion of smoking in the personal sphere. By doing so they are able to dismiss their responsibility to the consumers. Just as on the physical level, where they declare the medical institutions as responsible for not definitely proving smoking as damaging, here they declare the individual as being responsible for their actions. This creates the picture of the companies as not doing anything wrong. After all, producing, selling and consuming cigarettes is not illegal, so there is no reason to blame the companies. They underline this point of view by publishing articles on their web-page that there exist more harmful things to society and individuals than smoking, e.g. alcohol consumption. By consuming tobacco nobody gets hurt in a direct way. Not even the people surrounding smokers, since the harmfulness of passive-smoking has not been scientifically proven nor has the irresponsibility of smoking. What is even more, they fulfil the needs of their consumers and provide them with pleasurable products.

Societal Sphere

The tobacco industry illustrates smoking to be a private right and not anyway related to society. They mention their economic contribution to society by providing jobs and paying taxes but this is not a major metaphor created by the companies. This, although the German market is a big revenue market and also a main labour market for both German and multinational companies.

Anti-smoking Organisations

This stakeholder group is at a disadvantage in resources and public voice, which in turn has impact on their power position. Anti-smoking organisations are mostly formed by members who fight for their common purpose on a voluntary basis. The organisations have to rely on donations, membership fees and public funds and therefore clearly lack the financial resources to carry out for instance extensive communication campaigns. This also restricts them on the basis of conducting and presenting their own research for example on the health damaging effects of passive smoking. They have to rely on publicly available information and studies.

The presented associations pursue similar purposes, such as to enhance the rights of the non-smoking population, to increase the number of smoke-free environments and to ultimately create a smoke-free society. The goal is apparently to de-normalise the action of smoking. The language they choose differs depending on the organisation. It ranges from the presentation of hard facts which induce a more rational thought and reflection process on the reader's side, to the use of a more depictive language which touches on the emotional conception due to the usage of exaggerations and extreme comparisons.

Physical Sphere

Their main emphasis of argumentation can be found within the physical sphere where this stakeholder group constructs smoking and especially passive smoking as health damaging. The associations often utilise hard facts and information initially published by medical institutions. This fact-based information is obviously considered as already credible by them and used in order to raise their own texts' credibility. We even found that they occasionally manipulate the texts and figures of their convincing sources e.g. the Statistisches Bundesamt (Statistical Federal Office) while keeping the original reference. This has the effect that the reader considers the information as trustworthy without giving it deeper thought, since it originates from a reliable source. This produces legitimacy for their communication.

Personal Sphere

In the personal sphere the anti-smoking organisations denunciate the irresponsible and reckless behaviour of smokers. The reasoning which they use is strongly related to the presentation of Passive Smoking as Health Damaging mentioned in the physical sphere. The organisations stoutly represent the view that passive smoking is harmful and that it presents a reckless impairment to the well-being and quality of life of non-smokers. Emotional language use dominates and major guilty parties are pointed out. This has the effect of putting smokers into a corner and to stir up negative feelings towards them.

Societal Sphere

In the societal sphere it is especially the metaphor of Smoking as Economic Factor which is utilised by this stakeholder group. The emphasis lies on the related societal costs that occur through smoking and smokers. Smoking is presented as having a negative impact on society as a whole. By doing so they address not only non-smokers but also employers, insurance companies, politicians and other concerned groups in society. This provides them with an enlarged audience and their arguments with greater legitimacy.

Government

The government has a comparatively powerful position in the battle about filling the notion of smoking with meaning, as it can draw upon a lot of resources. Both their linguistic and social resources, not to mention the financial ones, exceed those of the other participants in this battle. This is also due to their position as being credible, after all the government is the legal and objective force in the country. But this position is not there for granted; it might change, as the election outcome in Bavaria showed. In order to reproduce the power position they need to legitimise their actions, especially the contradicting actions regarding smoking.

Physical Sphere

In the physical sphere, the government is justifying their actions and laws against smoking. Especially through the health department the notion of Smoking as Harmful is emphasised. The department is the best informed and credible source within this stakeholder for this charge and they present reports and scientific findings to depict smoking as damaging. It is not portrayed as a discussion, but it is presented as the truth and a matter of fact: smoking is bad for smokers and society, as non-smokers are affected as well. They even create the meaning of smoking as almost equally dangerous as illegal drugs. This in turn gives the government more authority to act with regards to restrictions on smoking because it presents a threat towards society.

Personal Sphere

The meaning creation in the personal sphere is focused on the non-smokers and entails similar argumentation for the scope of action by the government. Non-smokers are portrayed as vulnerable and in need of protection by the state, because they would otherwise be harmed. The emphasis lies on the protective function of the government and their concern for the well-being and safety of the citizens. This justification for implementing a law that prohibits individual action is coherently done in the societal sphere.

