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Themes and Targets of Tobacco Advertising and Promotion

As with any consumer product, tobacco industry marketing efforts show clear evidence of targeting specific population subgroups and using themes and strategies designed to build brand loyalty and market share. This chapter provides an overview of specific themes and population targets employed in tobacco advertising and promotion based on studies of marketing materials and tobacco industry documents.

- *Key tobacco marketing themes include taste and satisfaction, implied harm reduction, affinity with desirable social characteristics, brand loyalty, and smokers' rights.*
- *Specific targeting criteria for tobacco advertising and promotion can include age, gender, race or ethnicity, and sexual orientation. Such groups can be targeted directly—for instance, by focusing on rugged individualism for men or weight control for women—or indirectly through adult themes such as independence or peer acceptance that also appeal to young smokers.*
- *Tobacco brands are frequently designed to appeal to specific market segments or population subgroups, such as blue-collar women, African Americans, and young adult smokers.*

In addition to advertising, promotional channels for tobacco products can include affinity magazines, direct mail, coupons for gift catalogs, and promotional booths at targeted venues as well as other niche-market efforts. Marketing objectives for these channels range from creating new markets to attracting young smokers who are making their long-term brand choice. Understanding targeted marketing is also an important consideration in designing tobacco control efforts.

Introduction

As explained in chapter 3, the practice of targeting marketing efforts to specific population subgroups is a general principle of marketing strategy and is therefore common to most consumer marketing efforts. In addition, consumer marketing seeks to develop and associate images or themes appealing to the target audience with a consumer product, so that when consumers purchase the product, they subscribe to the image associated with it. In these respects, tobacco is no different from any other consumer product. However, to the extent that such targeted marketing efforts have resulted in greater smoking uptake and less smoking cessation in the targeted subgroups, such marketing practices have contributed to the enormous tobacco-related harms and costs faced by modern American society.

While chapter 7 presents details on the effects of tobacco marketing on tobacco use, this chapter aims to provide a descriptive overview of population subgroups that have been targeted by specific tobacco industry marketing strategies, and to give examples of how these strategies have been pursued, so that readers can appreciate the nature and scope of this activity. It also examines the campaign themes and strategies used to reach these specific subgroups to provide background and context to these targeted marketing efforts. The chapter is not exhaustive but provides examples of images and appeals that have been made to specific population subgroups. In general, the chapter focuses on the United States, using data drawn from published studies of tobacco advertising materials and industry documents, but examples from other countries are used when informative or illustrative.

In 1969, the U.S. Congress was considering legislation that would, among other things,

ban cigarette advertising on television and radio. The tobacco industry offered to voluntarily discontinue advertising cigarettes on the broadcast media if Congress would give the cigarette companies an exemption from antitrust laws to allow them to take this action in concert. (Ultimately, Congress refused to grant such an exemption and instead passed a statutory ban.) In testimony before Congress about the industry's offer, Joseph F. Cullman III, chairman of the board of directors and chief executive officer of Philip Morris and chairman of the executive committee of the Tobacco Institute, explained how cigarette companies would market their products after leaving the broadcast media:

It is the intention of the cigarette manufacturers to continue to avoid advertising directed to young persons; to abstain from advertising in school and college publications; not to distribute sample cigarettes or engage in promotional efforts on school and college campuses; not to use testimonials from athletes or other celebrities who might have special appeal to young people; to avoid advertising which represents that cigarette smoking is essential to social prominence, success, or sexual attraction; and to refrain from depicting smokers engaged in sports or other activities requiring stamina or conditioning beyond those required in normal recreation.¹(Bates no. 2023375863)

The themes and targets that Cullman said would be avoided in cigarette advertising were among those used extensively by cigarette companies in the years to come.

Tobacco corporations have long identified segments of the population with strong potential as customers. Their research has produced tailored brand lines and sophisticated messages delivered through the communication channels with the greatest likelihood of reaching these groups. The objectives of these targeted marketing

activities are likely to include encouraging smoking initiation, establishing and maintaining brand loyalty, increasing tobacco consumption, and averting cessation efforts² (see chapter 7 for an overview of effects of tobacco marketing on smoking behavior). Less direct but still potent public relations efforts are aimed at the leadership of varied groups to discourage opposition to tobacco marketing activities and to salvage tobacco corporate reputations; such public relations efforts are discussed further in chapter 6.

Segmentation, Tailoring, and Targeting

From the early days of organized tobacco marketing, there have been products and messages aimed at particular demographic and psychographic groups, beginning with adult males in the 1920s, then moving to youth and young adults, women, and specific ethnic populations. This breakdown is done, according to Pollay and colleagues,³ to maximize sales and profits, using unique combinations of advertising, packaging, distribution channels, prices, and other strategies to catch the interest of specific market segments. As discussed in detail in chapter 3, these segments may be defined by demographic variables such as gender, ethnicity, or age. They may also be segmented according to a group's needs, values, and aspirations, described below as psychographic niches, and once characterized by the industry as "tobacco-graphics" population groups.⁴

Several studies (described below) review the evolution of major tobacco corporations' plans of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s for market segments that are defined by the population, traits, values, and needs of potential smokers. Targeting becomes increasingly important as consumer presence is fragmented across a growing multiplicity of communication channels

(cable television, Internet, etc.), which makes it difficult to market effectively to the entire population.

Philip Morris, the largest tobacco corporation in the United States, has developed marketing plans and product lines based on consumer attitudes, aspirations, and lifestyles. According to Ling and Glantz's⁵ review of industry documents, the young adult categories include groups such as Enlightened Go-Getters, 90s Traditionalists, Mavericks, 50s Throwbacks, Uptown Girls, and Macho Hedonists. Marlboro, for example, would appeal to the 50s Throwbacks, while Marlboro Lights are for Uptown Girls. This same analysis describes R.J. Reynolds's plan for the early 1990s in which the company identified young adult smoker segments with personal concerns about smoking, social guilt about their image and their sidestream smoke, "smart" or "quality" or price-sensitive shoppers, and young smokers with an irreverent approach to life or concerns about originality and status. Both corporations tackle young adult price concerns by using marketing strategies such as free samples and coupons in locations where young adults take on new behaviors—for example, bars, colleges, workplaces, and the military.

