

Optimizing the Impact of Tax and Price Policies for Tobacco Control

Frank J. Chaloupka, University of Illinois at Chicago NAAG Master Settlement Agreement Triennial Conference Portland, Maine, September 20, 2016







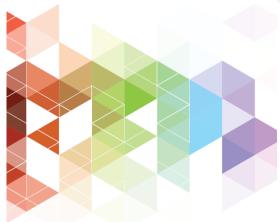
Tobacco Product Taxation:

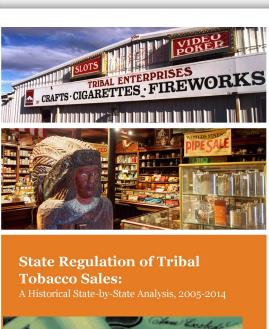
An Analysis of State Tax Schemes Nationwide, Selected Years, 2005-2014

Camille K. Gourdet, JD, MA | Jamie F. Chriqui, PhD, MHS | Julien Leider, MS Hillary DeLong, J.D. | Colin Goodman, J.D. | Frank J. Chaloupka, PhD.

Preventing and Reducing Illicit Tobacco Trade

in the United States



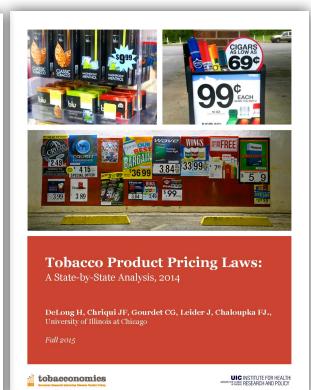




U.S. ILLICIT TOBACCO MARKET

Characteristics, Policy Context, and Lessons from International Experiences

NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL AND INSTITUTE OF MEDICINE







Collaborators

- Jidong Huang
- Jamie Chriqui
- Ce Shang
- John Tauras
- Michael Pesko
- Hillary DeLong
- David Merriman
- Dianne Barker
- Megan Diaz

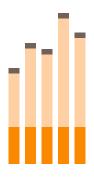
- Ayda Yurekli
- Geoff Fong
- Emmanuel Guindon
- Prabhat Jha
- Ken Warner
- David Sweanor
- Xin Xu
- Sarah Edwards
- Sherry Emery
- And many more.....



Funding

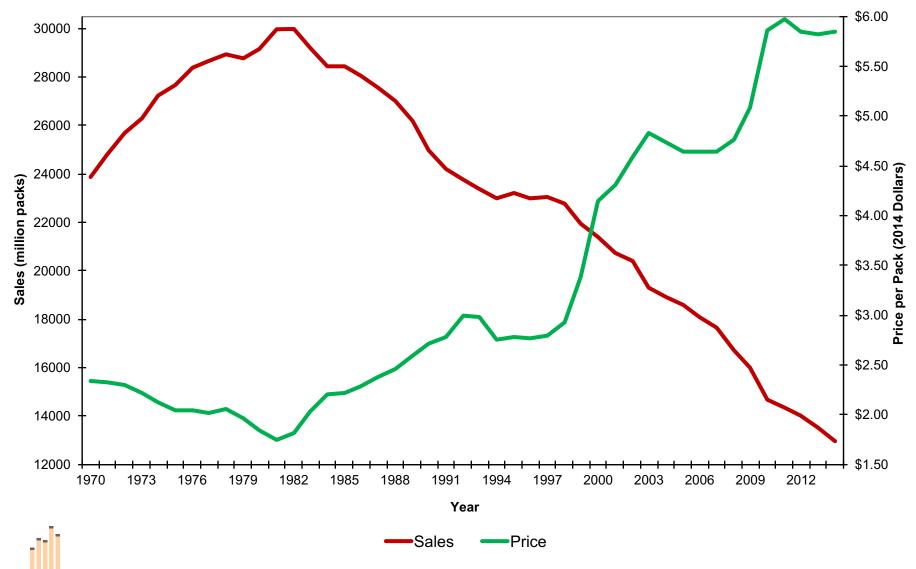
- National Cancer Institute, State and Community Tobacco Control Initiative, 5UO1-CA154248
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention,
 Office on Smoking and Health
- Robert Wood Johnson Foundation
- American Cancer Society, Cancer Action Network
- Truth Initiative





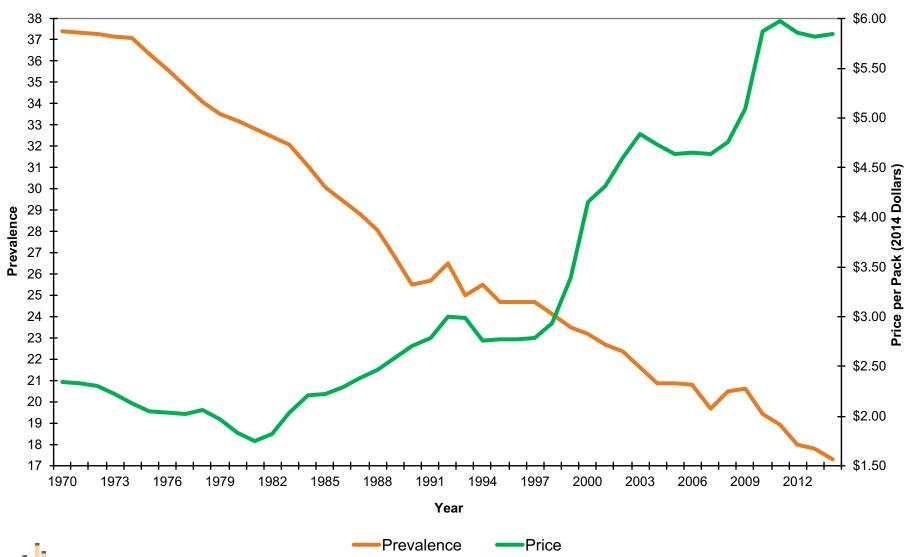
Impact of Tax and Price on Tobacco Use

Cigarette Prices and Cigarette Sales United States, 1970-2014



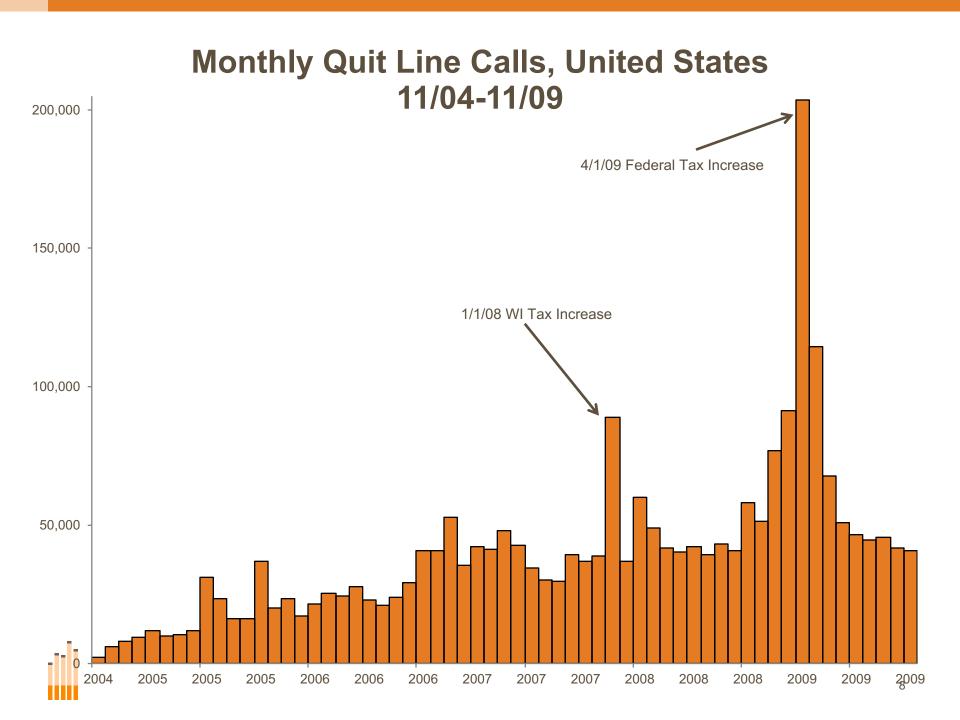
Source: Tax Burden on Tobacco, 2015, and author's calculations