Societal Sphere

The intrusion into the private sphere and freedom of action of citizens is legitimate because they have to protect the general public from harming each other. The private rights of citizens are rightly delimited by the government due to their duty to guard the citizens. In the societal sphere the government illustrates their right to earn money through cigarette sales, i.e. taxes. The governmental controls of tobacco products and ingredient regulation make it seem absolutely normal that the state gets revenues out of smoking. After all, they are providing

protection for the smokers and care for them. It is legitimate for the state to intrude into citizen rights and forbid something and earn money with it at the same time.

These contradicting actions are portrayed as being conformable with each other. The government achieves a strong standpoint through the use of reports, facts, scientific proof and reminds about their credibility. It is their job to protect the citizens and they do so by protecting the non-smokers by a ban and the smokers by controls of the product. After studying the meaning creation in the physical sphere the question is unavoidable why smoking is actually still legal and the availability of cigarettes in Germany is ubiquitous.

It has to be kept in mind that the government is influenced by the other stakeholders, as they all have some kind of relationships. Some cooperate with the government or are financially supported by it, e.g. the health organisations, or try to take action through lobbyists, e.g. tobacco companies. Additionally, stakeholders not considered in our thesis are fighting for their objectives as well. For example the media is very active to anticipate the complete advertising ban for tobacco products, as this is a huge income source for them. Correspondingly, the German government complained officially at the European Court of Justice against a complete advertising ban by the European Union for tobacco products.

Eventually, it is essential to the government to have the dominant position, because they want to be elected, and therefore they have to convince the majority of the voters. In our case, the government did not accomplish the dominant metaphorisation for that point in time. The elections in Bavaria showed that the voters partly did not accept the meaning of smoking created by the government and did not vote for them. As a consequence, the smoking ban was eased for exceptions.

Consumers

The position of the consumers is a rather weak one in the battle regarding the resources they have access to. Due to their heterogeneity the meaning creation is influenced by numerous opinions and therefore it gets blurred. They do not have scientific sources of their own to draw upon, or the possibility to reach the public in the same way as the government, the health institutions or the tobacco companies. Therefore they are less able to portray themselves as credible by means of language. But their position is strengthened by means of practical issues, as for example the possibility to vote for another party if the governing one is not convincing, or to stop consuming.

Physical Sphere

The physical sphere of the meaning of smoking is not brought up by the consumers in order to fill the notion of smoking. This is astonishing on the one hand as they have the closest physical contact and the primary physical effects of smoking and hence would be knowledgeable, although not in a scientific sense, in that field. But on the other hand it is also logical that they do not refer to that sphere as this would only create a meaning for people who actively smoke and limit the effects of this notion.

Personal Sphere

In the personal sphere the notion of smoking as pleasurable is portrayed, but in a reserved way. As with the physical sphere, this might be due to the consumer's knowledge that this notion is a potential target for the other participants in the battle. It is quite easy to deconstruct the meaning of smoking as pleasure as it is mostly emotional and only relevant to smokers; and additionally according to the common opinion the pleasure related to smoking is just an excuse or an attempted explanation. There are no credible resources to draw upon apart from the mere opinion of some smokers.

Societal Sphere

The physical and personal spheres do not offer the consumers a lot of opportunities to create a dominant meaning of smoking. Accordingly, the consumers fight the battle mainly in the societal sphere. In order to justify their point of view they draw on the effects of the smoking ban on the society as a whole, showing the non-smokers the "negative" consequences. The consumers are not using concrete figures but they create a worst case scenario. Especially by drawing upon the governmental violation of citizen rights they accomplish a fear in the reader, even in non-smokers. This is based on the creation of a battle field where the participants are not smokers against non-smokers but the government against the society.

Hospitality Industry

The hospitality industry finds itself in a slightly weaker power position than for instance the government or the tobacco industry. This is due to the industry being heterogeneous and rather scattered. Even though they have the association DEHOGA as a common spokesperson, a diversity of opinions can be found among the individual business owners. They can most likely count on the majority of smokers as their supporters which might have a positive impact on their position. Financial and research-based resources are limited.

Physical and Personal Sphere

The hospitality industry's purpose is to undo the smoking ban and to sustain the notion of smoking as normal. In order to achieve this, the societal sphere is the focus of their communication. The other two spheres are not prevalent in their argumentation. If considered at all it is more in the form of defence arguments expressed through deconstructing the metaphors such as Smoking as Health Damaging and Smoking as Reckless.

Societal Sphere

With regards to the discussion of Smoking as Private Right, the industry utilises to great extents legal terminology. Their engagement in lawsuits is a complementing sign for the seriousness of their fight against the smoking restrictions and the decisions of the government. Using this sort of language provides them instantly with more sincerity and credibility. They clearly communicate that they have a legitimate reason when arguing with their freedom of occupational choice and also with the private right of smokers to make use of their freedom of action in general terms.