In a similar vein, Cook and colleagues⁶ reviewed industry documents to identify market segments based on psychological needs such as obesity reduction, stress relief, and personal image. They found that new tobacco products were designed and old tobacco brands extended to meet the specific needs of identified segments. Product design features may vary by taste, size, tar and nicotine levels, sidestream smoke, filtration, price, and packaging with specific psychographic market segments in mind for each set of features.^{5,6}

Campaigns are tailored for these niches by using special models, messages, settings, values, and product features. Camel's virile

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male model of the late 1970s, the “Turk,” is a case in point of a campaign designed to grab the attention and appeal to the desires of male aspirants to the Turk’s lifestyle. His look was dark and handsome, and he appeared to live an adventurous outdoor life surrounded by sexy women.⁷ The stylish imagery of Winston’s metal-flask-shaped S-2 cigarette package was aimed at young trend-setting males. Basic’s pricing strategies and folksy direct mail newsletters are geared toward a different niche: price-conscious, established, older smokers. The new Camel Exotic Blends are expansions of the Camel line designed for trend-setting young adults and flavored to appeal to newer smokers.

Campaigns target or reach specific groups via channels used by concentrations of these populations at times when they may be persuaded to initiate smoking or may be making other kinds of changes in their lives. One can identify important target populations and the brands aimed at them by examining the types of magazines and tobacco-sponsored events used by certain brands to reach narrow populations of interest. Magazines have long been used by tobacco companies to reach specific demographic and lifestyle audiences.⁸ Events also appeal to relatively narrow fan bases. The U.S. Smokeless Tobacco Corporation (USST) has placed Skoal free-sample booths at motorcycle races and Copenhagen booths at Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association (PRCA) rodeos, reaching a high proportion of young males.^{9,10} Often, channels are combined for a comprehensive campaign “narrowcast” through multiple channels reaching the same group. This method is exemplified by the Kool Mixx DJ (disc jockey) campaign using “poets of urban hip hop,” models, settings, and language of urban nightlife to reach young African Americans. The channels include a series of urban tobacco-sponsored bar nights with samples of newly designed



Copenhagen booth at PRCA Rodeo, Rancho Mission Viejo, California, 2002



*Kool Mixx CD cover, included with the Kool advertisement in *Vibe* magazine and in bar promotions in 2004*

Kool Fusion specialty-flavored menthol cigarettes, advertisements with a Kool Mixx CD (compact disc) attached to the advertisement in *Rolling Stone* and *Vibe*, direct mail promotions, and a DJ Web site, all designed to reach young urban African Americans.¹¹

Personalized direct marketing opportunities, such as the hundreds of bar promotions announced for Marlboro in California in early 2004 (California Department of Justice, e-mail correspondence to Tess Boley Cruz, June 2004), or coupons collected from smokers,¹² have been used to reach specific recipients for a more personal marketing relationship via direct mail promotions. Once individual smokers have been entered into a tobacco company’s direct mail list, by virtue

of their willingness to exchange their name and address for free tobacco samples or prizes, they may receive discount coupons, glossy promotional brochures, and lifestyle magazines for a particular demographic and psychographic group. A free promotional magazine mailed to smokers in 2003 features an array of Virginia Slims advertisements and related lifestyle stories. Each issue of this magazine, *All Woman*, carries articles tailored for each decade of life between ages 20 and 60, as well as fashion images for women from slight to full body sizes. Several of these promotional magazines exist, each geared to a different lifestyle and appealing to different types of smokers. Another magazine, *Unlimited*, by Marlboro, features outdoor sports such as snowboarding, auto racing, and bull riding. *Basic Times* for Basic cigarettes features occupations that might appeal to middle-aged smokers, such as appraising antiques. *Heartland* for USST features turkey shooting, deer hunting, and rodeo. *CML* for Camel provides features on urban evening entertainment. *Flair* and *Real Edge* for Brown & Williamson and *P.S.* for Newport focus on a fun and social lifestyle for young adults. The models and stories are designed for specific types of smokers on the corporations' direct mail lists. People usually end up on these direct mail lists after providing personal information in a tobacco-related coupon exchange, bar promotion, or brief survey form attached to a direct mail or Internet promotion.¹³

Populations may be targeted by public relations and philanthropic efforts aimed at the leadership of priority populations. The rationale for this approach is described in chapter 6. Donations such as R.J. Reynolds's support of Hispanic Chambers of Commerce¹⁴ and Philip Morris's support of African American scholarships¹⁵ might undermine potential opposition to the tobacco companies and their marketing activities, help legitimize their products among members of the recipient groups, and build allies in antiregulation campaign efforts.



All Woman magazine sent by Phillip Morris to women smokers on the corporation's direct mail list, Fall 2003

Dominant Themes

From the 1960s until the late 1980s, the Federal Trade Commission reviewed tobacco advertising and promotional themes in its annual reports to Congress pursuant to the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act¹⁶⁻²¹ and identified examples of three approaches used at the time of the reports. Most tobacco advertising has been dominated by these three common themes that are easily recognized in today's marketing messages: satisfaction, assuaging anxieties, and association with desirable outcomes.

Satisfaction

Many aspects of tobacco use are portrayed by advertisers as satisfying, but taste has been one of the mainstays, with claims of freshness, mildness, and strength. Salem, for example, classically offered a taste "as fresh as Springtime,"^{17(p.7)} and Winston has suggested, "Taste isn't everything. It's the only thing."^{19(p.4)} In 2003 and 2004, Camel's "Pleasure to Burn" campaign carried out this theme with nightclub performers and bartenders proffering flavor choices from Camel's older classics, newer



Camel "Pleasure to Burn" advertisement

Exotic Flavors, and Turkish Gold brand families: "Rich and Classic," "Exotic and Indulgent," and "Mellow Turkish."²²

Reducing Anxiety

The second major theme seeks to allay anxieties about health hazards by discussing filters, low tar, and low nicotine^{16–19,23} (see chapters 3 and 4). These themes are exemplified by True's advertising line in 1976: "Considering all I'd heard, I decided to either quit or smoke True. I smoke True."^{24(p.i25)} The image focuses on a healthy female tennis player thoughtfully touching her head. It conveys the impression that the low tar and nicotine yields of this product make it as safe as quitting. Expenditures devoted to the advertising and promotion of low-tar cigarettes have usually exceeded their market share, suggesting that manufacturers have attempted to move smokers to low-yield cigarettes to discourage health-conscious smokers from quitting (see chapter 4). This same message of reducing smoker anxiety continues to this day with new product lines such as Eclipse and Advance, designed to appeal to smokers concerned about health risks.