Cigarette Prices and Adult Smoking Prevalence United States, 1970-2014

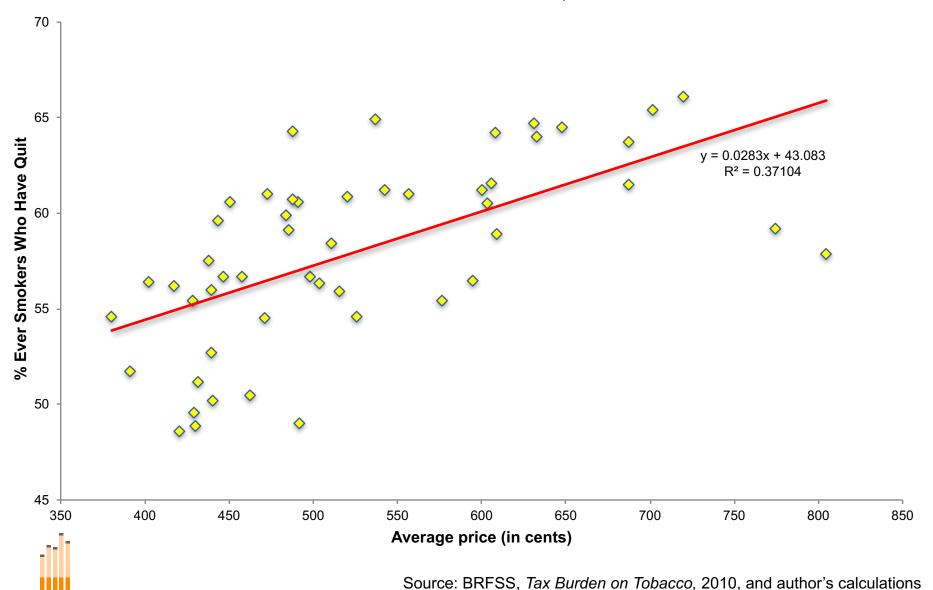




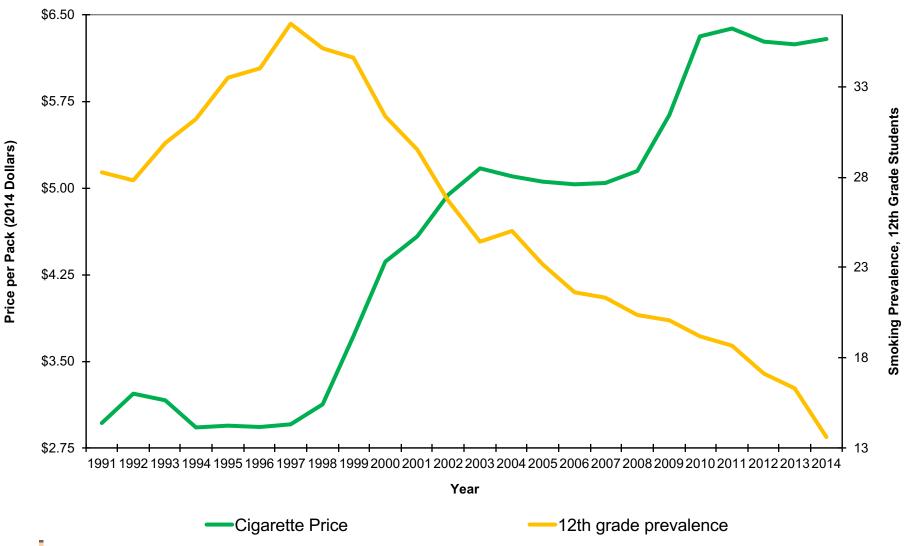
Source: NHIS, Tax Burden on Tobacco, 2015, and author's calculations



Cigarette Prices and Cessation US States & DC, 2009



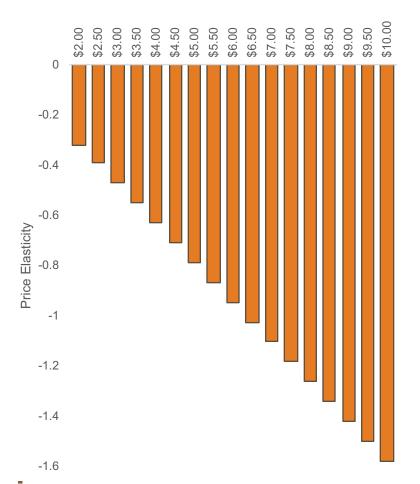
Cigarette Price and Youth Smoking Prevalence Seniors, United States, 1991-2014

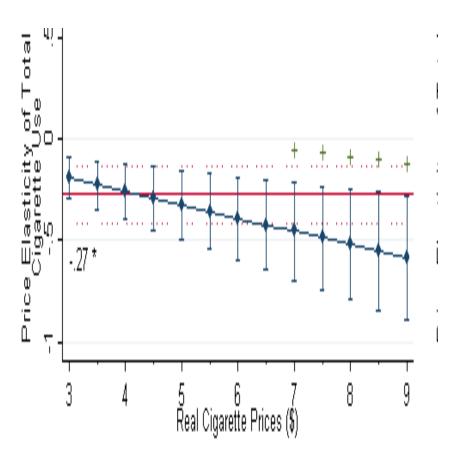




Source: MTF, Tax Burden on Tobacco, 2015, and author's calculations

Increasing Elasticity with Increasing Price







Prices and Tobacco Use

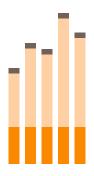
- Similar evidence for variety of other tobacco products and for electronic nicotine delivery systems
 - Generally see evidence of substitution between similar products (e.g. cigarettes, little cigars, roll-your-own
 - Some evidence of complementarity between combustibles and noncombustibles



Prices and Tobacco Use

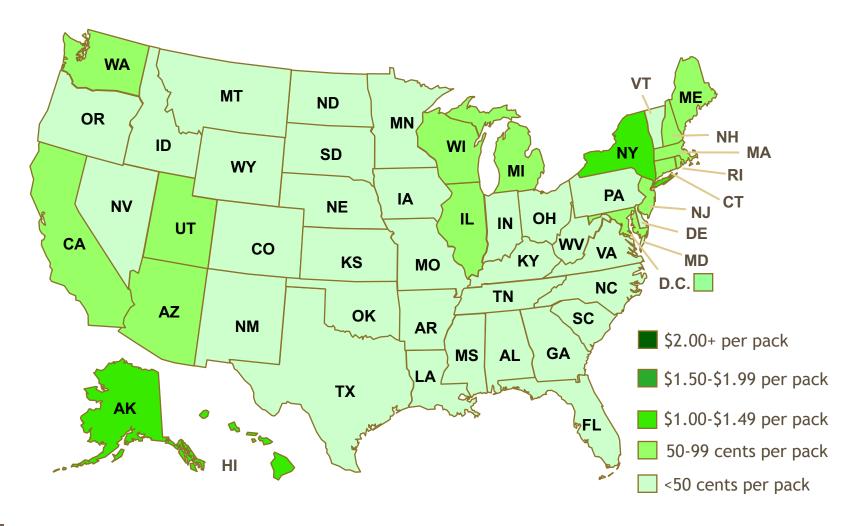
- But tax/price increases lead to other changes in tobacco use behaviors:
 - "Downtrading" to cheaper brands
 - Substitution to cheaper products
 - Tax avoidance and evasion
 - Increase in use of price reducing promotions
 - Purchase of larger quantities