Another argument they bring forward is that of Smoking as Labour Factor. They threaten the government with the potential loss of workplaces due to the smoking ban and depict smoking in that way as something positive. This argumentation focuses on a very emotionally-laden language which is supported through informational language. This includes projections of how many jobs have been already lost and negative examples of other European countries where a smoking ban is already in force. By drawing upon the job argument, the hospitality industry touches a very sensitive subject for the government and the German society. The first emotional response is to say no to a smoking ban in order to safeguard jobs. The argument of Smoking as Labour Factor involves material consequences for the society. If jobs in hospitality are in danger because of the ban, this will cost the state.

Clouds of Smoke

Every stakeholder fills the notion of smoking with meaning by means of language use in order to achieve or sustain a position in the discourse that allows for exercise of influence and impact on that discourse. The meaning creation reaches into all the different spheres mentioned. Which type of argumentation is used, either emotional or rational, is depending on the resources available for that specific argument and stakeholder. One is not more effective than the other, as both *facts* and *feelings* are able to convince the reader and produce legitimacy.

Through the discussion it became clear to us that the battle about providing the dominant meaning of smoking is mainly fought in the societal sphere. All involved stakeholders create metaphors in this sphere; the government, the consumers and the hospitality industry even focus their meaning creation within that sphere. This does not devalue the other spheres regarding their impact or legitimacy creation.

The ambiguous role of the government and the reproduction of power by means of language is most obvious in this sphere. The government makes use of two different discursive strategies to sustain their power. On the one hand they legitimise collection of taxes from cigarette sales, on the other hand they argue with their position as the protective force of the citizens to constrict individual rights. So they can earn money through smoking, while demonising it at the same time.

The medical institutions exercise their power as a stakeholder that provides *facts* to society and is reliable, hence arguing on a rational level. They portray a battlefield in society, between smokers and non-smokers, raising anger and a feeling of inequity in the non-smokers by blaming the smokers for avoidable costs. The tobacco industry raises doubt about the reliability of these *facts* but does not accomplish a power position because of their too obvious motivation of staying in business. Still, the tobacco companies manage to assign any responsibility to other stakeholders in the battle, leaving themselves with a white vest. The other stakeholders, as the consumers and the hospitality industry argue with the threat by an overprotective state, also evoking fear in the reader. They show the battle as consisting of two participants, the government and society, fighting each other. Their argumentation is mainly emotional, accomplishing doubt and caution in the reader.

In the physical sphere the medical institutions are able to reproduce their power position because they are the scientific voice, and science is commonly believed to be *true*. Thus they have the greatest impact by evoking fear and the threat of death in the reader. This is why the

anti-smoking organisations try to utilise the reliability of the institutions to enhance their power and have a greater impact in the discourse. Because they themselves do not have facts to draw upon they use emotional issues, by drawing upon very individual and sometimes even militant notions.

The personal sphere is mainly used by the tobacco companies to create a meaning that is beneficial for their purpose, i.e. selling tobacco products. Although the companies have a lot of resources to draw upon and the possibility to reach a large audience, their focus is in this sphere. By filling the notion of smoking with meaning in this more intangible sphere it is easier to defend it against deconstruction attempts by other stakeholders. Hence, the transfer of responsibility and a more emotional argumentation does not need to be confirmed by facts.

While the use of emotional argumentation and metaphors has great impact on the meaning commonly perceived to be normal, an e.g. through evoking feeling, the rational and scientific argumentation is accomplishing legitimacy.

The government and the tobacco companies can be perceived as achieving the dominant metaphorisation in the battle of filling the notion of smoking with meaning. The companies do not appear to be dominant in the battle, but their transfer of responsibility and creation of smoking as a personal issue is perceived as *normal*. This is also due to their argumentation of not needing legitimisation for their purpose, because it is neither proven to be damaging nor legally forbidden. But still the companies use a discursive strategy that legitimises their actions. The government uses rational argumentation and *facts* to normalise their *meanings* of smoking. Even though they did not convince all the voters in our context, this demonstrates their power position quite clearly; they did not accomplish their objectives regarding the smoking ban, so they are in the position to just change the objectives.

The Bavarian government eased the smoking ban after losing votes, but after the elections in August 2008, it will certainly reintroduce their original plan and until the next election the discussion will have moved on. So the two stakeholders in this battle who really profit from smoking are shaping the commonly accepted meaning. By profits we mean €14.1 billion tax revenue for the government in 2007 and €19.8 billion sales revenue for the tobacco industry in 2005.

This master thesis aims at contributing to existing research on the German tobacco market and the use of language in that context. Possible future research areas include the study of the de-normalisation process of smoking in Germany; and applying the theory of CDA and the method of metaphors to contexts other than that of smoking, e.g. the discussion on speeding or the legitimisation of alcohol as a harmful product.

This is not a conclusion in classical understanding and as mentioned in the beginning we were not aiming at attaining *results*. The outcome of this thesis is to show that there is more to a text than the actual text and we should more often stop and think about who wrote it and why. The reproduction of unequal power relations takes place in everyday texts and social interactions; and it influences the society as a whole and not just individuals, as our specific topic demonstrates.

Thank you for reading!

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