In a content analysis of cigarette advertisements in selected issues of

Time magazine, for selected years from 1929 to 1984, Warner²⁵ found that large percentages of ads emphasized health themes (e.g., special filters or low tar yield) instead of conventional cigarette ad imagery in all of the years of major smoking-and-health "events" (with the possible exception of 1964, the year when the first Surgeon General's report on smoking and health was published).²⁵

Altman and colleagues²⁶ analyzed cigarette advertisements appearing from 1960 to 1985 in eight popular magazines: *Rolling Stone*, *Cycle World*, *Mademoiselle*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Time*, *Popular Science*, *TV Guide*, and *Ebony*. They found that cigarette ads increasingly emphasized "healthy" cigarettes (i.e., containing an explicit low-tar or low-nicotine appeal), up to the peak year of 1979, when 82% of all cigarette ads contained this theme. The Institute of Medicine,²⁷ in a report on tobacco harm reduction, published a table (table 3-1 in that report) of health-related text messages used in advertisements for cigarettes and "potential reduced-exposure products" (PREPs) from 1927 to 2000.

Additional information on this theme appears in the section, "Concerned Smokers."

Desirable Associations

The third dominant set of themes associates smoking with persons, ideas, places, outdoor and athletic activities, personality characteristics, success (social, sexual, etc.), slimness, and other conditions considered desirable by target groups. Possibly the most well-known campaign of this type would be Marlboro's long-running association of smoking with the macho, independent, mature Marlboro cowboy and the rugged country in which he lives. Virginia Slims cigarettes are associated with women's liberation, slenderness, and success, in advertisements that claim "You've come a long way, Baby."^{17(p.8)} In both cases, the theme of individualism runs strong. King and colleagues²⁸ studied eight different types



"Come to Marlboro Country," a direct mail promotional flyer sent to a California adult smoker in 2002



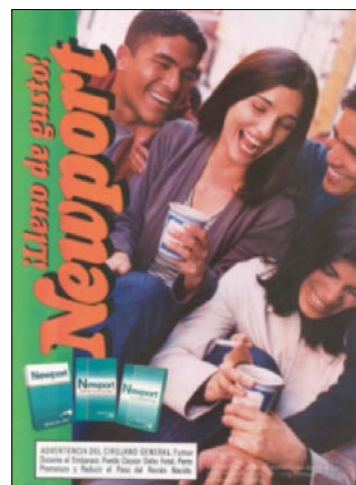
"Come to where the flavor is. Come to Marlboro Country." A direct mail promotion with a coupon insert for "Buy 1 Pack Get 1 Free" sent to an adult smoker in California, October 2002

of magazines from the 1950s to the 1980s and found that the themes of individualism/solitariness and recreation were the themes most frequently portrayed in almost all magazine types studied. Another common association has been "coolness," promoted as a quality of smoking menthol cigarettes and in the bar-themed campaigns aimed at young adults. Sutton and Robinson²⁹ have identified three messages in 2004 that the industry uses for its "coolness" category: ethnic awareness, fresh/refreshing/cool/clean/crisp, and youthfulness/silliness/fun. Kool cigarettes have capitalized on the pairing of ethnic awareness with youthful fun, exemplified by the Kool Fusions campaign featuring hip hop artists and their related lifestyle. Newport demonstrates the last category in its images of young African American and Latino couples at play.

Smoking has been associated with sporting and a healthy outdoor life in numerous advertisements as well as in promotions linked with specific events. Early advertisements for True, Vantage, Virginia Slims, and others typically displayed sports scenes or accessories. Magazine advertisements in 2003 and 2004 have paired Winston with surfing, Skoal with soccer, and Basic with canoeing. Sports sponsorship

was broadened in 1982 and 1983 with R.J. Reynolds's support of soccer, rodeo, and skiing and Philip Morris's support of tennis.³⁰ In the late 1990s and early 2000s, tobacco brand and corporate sponsorship helped motor sports and rodeos become prime-time entertainment across the United States, and such sponsorship helped various tobacco brands become distinctly associated with the lifestyles of those sports.¹⁰

In their study of cigarette advertising in magazines from 1960 to 1985, Altman and



Newport Menthol cigarette advertisement "Full of Pleasure!" in TV Y Novelas, 2002

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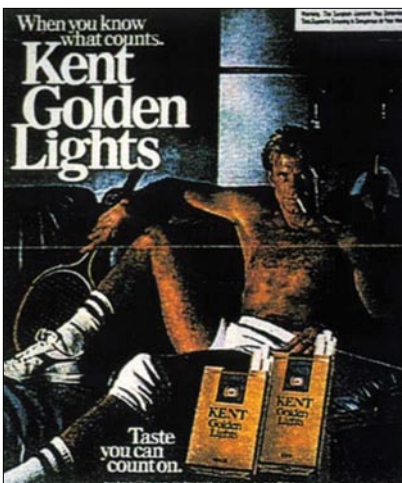
colleagues²⁶ assessed the frequency of use of the “*vitality of smoking*”²⁶(Bates no. TIMN459458) theme, with the subcategories of adventure/risk appeal (e.g., rock climber, sailor, race car driver), recreation (e.g., tennis, surfing), and erotic/romantic appeal (e.g., scantily dressed models, romantic settings). They found that ads during this period increasingly associated smoking with vitality, and significant increases were noted for each of the three subcategories of vitality. In peak years, the proportions of ads using themes of adventure/risk and erotic/romantic appeal were 30% to 40% (1983–85) and 38% (1985), respectively.