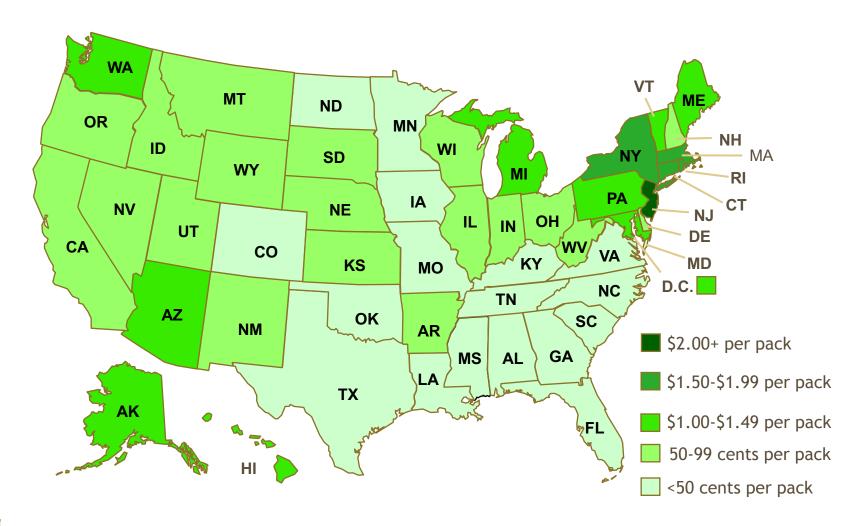


Optimizing Tobacco Taxation

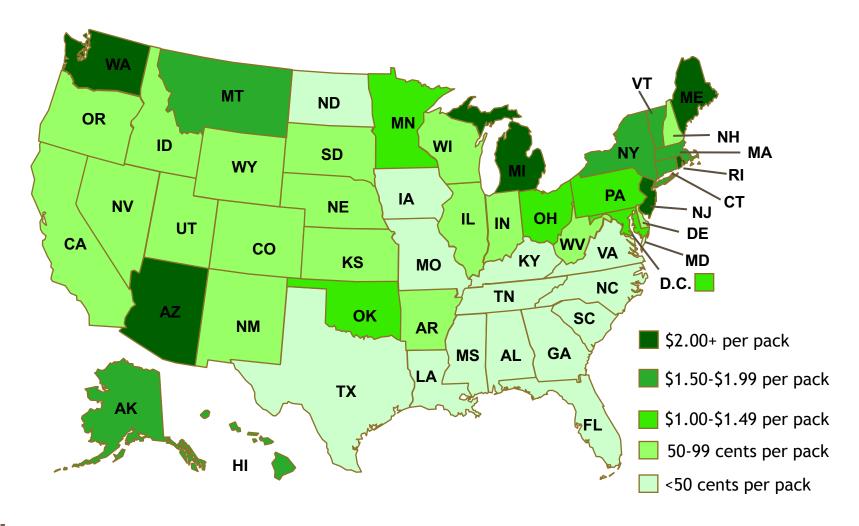
Curbing Tax Avoidance & Tax Evasion



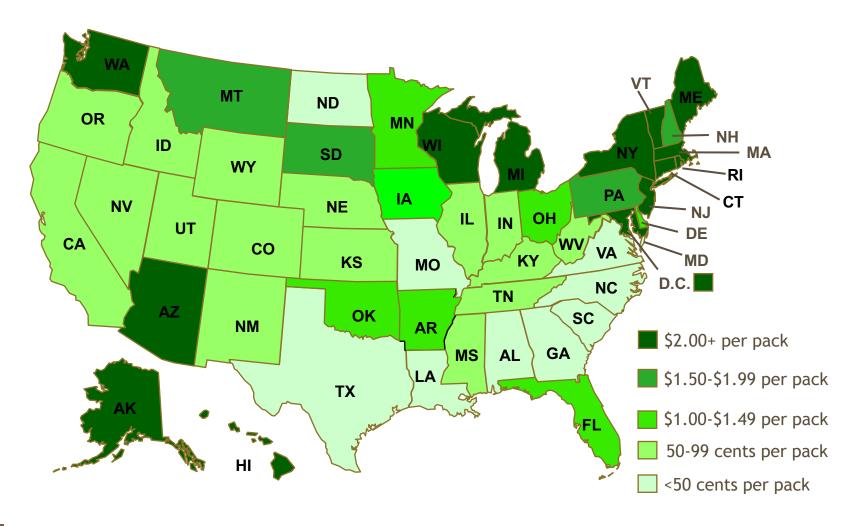




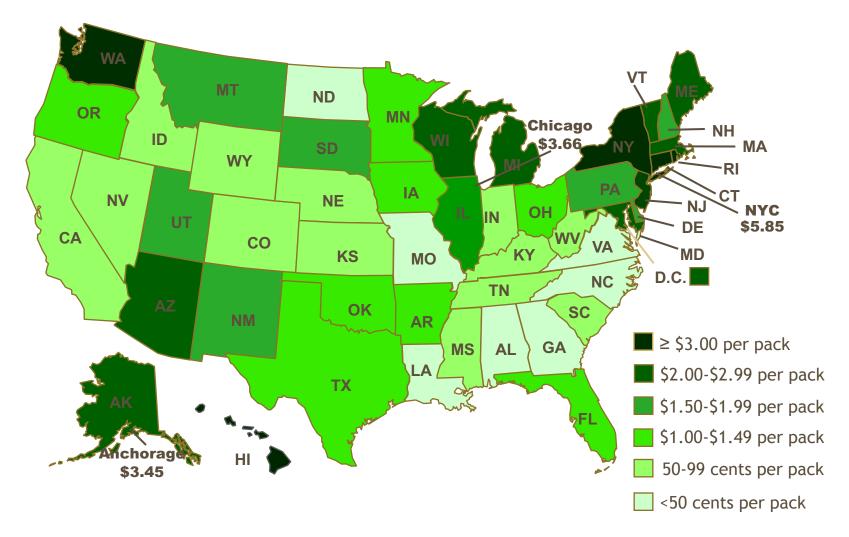






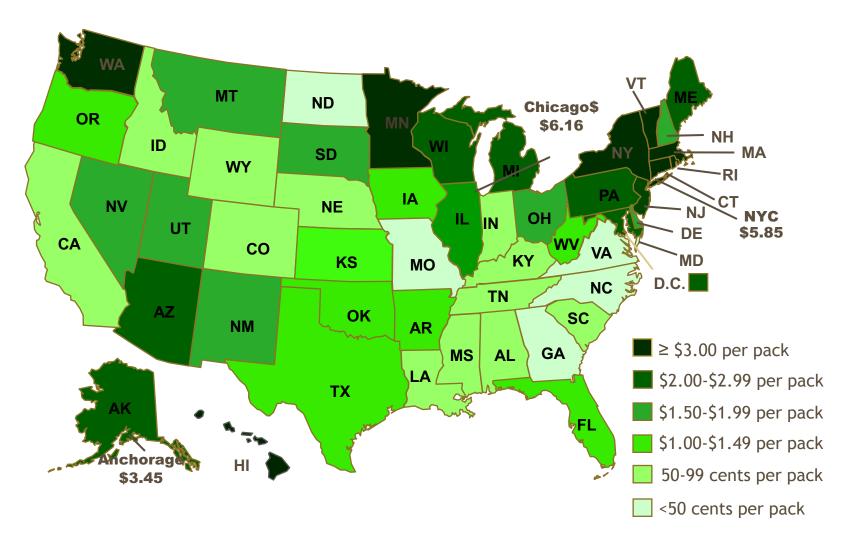








September 1, 2016



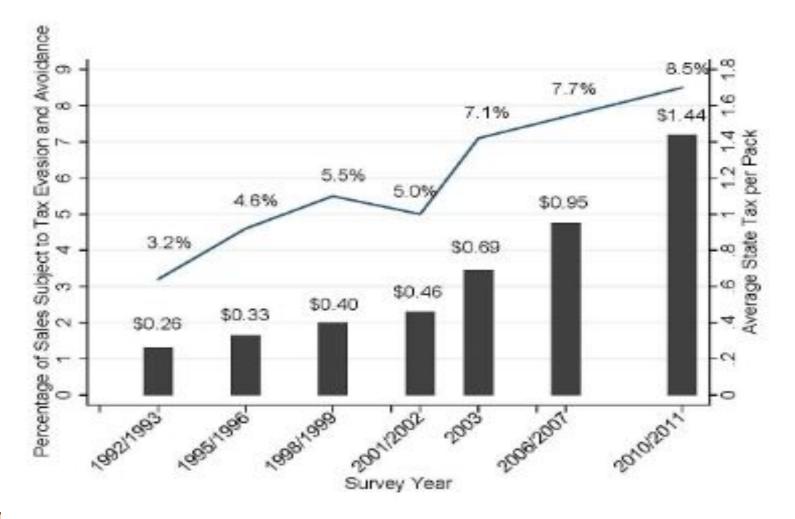


State Tobacco Taxes

- Differences across jurisdictions create opportunities for tax avoidance and evasion
 - NRC (2015) estimated range from 8.5% to 21%
 - Low-end based on comparisons of self-reported consumption and tax-paid sales
 - Underestimate captures 'net' effects of 'importing' and 'exporting'
 - High-end based on pack collection estimates
 - Overestimate reflects tourism, commuting

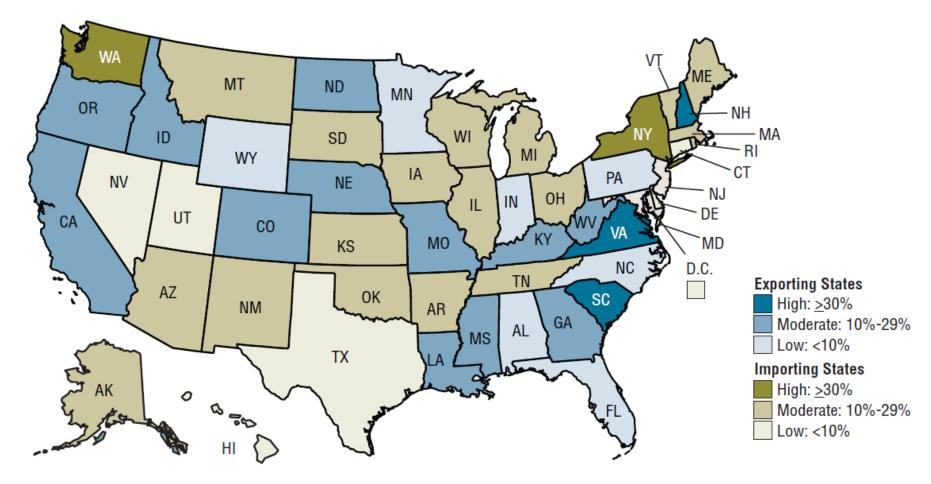


Trends in Net Tax Avoidance & Evasion in the United States





Estimated State Cigarette 'Importing' and 'Exporting', 2010-11

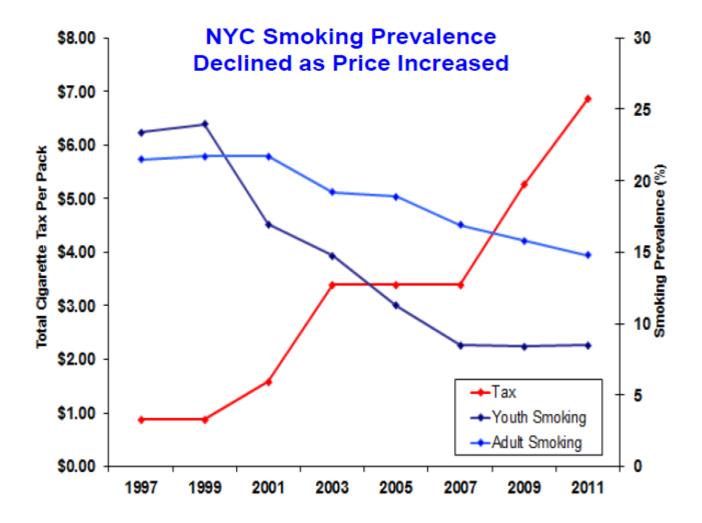


Note: "Importing states" are those where some consumers avoid or evade taxes by obtaining their tobacco products from states or federal tribal lands where taxes are lower. "Exporting states" are those where some tobacco products intended for consumption within that state are purchased by consumers from outside of the state to avoid or evade their "home" taxes.

Source: Created from data in National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 2015.

Source: CDC, 2015

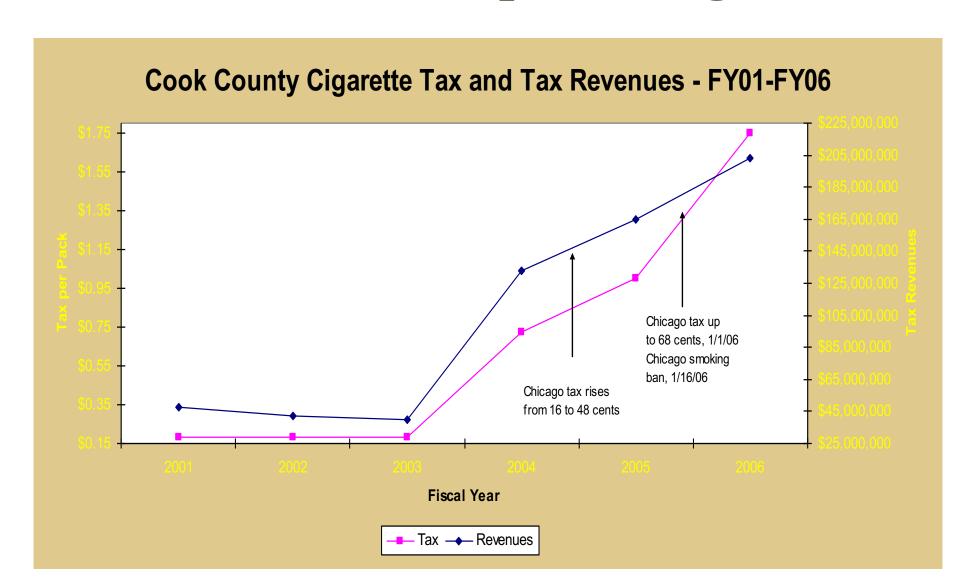
Tax Avoidance & Evasion Do NOT Eliminate Health Impact of Higher Taxes





Source: Schroth, 2014

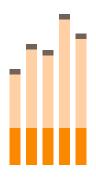
Tax Avoidance & Evasion Do NOT Eliminate Revenue Impact of Higher Taxes



Optimizing the Impact of Tobacco Taxes

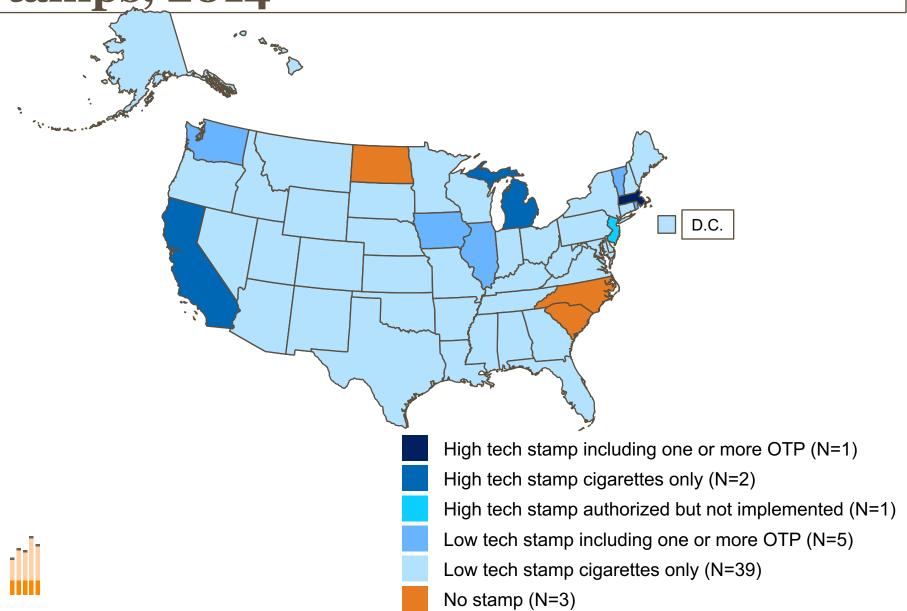
- Harmonize tobacco taxes across states
 - reduce incentives for cross-border shopping and bootlegging
 - Done with other policies (minimum legal ages for tobacco & alcohol; per se illegal BAC level)
 - Could reduce Medicaid match for states that do not adopt the minimum match
- Setting tax floor most appropriate approach to maximize public health, revenue impacts





Optimizing Tobacco Taxation

Implementing Pack Markings, Licensing & Enforcement Types of State Cigarette and OTP Tobacco Stamps, 2014



California's Encrypted Cigarette Tax Stamps

2005-2010 ----



2011-present



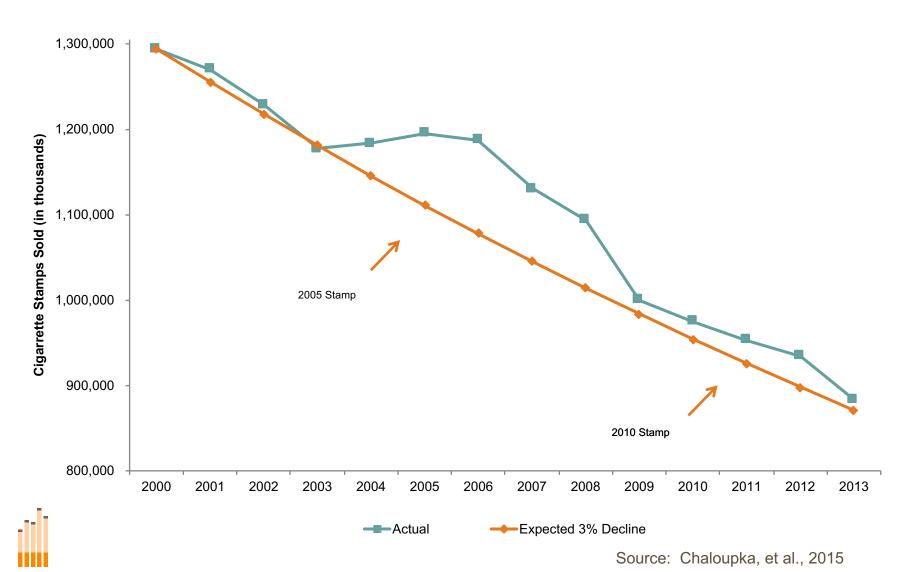
Stamp Angled View (ink appears green)

Stamp Angled View (ink appears blue)

CA PART AND 20 PART AND 2



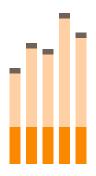
Cigarette Tax Stamps Sold Projected and actual, California, 2000 - 2013



Optimizing the Impact of Tobacco Taxes

- Adopt the "Three-Legged Stool" approach
 - License of all involved in tobacco product manufacture, import, distribution, and retail sales
 - Apply high-tech tax stamps
 - Increase enforcement resources and levy strong penalties on violators