As noted above, tobacco industry spokesperson Joseph Cullman III promised to Congress in 1969 that cigarette advertising would “refrain from depicting smokers engaged in sports or other activities requiring stamina or conditioning beyond those required in normal recreation.”¹(Bates no. 2023375863) Nevertheless, cigarette advertisements have shown smoking by persons who appear to have just completed vigorous physical activity. Examples include a tennis player smoking Kent cigarettes, and a ballet dancer smoking Vantage cigarettes.³¹

Cullman also testified that the cigarette manufacturers would “avoid advertising

which represents that cigarette smoking is essential to social prominence, success, or sexual attraction.”¹(Bates no. 2023375863) However, these themes have appeared prominently in cigarette advertisements. A Barclay ad showed a man in a tuxedo lighting his cigarette, next to a woman drinking from a champagne glass—apparently in the back of a limousine. An ad for Ritz cigarettes, which bear the name and logo of fashion designer Yves Saint Laurent, also showed a man and woman in formal evening attire. A Vantage ad showed an architect above the slogan, “The Taste of Success.”

Advertisements for More and Barclay showed women in provocative poses, alongside slogans with double entendre: “I’m More satisfied” and “The pleasure is back.” A Benson & Hedges ad showed a man and woman sharing pajamas, with copy that explained, “He likes the bottoms.... She likes the tops.... But there’s one thing they agree on. Benson & Hedges.” In an essay about “below the belt” cigarette advertising, Pollay³² provided many examples of cigarette ads containing sexual imagery, symbolism, and innuendo. Sansores and colleagues³³ found that 77% of a sample of 1,186 adolescents in Mexico City reported perceiving sexual content in the traditional Camel advertisement showing a camel



Kent tennis player



Ritz couple in formal attire



I'm More satisfied

next to a pyramid. This ad was judged by members of the Department of Research in Tobacco Smoking and COPD at the National Institute of Respiratory Diseases in Mexico City as having “unquestionable sexual content,”³³(p.2018) and male adolescent participants perceived a naked man embedded in the picture of the camel.

Packaging design has also been intended to create specific associations and may be designed with an eye to circumventing various advertising restrictions.³⁴ Colors are used to further the illusion of taste and reduced risk, with green packages (menthol) suggesting coolness, red packages suggesting full taste, and white packages giving the impression of low tar and safety while preserving satisfaction (see chapter 3).^{24,34} Mainstream brands have experimented with packaging that makes a strong lifestyle statement (see chapter 4). R.J. Reynolds redesigned its Winston packs and billboards to feature the first part of the name “Wins” on the front, and created a flask-shaped, curved pack for its high-tech “S-2” campaign. Kool cigarettes were given away in free samples and test markets in 2004 in a new blue and green Smooth Fusions pack that unfolds like a book and, in bar promotions, features a cardboard wrapper that can be reused on



Barclay's "The Pleasure Is Back"

fresh packs sporting a three-dimensional Hip Hop DJ. Camel's new Exotics blends were distributed in 2003 in flat metal and cardboard packs featuring flavors, colors, and images signifying style and innovation. Industry documents suggest that these types of changes create a brand image that snags the smoker's attention in the stores, repeats a positive impression in the smoker's mind every time a cigarette is removed, and creates a positive public persona that associates the smoker with the brand image whenever the pack is pulled out in public or laid on the countertop of a bar.³⁴

Loyalty and Bonuses

Two additional themes have been less dominant but still long-standing: loyalty and bonuses. The first of these themes extols loyalty to a brand with slogans such as, “I’d walk a mile for a Camel,” and “I’d rather fight than switch.”¹⁶ Direct mail promotions to smokers and password-protected Web sites for smokers provide direct and indirect appeals such as coupons, gifts, and lifestyle magazines for the user who stays on the mailing list.³⁵

The second theme offers bonuses such as extra cigarette length, “buy-one-get-one-free” offers, coupons, and other price

promotions to smokers concerned about price.^{12,16,36} In the 1980s, a number of discount and generic brands of cigarettes emerged for price-sensitive smokers.^{20,37} Five of the six companies selling cigarettes at that time introduced brand extensions containing 25 cigarettes per pack; Marlboro 25's were advertised with the slogan "5 more smokes for the long working day."³⁷ In the late 1980s and 1990s, promotional offers adding nontobacco "specialty items" to a pack of cigarettes became increasingly common³⁸ (see also chapter 4). For example, in 1989, Philip Morris offered a free CD featuring hit songs by Tina Turner, Eddie Money, and Cheap Trick with the purchase of a three-pack of Parliament cigarettes; CBS Records produced 330,000 CDs for the promotion.³⁹ Price discounts have become the dominant category of promotional spending by cigarette companies, accounting for about three-quarters of cigarette advertising and promotional expenditures³⁸ in 2004 and 2005 (see also chapter 4).

Targeting of Population Subgroups

Although major themes are aimed at potential psychographic types (attributes relating to personality, values, attitudes, interests, or lifestyles), they also appeal to specific demographic groups that are the cornerstone of tobacco sales or are ripe for expansion. These market segments, described below, include groups such as men, women, youth, young adults, African Americans, and gay men.

Men

In the first decades of the 20th century, the leading tobacco advertising target in the United States was men, representing 95% of the market.⁴ Although numerous other market segments have arisen, men continue to dominate, smoking more and using

Missing Themes: Health Hazards and Addictiveness

Two themes that tobacco companies have avoided in branded advertising are the health hazards and addictiveness of smoking. As discussed earlier in this chapter, specific brands of tobacco products have adopted marketing themes designed to assuage smokers' health concerns, ranging from the overt health claims of early to mid-twentieth century advertising to the later focus on the implied harm reduction of low-tar and low-nicotine cigarettes.

Some tobacco manufacturers have sponsored unbranded advertising on the dangers of smoking and the undesirability of smoking by youth, including Philip Morris's "Talk. They'll listen" campaign aimed at parents^a and Lorillard's youth smoking prevention campaign, "Tobacco Is Whacko if You're a Teen";^b however, these messages have generally been less effective than those sponsored by public health authorities.^{c,d} These programs are explored in further detail in chapters 11 and 12 of this monograph.

^aFairclough, G. 2002. Study slams Philip Morris ads telling teens not to smoke: How a market researcher who dedicated years to cigarette sales came to create antismoking ads. *Wall Street Journal*, May 29.

^bSussman, S. 2002. Tobacco industry youth tobacco prevention programming: A review. *Prevention Science* 3 (1): 57–67.