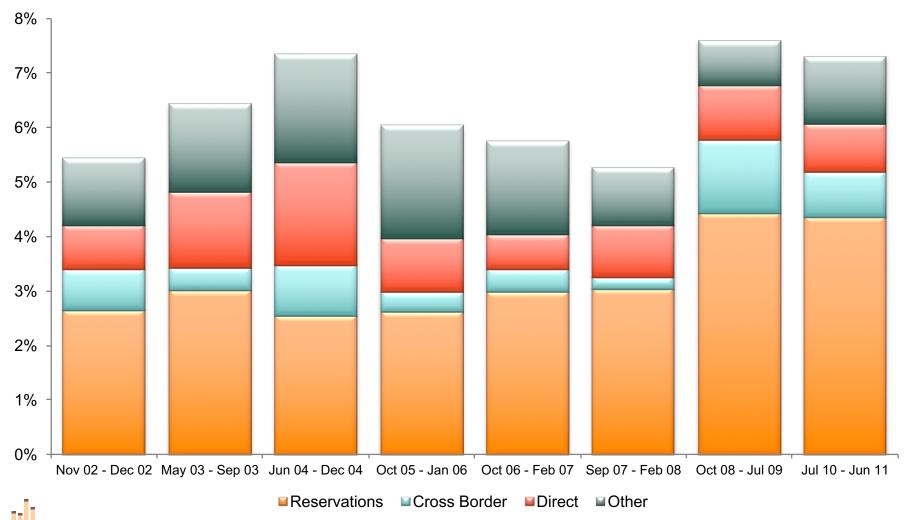




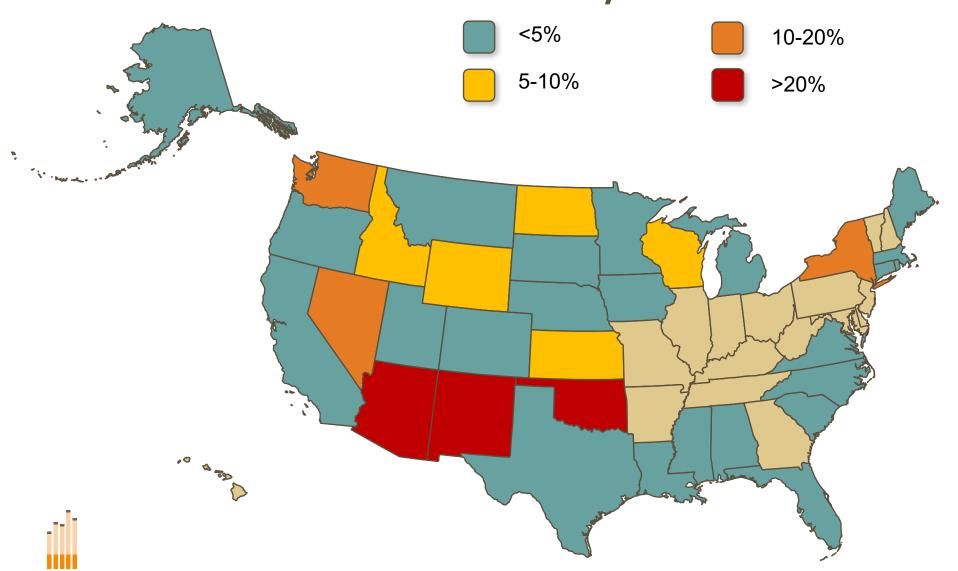
Optimizing Tobacco Taxation Addressing Tribal Sales

Tax Avoidance

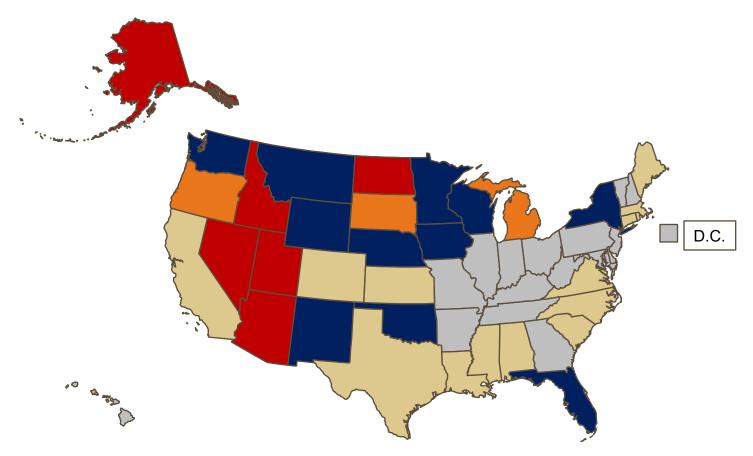
US Smokers, Last Purchase, November 2002-June 2011

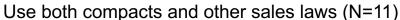


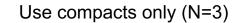
Percent of Smokers Buying on Reservations – 2010/11



Tribal Tobacco Sales Laws, 2014







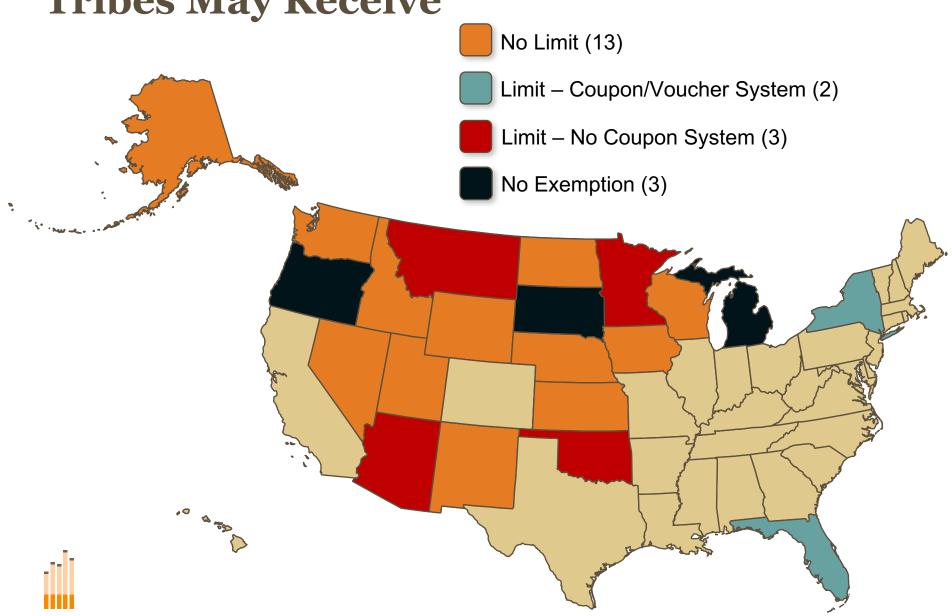
Use sales laws only (N=6)

Use no tribal-specific tobacco sales laws (N=14)

No tribal reservations within state borders (N=17)



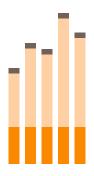
Limits on Amount of Tax-Exempt Tobacco Tribes May Receive



Optimizing the Impact of Tobacco Taxes

- Case studies of state efforts to address tribal sales suggest:
 - Compacts critical to ensuring success of efforts to reduce reservation-based tax avoidance and evasion
 - Most effective systems appear to be those that apply state tax to all tribal sales
 - Rebate/quota schemes somewhat effective
 - Often based on formulas that are likely to overstate tribal consumption
 - Can be combined with efforts to limit purchase quantities





Optimizing Tobacco Taxation

Prioritizing Efforts to Curb Tax Evasion

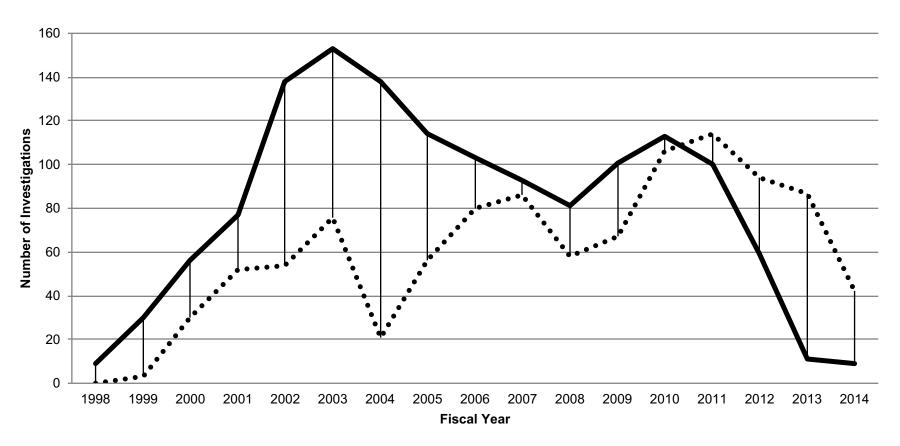
Coordinating & Prioritizing

- In US, control of illicit trade is fragmented, under-resourced, and low priority
 - Multiple federal agencies, including: Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives; Immigration and Customs Enforcement; Customs and Border Protection; Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Bureau; and Food and Drug Administration
 - Variety of state and local agencies also involved, including: state and local police; tobacco control agencies; departments of revenue; alcohol control boards; and others



Illicit Tobacco Enforcement: A Low Federal Priority

ATF tobacco investigations initiated and closed, 1998-2014





Number of investigations initiated

• • • Number of investigations closed

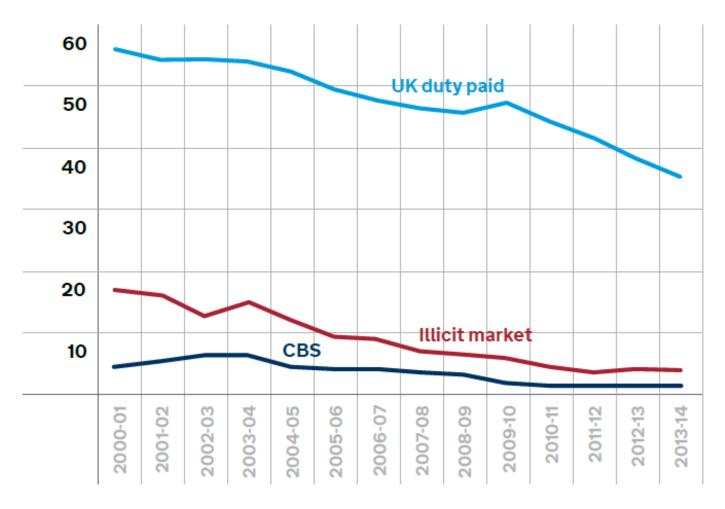
Coordinating & Prioritizing

- United Kingdom implemented comprehensive approach:
 - Made it a priority with adoption of the "Tackling Tobacco Smuggling" strategy in 2000
 - Coordination among key agencies, led by Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs
 - Focus on large scale smuggling
 - Enhanced penalties
 - Increased resources for enforcement
 - Required pack warnings
 - Public education campaigns
 - Adapted over time as illicit market changed



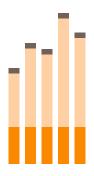
Estimated Volumes of Cigarettes Consumed in the U.K. – Duty paid, illicit, and cross-border shopping, 2000-01 – 2013-14

Billions





Source: HM Revenue & Customs, 2014



Optimizing Tobacco Taxation Tracking & Tracing

Tracking & Tracing Systems

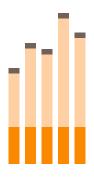
- Implementation of tracking & tracing in Turkey accompanied by:
 - Increased compliance checks and other enhanced enforcement efforts
 - Stronger penalties on violators
 - Improved coordination among revenue authorities,
 Ministries of Justice, Foreign Affairs, Economy, and
 Internal Affairs
 - 31.5% increase in revenue in first year, with no increase in taxes
- Early success followed by significant tax increases



Optimizing the Impact of Tobacco Taxes

- Implement a national tracking and tracing system
 - FDA has authority to implement national tracking & tracing system
 - But no authority on taxation
 - Pending legislation requiring Treasury
 Department to implement a national tracking & tracing system
 - Encrypted state tax stamps have limited tracking and tracing features





Optimizing Tobacco Taxation Public Education

Public Education Campaigns

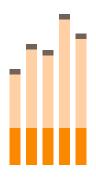
- Several countries have implemented public education campaigns targeting illicit tobacco
 - Generally run by governments, but in some run by retailer associations or advocacy groups
 - Typically one component of a comprehensive strategy to reduce illicit trade
 - Multiple themes:
 - Attack culture of tolerance for illicit tobacco and perception that tobacco smuggling is a victimless crime
 - Encourage citizens to report illicit tobacco sales
 - Highlight harms of tobacco use
 - Some concerns with campaigns that suggest that illicit products are more dangerous than licit products



Public Education Campaigns

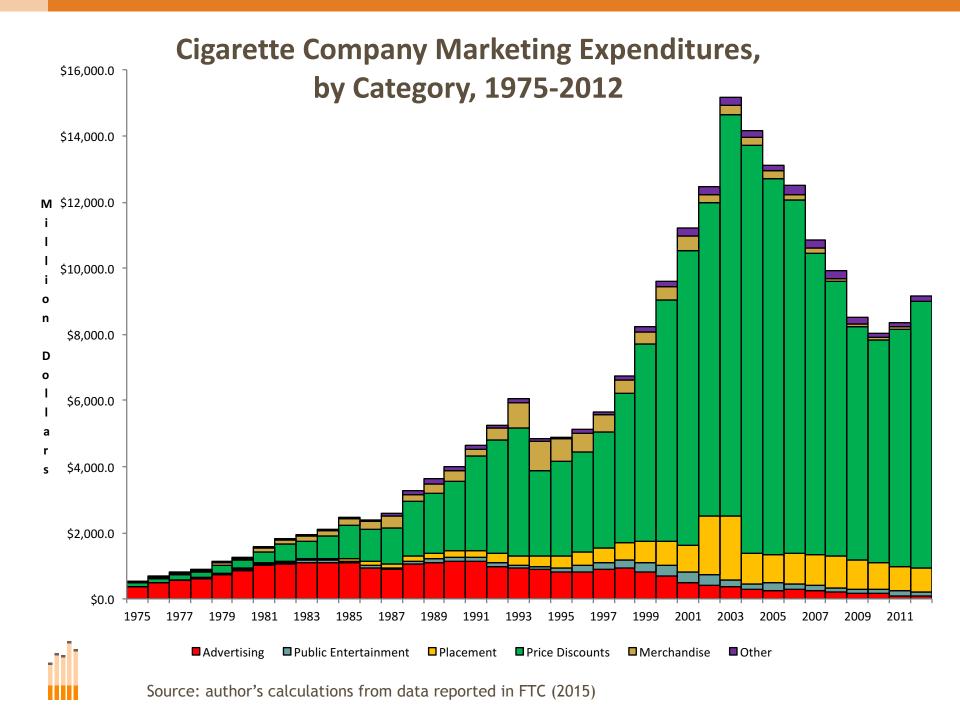
- Extensive evidence of success of mass media campaigns in reducing tobacco use in the US
 - National campaigns (truth, TIPS, Real Cost....)
 - Campaigns run by comprehensive state tobacco control programs in many states (CA, MA, AZ.....)
- Few efforts to address illicit tobacco
 - Mostly limited to promoting citizen activism (Chicago's "Check the Stamps" program; Cook County's "Cigarette Tax Reward Program"
 - Appear to be relatively cost effective
 - Chicago campaign also highlights negative impact on legitimate businesses, contribution to youth tobacco use, and lost tax revenues



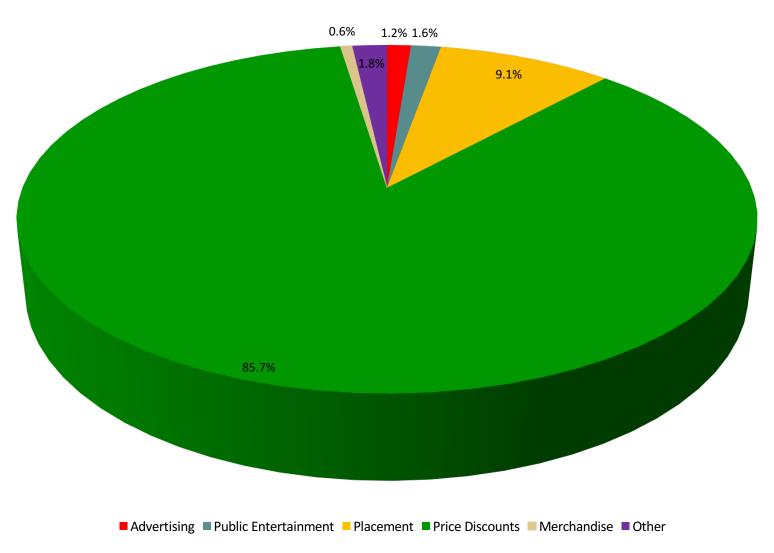


Optimizing Tobacco Taxation

Limiting Tobacco Industry's Price-Reducing Promotions



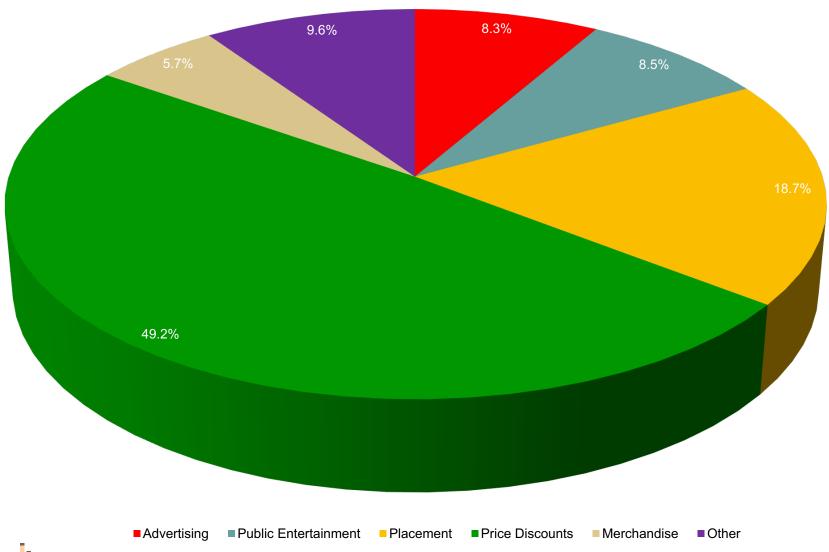
Cigarette Company Marketing Expenditures % of Total by Type, 2012





Source: author's calculations from data reported in FTC (2015)

Smokeless Tobacco Company Marketing Expenditures % of Total by Type, 2012



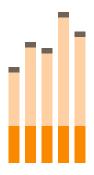


Source: author's calculations from data reported in FTC (2015)