^cFarrelly, M. C., C. G. Heaton, K. C. Davis, P. Messeri, J. C. Hersey, and M. L. Haviland. 2002. Getting to the truth: Evaluating national tobacco countermarketing campaigns. *American Journal of Public Health* 92 (6): 901–7.

^dWakefield, M., Y. Terry-McElrath, S. Emery, H. Saffer, F. Chaloupka, G. Szczypka, B. Flay, P. O. O'Malley, L. Johnston. 2006. Effect of televised, tobacco company-funded smoking prevention advertising on youth smoking-related beliefs, intentions and behavior. *American Journal of Public Health* 96 (12): 2154–60.

more smokeless tobacco than do women in all demographic groups. In 2006, adult smoking prevalence (ages 18 and older) was 23.9% for men and 18.0% for women.⁴⁰

Much of the cigarette and smokeless tobacco advertising during the past several decades features men depicted as strong, powerful, macho, rugged, and independent. Chapter 3 describes in detail the integrated marketing communications used by Philip Morris to associate these masculine characteristics with the quintessential male brand—Marlboro. Winston cigarettes, according to a marketing plan for 1984, were aimed at males aged 18–34 years, and the brand was positioned “to focus on the key differentiating wants of Virile Segment smokers ... [including] rugged masculinity.”⁴¹(Bates no. 505415129) David Goerlitz, who was the “Winston Man” in 42 advertisements in the brand’s “Search and Rescue” advertising series, has described his role in the campaign, which “showed myself and other young men hanging out of helicopters and off the edge of cliffs, looking rugged and healthy under blue skies.”^{42,43} In the early 1980s, several advertisements for Camel cigarettes showed men (and associated “gear”) in rustic scenes, with the slogan, “Where a man belongs.”⁴⁴

Two male subgroups that have been targeted by tobacco advertising and promotion are military service members and blue-collar workers. Tobacco industry efforts to reach these groups are described below.

Military Service Members

The U.S. military includes 1.4 million active duty personnel stationed worldwide.⁴⁵ Smoking prevalence among members of the military is considerably higher (33.8% in 2002) than the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) goal of 20%.⁴⁶ Smoking diminishes short-term troop health and readiness^{47,48} and significantly increases

medical and training costs.^{49,50} At the same time, the military is a fertile field for tobacco sales because of its size, the opportunity to attract young men near the typical age of smoking uptake who fit a specific socioeconomic and cultural profile, and potential carryover of profits to civilian markets.⁵¹ An R.J. Reynolds marketing document on the “Military YAS [young adult smokers] Initiative” reported several key findings, including (1) the military attracts “classic downscale smoker types ... blue collar, less educated, high school, poor academic performance, limited job prospects, part of ‘wrong crowd,’ in trouble with authorities”,⁵²(Bates no. 507358566/8567) and (2) “Military YAS carry brand preferences back into civilian market.”⁵²(Bates no. 507358573)

Thus, soldiers were an early target audience, beginning in World War I, when they were supplied with cigarettes in massive numbers.^{4,53} During World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War, free samples were a part of combat rations and were easily obtained at low cost from the commissaries on military bases. President Roosevelt characterized the product as an essential wartime material.⁵⁴ Cigarettes have been advertised in publications targeted to military service members, including *Army Times*, *Navy Times*, and *Air Force Times*.³⁷

The tobacco industry used distinctive promotional methods such as in-store tobacco merchandising, sponsorships, and brand development to target the military, both in the United States and abroad during times of conflict.⁵¹ For example, Joseph and colleagues⁵¹ found tobacco company documents describing unusual point-of-purchase marketing techniques; efforts to target military spouses; military motor sport sponsorship; and carnivals, picnics, and “mini-war games” with company versus company competitions. R.J. Reynolds considered new brand concepts for the young military adult such as “rest and

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relaxation” and Double Eagles, which were described as “a cigarette for the younger adult military smoker who is looking for a product ... and an image which positively supports his decision to serve in the armed forces.”⁵⁵ Philip Morris developed the 1776 brand for the military market, its pack consisting of an embossed flag design with gold, red, white, and blue colors.⁵⁶

Although tobacco companies in the past distributed free cigarettes to the military, the DoD stopped this practice in 1986.⁵³ However, during Operation Desert Storm in October 1990, Philip Morris and Brown & Williamson distributed free tobacco products to U.S. Army soldiers stationed in Saudi Arabia.⁵¹ In 1990, Philip Morris also embarked on a “voice card” advertising program for Marlboro cigarettes, at a cost of \$1 million. It was designed to get national coverage through *USA Today* and *Newsweek* magazine and was communicated via military base newspapers to soldiers stationed in Saudi Arabia. Family members in the United States would be provided a 10-second voice message, recorded with a computer chip, to be inserted into a holiday greeting card from Marlboro.⁵¹ As the advertising explained,

To a service member stationed in the Gulf, what could be more appreciated than hearing a friendly voice from home. If someone you love is overseas and involved in Operation Desert Shield, now you can send them your love in a unique holiday card, free. It's called Voice Card. And it carries your personal ten-second message that plays back when a button is pressed inside the card. Below is a list of military installations where you can record a Voice Card on November 9th, 10th, 11th.... Your Voice Card is a holiday gift from Marlboro.⁵⁷

The issue of tobacco promotion and the military came to national attention in relation to the conflict in

Iraq. In a November 2004 photo essay for the *Los Angeles Times*, photographer Luis Sinco documented the battle of Fallujah.⁵⁸ One picture, of the new “Marlboro Man,” resonated with news editors across the United States, and suddenly the photograph of Marine Lance Corporal James Blake Miller, a 20-year-old “country boy” from tobacco-growing Kentucky, was everywhere. His bloodied nose, smudged camouflage, and dangling cigarette portrait were splashed across the pages of hundreds of newspapers, and he was praised in evening television newscasts and in pro-war opinion pieces as the embodiment of the noble American fighting spirit.⁵⁸ The *New York Post*, published by Rupert Murdoch, who has sat on the board of directors of Philip Morris, placed Blake’s picture on the front page, with the headline, “Marlboro men kick butt in Fallujah.” The image provided the tobacco industry, especially the Marlboro brand, a bonanza of free publicity.

The different price structure of military stores (commissaries and exchanges)—including limits on the markup of wholesale prices and exemptions from state and local taxes (including those imposed on tobacco products)—has permitted the sale



The new “Marlboro Man” as depicted by the *New York Post* in November 2004

of discount cigarettes to the military.^{45,51} Smith and colleagues⁴⁵ undertook an analysis of internal tobacco industry documents, searches of government and military Web sites and newspaper databases, and interviews with key informants to document why cigarettes continue to be sold in the military at discounted prices. Efforts to try to raise the price of tobacco products in the military began in the mid-1980s, but opposition quickly emerged. Some military officials viewed tobacco use as a “right” and low prices as a “benefit.” Others raised issues of authority, and some saw the change as threatening the stores. Smith and colleagues concluded that the tobacco industry successfully exploited complex relationships among the Congress, the DoD, commissaries and exchanges, and private industry, obstructing change for more than a decade.⁴⁵ They found that leadership from the secretary and assistant secretary of defense, presidential support, and procedural maneuvering finally resulted in a modest price increase in 1996 and again in 2001, but even then, high-level military officials were apparently threatened with retaliation from protobacco congressmen.⁴⁵ The U.S. military still makes tobacco available at discount prices to members of the military.

Blue-Collar Workers (the Working Class)

Several themes have been used to capture the male market, including freedom, independence, success with women, adventure, and virility. Industry documents by R.J. Reynolds identify a critical market as the working-class “virile segment,” which is “younger, more male, less well educated and contains fewer blacks,”⁵⁹(Bates no. 505921999) with about one-third having a moderate income under \$25,000 and two-thirds having educational attainment lower than a college degree. Their ideal image is adventurous, geared for fitting in, taking risks, with lots of sex appeal. They would most likely smoke Marlboro, Camel, or Winston.⁶⁰

Blue-collar workers smoke at a much higher rate than do white-collar workers.⁶⁰ Cigarette companies reach blue-collar workers through advertising in magazines such as *Field & Stream*, *Popular Mechanics*, *Car and Driver*, *Outdoor Life*, *Road & Track*, *Hot Rod*, and *Motor Trend*, which in aggregate accounted for about 9% of total tobacco industry spending on magazine advertisements in 1994.⁶¹

Early Spokespersons—and Early Victims

Following World War II, television arose as a major cultural force in the United States, with strong support from cigarette manufacturers. Many shows, such as *Hennessy* and *Topper*, and stars, such as John Wayne, Desi Arnaz, and Ronald Reagan, were shown smoking or promoting specific products,^a creating an early theme that associated cigarettes with glamour and success.

In time, many television personalities and entertainers who promoted cigarettes or were featured in tobacco advertising later died from diseases—such as lung cancer and emphysema—that were caused by smoking. Roswell Park Cancer Institute, as part of its tobacco documents archive, maintains a Web site called the “Hall of Shame,”^b detailing the deaths of celebrities such as Wayne and Arnaz, and tobacco advertising pitchmen such as Nat King Cole and Ed Sullivan, that were caused by smoking.

^aIngram, B. 2004. Video vault: Cigarette advertising on TV. <http://www.tvparty.com/vaultcomcig.html>.

^bRoswell Park Cancer Institute. 2006. Tobacco Industry Hall of Shame: Once shining stars snuffed out by tobacco and smoking-caused illnesses. http://roswell.tobaccodocuments.org/hall_of_shame.htm.

5. Themes and Targets of Tobacco Advertising and Promotion

The working class can be reached through other media as well. An R.J. Reynolds spokesperson was quoted in *Business Week* as follows:

Blue-collar people read the sports pages, and we will make every effort to place Winston in newspapers. We also know that they're impressed with out-of-home advertising because that gives them comfort when they see their brand in the marketplace.⁶²(p.52)

The marketing of a cigarette brand aimed at blue-collar women (Dakota) is described in the following section, "Women."

Some of the most popular male-oriented campaigns have combined the ideals identified by R.J. Reynolds (adventurous, geared for fitting in, taking risks, and lots of sex appeal) into an image of a self-reliant, rugged, and independent male using a seemingly full-flavored tobacco. This approach is found in the Marlboro cowboy, the Camel Turk, the Copenhagen bull-riding champion, the Player weekend sports adventurer, and others. For example, Imperial Tobacco positioned Players cigarettes to convey a man "free

to choose friends, music, clothes, own activities, to be alone if he wishes," but not lonely, and self-reliant with "nobody to interfere."⁶³(Bates no. 689451814) The male smoker is autonomous, accepted, athletic, and admired.⁴

Advertisements tended to show men in a man's world, according to the Federal Trade Commission analysis of advertisements in 1967. This report found that women are generally excluded unless they are attracted to the man or willing to be a member of the gang. "Men who are men are not reticent about being liked by women," the report states, offering examples such as the Pall Mall advertisements including a close-up of a woman who is won over by a man who might offer her this brand of cigarettes.⁶⁴(pp.14-15)

This image of a man's world is carried out in advertising campaigns aimed predominantly at male consumers. USST captured this image on a Web site featured in a Copenhagen advertisement in *Playboy* magazine in 2004. The Web site for adults⁶⁵ leads to a video called *The Spirit and Tradition of Copenhagen*, in which a folksy announcer states, "And just like the men who use it, Copenhagen is committed to being the best. That's the spirit of a man, the spirit of America, the spirit and tradition of Copenhagen." The background imagery rotates among pictures of men engaged in repairing oil rigs, logging, working in construction, welding, racing cars, riding bulls, and hunting deer, with frequent breakaway images of these men sampling tobacco.