Optimizing Tobacco Taxes

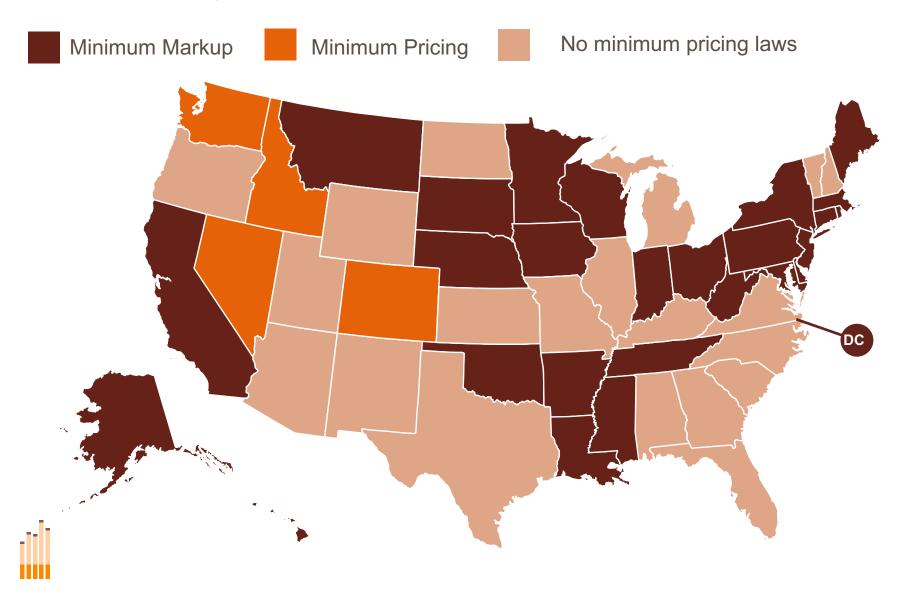
- Prohibit price-reducing promotions
 - FSPTCA (FDA regulation) eliminated federal pre-emption of stronger state, local restrictions on tobacco company marketing
 - Allows restrictions on the "time, place, or manner" of tobacco marketing
 - Providence first to ban redemption of coupons, multi-pack deals (January 2013)
 - New York City followed in August 2014
 - Have withstood industry legal challenges





Optimizing Tobacco Taxation Minimum Pricing Policies

State Minimum Cigarette Pricing Policies, 2015



State MPLs - Factors That Decrease the Base Cost of Cigarettes

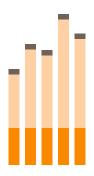




Optimizing the Impact of Tobacco Taxes

- Implement minimum pricing policies:
 - with high minimum prices
 - that do not include loopholes for reducing prices below minimum
 - that cover all tobacco products
- Also helpful in detecting illicit products
 - Primary motivation for NYC minimum pricing law

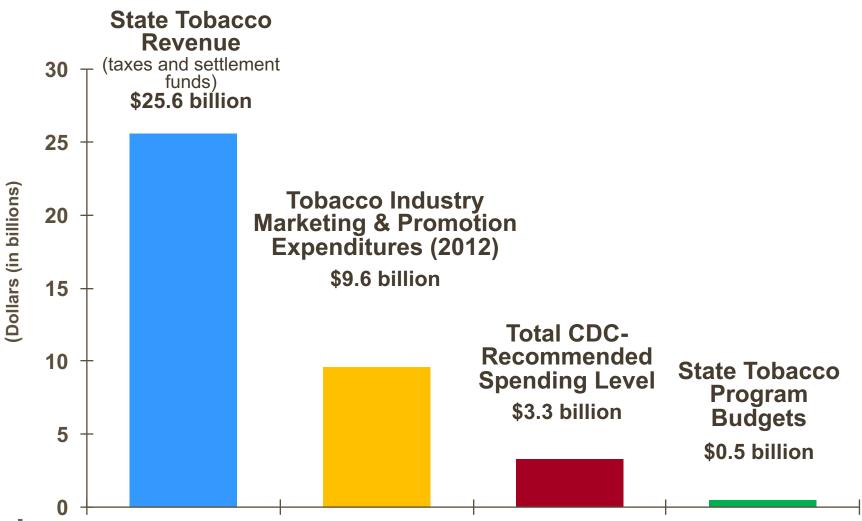




Optimizing Tobacco Taxation

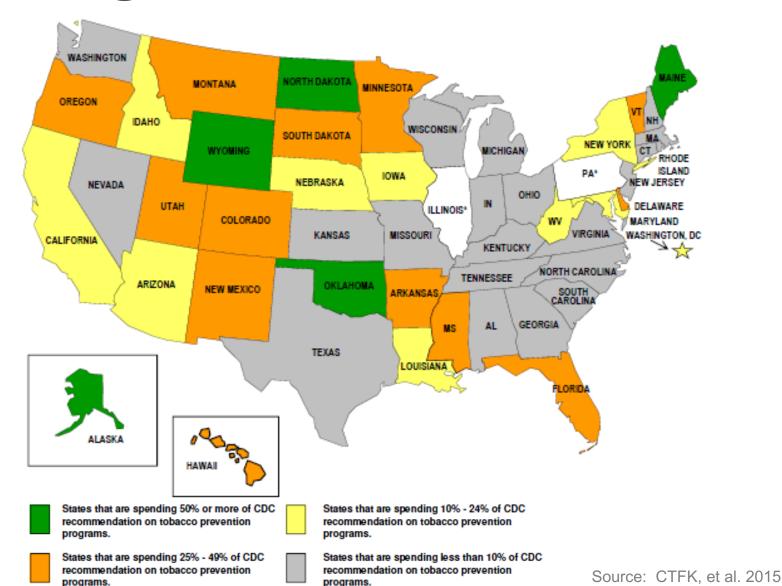
Use of Tax Revenues

Tobacco Industry is Outspending Prevention Efforts 20.5:1 —FY2016



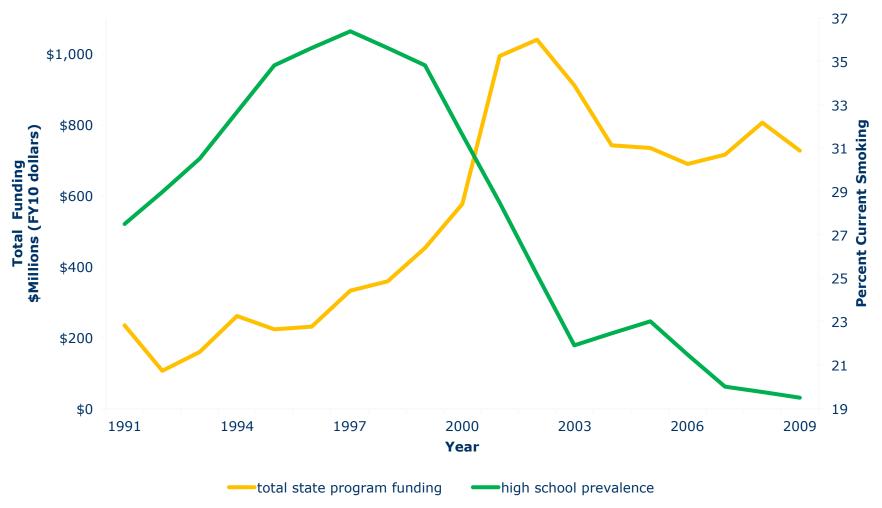


Tobacco Program Funding, FY16, as Percentage of CDC Recommendation





State Tobacco Control Program Funding and Youth Smoking Prevalence, United States, 1991-2009



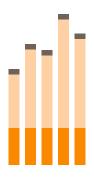


Source: ImpacTeen Project, UIC; YRBS

Optimizing the Impact of Tobacco Taxes

- Earmark tobacco tax revenues for comprehensive tobacco control programs
 - Adds to reductions in tobacco use
 - Enhances public support for tax increases
- Earmark tobacco tax revenues for other health promotion efforts
 - Can address concerns about impact of tax increases on low-income tobacco users





Optimizing Tobacco Taxation Differential Taxation

Differential Taxation

- WHO Technical Manual on Tobacco Tax Administration:
 - "Adopt comparable taxes and tax increases on all tobacco products"
- WHO FCTC Article 6 Guidelines:
 - "All tobacco products should be taxed in a comparable way as appropriate, in particular where the risk of substitution exists."



Differential Taxation

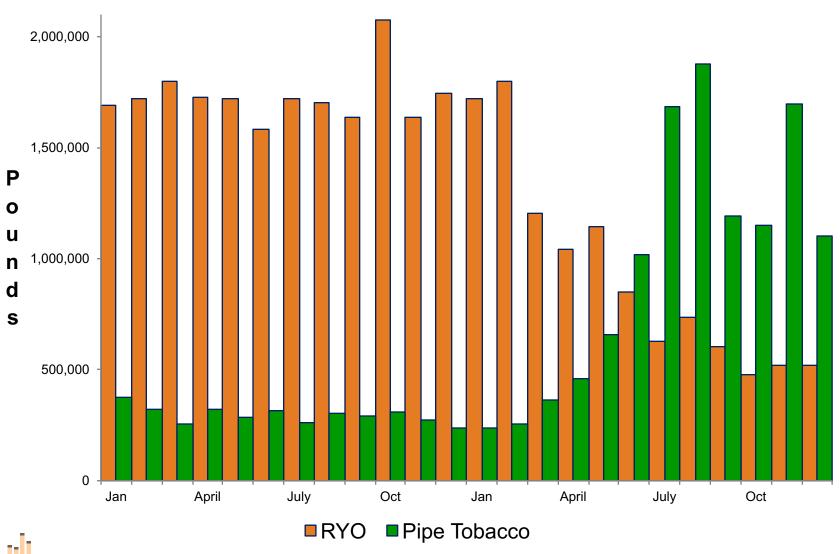
- Federal tobacco taxes
 - Roll-your-own vs. pipe tobacco
 - Federal taxes before 4/1/2009
 - Both taxed at \$1.0969/lb
 - After 4/1/2009
 - roll-your-own tobacco \$24.78 per pound
 - pipe tobacco: \$2.83 per pound







Taxable RYO and Pipe Tobacco US, 2008-2009





Source: US Treasury Department, Alcohol and Tobacco Tax and Trade Bureau

Non-Combustible Tobacco **Products**











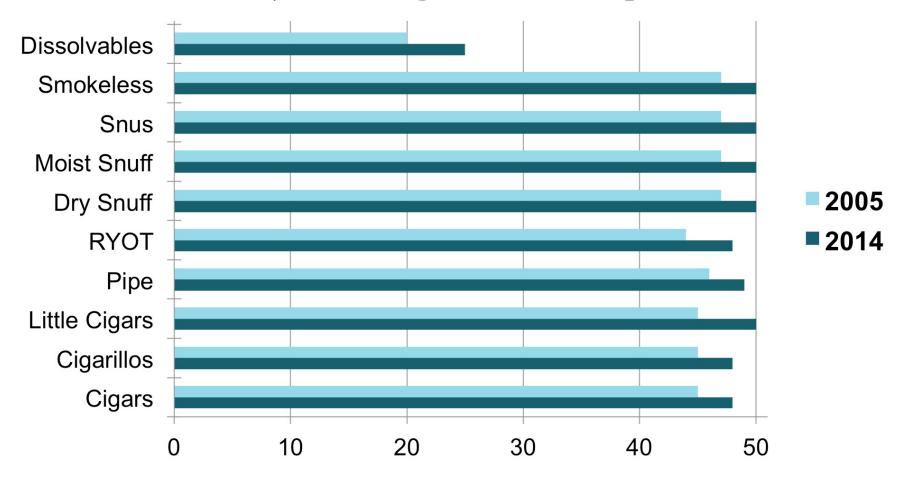








States Taxing Other Tobacco Products, 2005 & 2014





Source: Tobacconomics 2015

ENDS







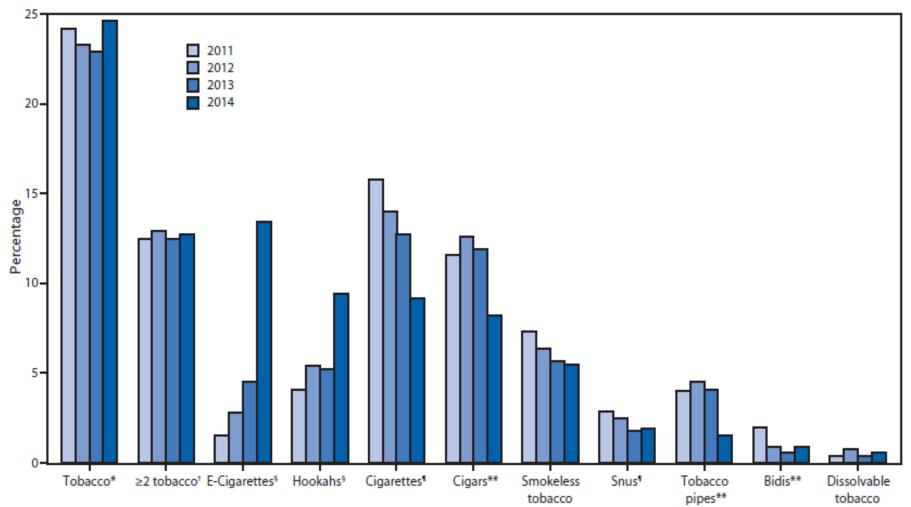








Youth E-Cigarette and Tobacco Use High School Students, 2011-2014



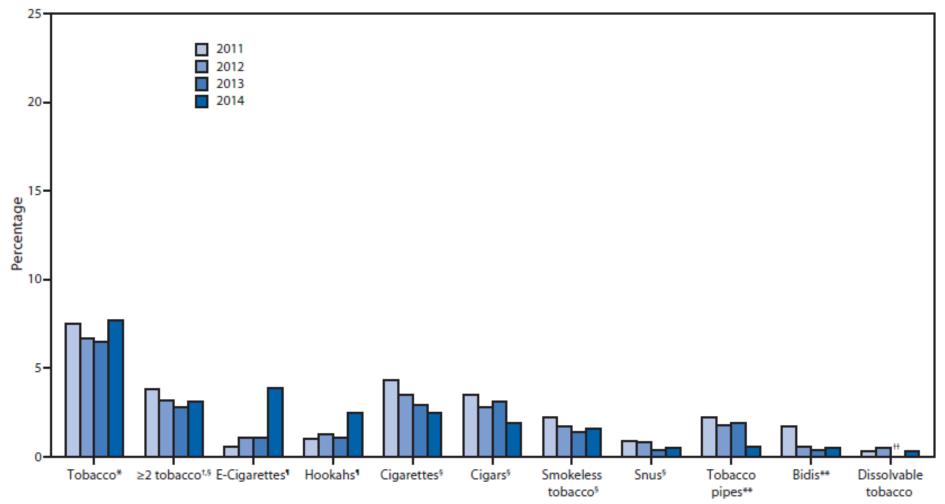
^{*} Defined as preceding 30-day use of cigarettes, cigars, smokeless tobacco, e-cigarettes, hookahs, tobacco pipes, snus, dissolvable tobacco, and/or bidis.

@tobacconomics

Source: CDC., 2015

Defined as preceding 30-day use of two or more of cigarettes, cigars, smokeless tobacco, e-cigarettes, hookahs, tobacco pipes, snus, dissolvable tobacco, and/or bidis.

Youth E-Cigarette and Tobacco Use Middle School Students, 2011-2014



^{*} Defined as preceding 30-day use of cigarettes, cigars, smokeless tobacco, e-cigarettes, hookahs, tobacco pipes, snus, dissolvable tobacco, and/or bidis.

www.tobacconomics.org

Source: CDC., 2015

[†] Defined as preceding 30-day use of two or more of cigarettes, cigars, smokeless tobacco, e-cigarettes, hookahs, tobacco pipes, snus, dissolvable tobacco, and/or bidis.

Public Health Impact?

Concerns:

- Gateway to combustible tobacco products for youth?
- Dual use, not cessation, among adult smokers?
- Impact of 'second-hand vaping'?
- Nicotine poisoning
- Use for vaping other substances (particularly THC)
- Lack of evidence on long term health consequences of use
- Impact of nicotine on the developing brain
- Renormalization of smoking









Source: California Department of Public Health, 2015



Protecting and improving the nation's health

E-cigarettes: an evidence updateA report commissioned by Public Health England

Authors:

McNeill A, Brose LS, Calder R, Hitchman SC Institute of Psychiatry, Psychology & Neuroscience, National Addiction Centre, King's College London UK Centre for Tobacco & Alcohol Studies

Hajek P, McRobbie H (Chapters 9 and 10)

Wolfson Institute of Preventive Medicine, Barts and The London School of Medicine and Dentistry Queen Mary, University of London UK Centre for Tobacco & Alcohol Studies

"An expert review of the latest evidence concludes that ecigarettes are around 95% safer than smoked tobacco and they can help smokers to quit."



ENDS Taxation in the US

- Minnesota, North Carolina, Louisiana and DC currently tax ENDS
 - 95% of wholesale price in MN; 67% in DC; 40% in PA
 - 5 cents per ml in NC, LA; 7.5 cents/ml in WV;
 20 cents/ml in KS
- Local ENDS taxes:
 - Petersburg AK (45% of wholesale price)
 - Mat Su Borough, AK (55% of wholesale price)
 - Chicago (80 cents per unit, plus 55 cents per ML)
- Many others have proposed or are considering



ENDS Taxation

- Low ENDS tax relative to cigarette, OTP taxes
 - Little impact in reducing use, uptake
 - Encourages dual use
 - Maximize incentives to switch from combustibles to ENDS
 - Minimal new revenue
- ENDS tax equivalent to cigarette tax
 - Significant impact on use, uptake
 - Little incentive to switch from combustibles to ENDS
 - Modest new revenue



Optimizing ENDS Taxation

- Significant tax on ENDS coupled with increased taxes on cigarettes and other combustible tobacco products
 - Maintain or increase relative price of combustibles
 - Maximize switching while discouraging initiation and dual use
 - Generates significant new revenues







Electronic Cigarettes: A Policy Statement From the American Heart Association
Aruni Bhatnagar, Laurie P. Whitsel, Kurt M. Ribisl, Chris Bullen, Frank Chaloupka, Mariann R. Piano, Rose Marie Robertson, Timothy McAuley, David Goff and Neal Benowitz on behalf of the American Heart Association Advocacy Coordinating Committee, Council on Cardiovascular and Stroke Nursing, Council on Clinical Cardiology, and Council on Quality of Care and Outcomes Research

Circulation. published online August 24, 2014; Circulation is published by the American Heart Association, 7272 Greenville Avenue, Dallas, TX 75231 Copyright © 2014 American Heart Association, Inc. All rights reserved. Print ISSN: 0009-7322. Online ISSN: 1524-4539

For more information:

Tobacconomics

http://www.tobacconomics.org

@tobacconomics

fjc@uic.edu