Sports sponsorship provides additional opportunities to pair tobacco with imagery that would appeal to men and to sign up attendees for compelling direct mail promotions (see chapter 6 for a further discussion of tobacco sponsorship). In 2001, tobacco sponsorship included Winston's association with the National Association



World Champion All-Around Cowboy Ty Murray states, "The three priorities in my life are my horse, my rope and my Copenhagen. But not necessarily in that order."

of Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR);* Skoal racing teams at National Hot Rod Association (NHRA) events; the Players, Kool, and Marlboro teams at Championship Auto Racing; and Copenhagen booths at PRCA and professional bull-riding events.¹⁰ All of these activities appeal to a large and loyal fan base dominated by white males. In both the cowboy and the racing imagery, the independent male has been a heroic figure.^{66(p.179)}

Women

Tobacco marketing to women was launched in the 1920s with campaign messages that resonate in advertisements for women today. American Tobacco urged women to “Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet,” playing directly to concerns about body weight.^{67,68(p.267)} During this same era, the company represented cigarettes as “symbols of freedom” and organized a display of several women walking and smoking their “torches of freedom” in New York’s Easter parade.^{69(p.386)} Leo Burnett combined the two women’s themes of weight control and liberty in the 1960s with the launch of the decades-long campaign, “You’ve Come a Long Way, Baby,” pairing Virginia Slims cigarettes with stereotypes of thin, capable, and independent women.⁶⁸ Direct mail materials for women continue these themes, exemplified by the magazine *All Woman*, which is produced for Virginia Slims users of all ages. In a content analysis of Virginia Slims advertisements from 1970 to 1996, Boyd and colleagues⁶⁸ found a consistent emphasis on values of beauty, independence, and sexual desirability, and on the message that thinness was a link between tobacco use and success.

The 1970s and 1980s saw the advent of a succession of brands aimed at women, including Kim and Eve—and in the 1990s,

Satin—with packaging that featured sophistication and femininity, such as designs on the cigarette, softer or pastel colors, and long slim packs.³⁴ Eve cigarettes, for example, had a feminine floral design on the paper with the advertising caption, “Farewell to the ugly cigarette. Smoke pretty. Eve.”^{70(Bates no. 03375509)} Marketed during the 1990s, Capri was the first “ultra-slim cigarette” whose advertising attempted to tap the need of busy women to indulge in an escapist fantasy.⁷¹ Satin cigarettes urged women to spoil themselves with satin and offered a satin pouch in which to carry the pack.^{71,72} Ritz, billed as the first “designer cigarette,” bore the logo of the fashion designer Yves Saint Laurent on its package and filter tip.³⁷ However, these women’s brands represent only 5% to 10% of the market, with most female smokers selecting brands, such as Marlboro, that appeal to a wide array of audiences.⁷³

Many of the women’s brands have been marketed with promotional strategies that have been used more and more heavily by cigarette companies (see chapter 4). Beginning in 1971, Virginia Slims was marketed aggressively for many years through sponsorship of professional women’s tennis tournaments, and in later years, through the “V Wear” catalog of clothing and accessories.⁷² Empty packs of Eve Lights were redeemable for a free pair of Silkies panty hose or a discounted Anne Rothschild chemise.³⁷ During the introduction of Newport Slim Lights, which was targeted to women as an extension of the gender-neutral brand Newport, a free package of Aziza eye shadow came with the purchase of two packs of cigarettes.⁷⁴

Women represented a growth market for tobacco companies for decades in the United States and, later, worldwide. In 1990, an editorial in the *Tobacco Reporter* reflected this interest: “Women are becoming more

*Winston withdrew sponsorship in 2003, and the event is now called the Sprint Cup.

independent and, consequently, adopting less traditional lifestyles. One symbol of their newly discovered freedom may well be cigarettes.”⁷⁵

Several other themes, in addition to those listed above, have characterized campaigns aimed at women, including glamour, fashion or style, sophistication, and romance. In the 1930s and for decades afterwards, Chesterfield advertisements linked smoking to glamour, featuring Hollywood stars such as Rita Hayworth, Betty Grable, and Dorothy Lamour, while Camel cigarettes were endorsed in the 1950s by Joan Crawford.⁷² In the 1980s, Salem used imagery filled with springtime softness and romance to appeal to women and to convey the freshness of menthol. Later imagery in cigarette advertisements directed at women emphasized slimness, equality, and independence, along with attractiveness, social success, style, romance, and sassiness. These separate themes are often united by an overarching concern with self-image, acceptance, and independence.⁷²

A series of campaigns aimed at blue-collar women and less-educated women, including R.J. Reynolds’s Dakota and Camel cigarette campaigns, has taken a different direction. Both Philip Morris and R.J. Reynolds consider the blue-collar market, both men and women, to be critical.⁶⁰ Dakota, introduced around 1990, was designed to appeal to young adult, less educated, “virile females” who appreciate traditional “masculine” values such as independence and self-control, who might work in service or factory jobs, and who might otherwise smoke Marlboro cigarettes.^{72,73,76} The campaign was pulled after protests by antitobacco advocacy groups and poor performance in test marketing.⁷² Camel cigarettes have featured a female Joe Camel and branded merchandise products for women, offered in exchange for Camel Cash coupons. Doral has also stepped in with a campaign aimed at gutsy, edgy, but also

fashion-loving women. Winston and Marlboro have been the main brand sponsors of automobile sports in the 1990s, with women representing a large portion, though not majority, of this fan base.⁷²

Many campaigns specifically aimed at women downplay or avoid health issues, reserving those messages for campaigns targeting concerned smokers (who happen to be predominantly female; see discussion in the section, “Concerned Smokers”). For decades after the first fears of lung cancer emerged in the 1950s, there was a quiet emphasis on images showing health, vitality, sexiness, and attractiveness, while text receded in importance.⁷⁷ Women’s magazines that relied heavily on cigarette advertising revenues were found to be less likely to carry articles about the health hazards of tobacco (see chapter 9),^{67,77} and tobacco company direct mail magazines such as *All Woman* and *Flair* (see section above on “Segmentation, Tailoring, and Targeting”) tout a healthy lifestyle despite the association with smoking.⁷⁸

Women were recognized by tobacco companies as the first and primary market for menthol cigarettes in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s, and were targeted with early advertising images that associated menthol with gentle outdoor scenes, romance, and springtime. Since that time, women have been one of the most significant demographic groups (in addition to African Americans) among the 25% of smokers who use menthol cigarettes.²⁹

The American Council on Science and Health (ACSH)⁷⁹ examined the publication of smoking-related content during 2001 and 2002 in 15 magazines, most of which are targeted to women: *Cosmopolitan*, *Elle*, *Family Circle*, *Glamour*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Harper’s Bazaar*, *Health*, *Ladies’ Home Journal*, *Prevention*, *Reader’s Digest*, *Redbook*, *Self*, *Shape*, *Vogue*, and *Woman’s Day*. Material evaluated

included articles primarily about smoking, references to negative effects of smoking, references that portrayed smoking in a positive fashion, and advertisements (either for cigarettes or by antismoking campaigns). The study found that 390 pages of cigarette advertisements appeared in these magazines during the two years, ranging from 0 for six of the magazines to 13 for *Family Circle*. Among nine magazines studied by ACSH in both 1981 and 2001, cigarette advertising decreased from more than 1,300 pages in 1981 to 210 pages in 2001. Among 10 magazines studied by ACSH in 1997–98, 1999–2000, and 2001–02, the numbers of cigarette advertising pages per issue were 2.9, 4.3, and 1.5, respectively, for this period. Despite the decrease in the volume of cigarette advertising in these magazines over time, due in part to the Master Settlement Agreement (MSA) (see chapter 3), ACSH noted that the nine magazines carrying cigarette advertising in 2001–02 published 390 pages of cigarette ads but only four antismoking articles with a minimum of one full page of text.⁷⁹

Rosenberg and Siegel⁸⁰ conducted a comprehensive study of tobacco company sponsorships during the period 1995–99. They identified 2,733 tobacco-sponsored events, programs, and organizations in the United States, involving all 50 states, with total tobacco company funding exceeding \$365 million. Those sponsorships included 33 events, programs, or organizations related to women, for which the tobacco industry's total financial support exceeded \$4.0 million. The individual events, programs, and organizations are listed in a detailed report by Siegel.⁸¹

Youth

It has been documented that male- and female-targeted marketing campaigns initially influenced young smokers of each sex.⁸² The battle among the tobacco corporations for the youth market in

particular has been fierce because of the industry's recognition that most smokers do not change brands once they have settled on a first steady choice.⁴ Despite tobacco industry claims that it does not market to youth, the corporations' own documents reveal decades of research and development of strategic plans designed to capture the youth market. The industry conducted survey and focus group research into the smoking behavior of teenagers, developed highly competitive marketing proposals, designed products that eliminated harsh taste, featured coded words such as "smooth" and "mild," tailored the packaging, and coupled lower prices with value-added promotions; all of these were features intended to appeal to beginning smokers.^{4,5,83} To recruit starters, brand images communicated independence, freedom, and sometimes peer acceptance.⁴ These advertising images portrayed smokers as attractive and autonomous, accepted and admired, athletic, and at home in nature.

Along with tailored messages and packaging, communication channels have also been used to deploy brand messages and images to high numbers of youth in locations that can catch their attention and aid in the association of the brand with fun or a certain lifestyle.⁸³ From 1960 to 1966, the *Flintstones* television cartoon featured the lead characters smoking Winston cigarettes during the closing commercials.⁸⁴ Magazines carried tobacco advertising that reached large numbers of youth. In an analysis of tobacco advertising in magazines, the brands that were most popular among adolescents were more likely than brands popular with adults to run in magazines with high youth readerships.^{85,86} Sports and entertainment magazines with high youth readership, such as *Sports Illustrated* and *Rolling Stone*, have been a mainstay of tobacco advertising, with reductions following the advent of the MSA of 1998, which restricted marketing to youth.⁸⁶ Chapters 4 and 10 provide

greater detail on advertising in magazines, tobacco product placement, and portrayal of smoking in movies.

The MSA banned tobacco billboards, which were another channel (if not the leading one) that reached large numbers of youth. In an analysis of billboard expenditures and related business documents in 1998, Davis⁸⁷ concluded that tobacco companies dominated outdoor advertising in locations where people live and shop, and that the billboards were highly visible, difficult to ignore, and a leading source of tobacco advertising exposure among youth. Point-of-purchase marketing is also an effective way to reach youth who are frequent visitors to convenience stores.⁸⁸

Sports sponsorship in communities and on television has permitted Winston, Marlboro, Copenhagen, and Skoal to reach large numbers of youth and young adults in settings that facilitate sampling and promotions and to associate the brands with the allure of racing and rodeo heroes.^{9,10,89} Tobacco-sponsored adult-only sampling booths at these events are restricted to adults but create appealing and sometimes mysterious exhibits with large exterior wall space for brand advertisements (see the Copenhagen booth), along with the added value of being a “forbidden fruit” restricted to adult smokers. Automobile racing, motorcycle racing, and rodeo themes continue to resonate through all levels and locations of brand advertising and promotions for Winston, Players, Marlboro, Copenhagen, and Skoal. NASCAR, in particular, has gained additional leverage with youth through its non-tobacco-sponsored promotions to youth in toy stores, on cereal and chip packages, in fast food “kiddie” meals, and on Saturday morning television.^{9,10}

R.J. Reynolds’s Camel campaign is a good example of what a carefully targeted and tailored campaign can achieve in the population for which it is designed.

When the cartoon character Smooth Joe Camel was introduced in 1988, Camel cigarettes had been most popular among men over the age of 65 and had just 0.5% of the youth market.⁹⁰ By 1991, its share in the youth market increased sharply to 32.8%, and recognition of the cartoon character was greater among youth than among adults.⁹¹ As a cartoon character, Joe had an obvious appeal to children, but the product also had sugar added to the tobacco, and the word “smooth” in the message played on the interest of potential smokers unused to the harshness of cigarettes.^{83,92}

Perhaps in response to the success of Joe Camel (who was “retired” by R.J. Reynolds in 1997 in the midst of public and legal attacks on the campaign), Brown & Williamson test-marketed a modern youth-oriented version of the cartoon advertising model “Willy the Penguin” for its Kool cigarette brand in 1991. Willy was described as having “the biceps of Hulk Hogan, a Vanilla Ice hairdo, Spike Lee high top sneakers, and a Bart Simpson attitude.”^{93(p.133)}

The smoother, milder taste of menthol cigarettes also appeals as a starter cigarette for youth, used by close to one-half of middle school students who smoked in 1999. The tobacco companies were aware of this tendency, according to a Philip Morris tracking study that reported that Newport had the youngest franchise of any cigarette brand in 1984, with more than one-half of its smokers under age 24. The message in menthol-related advertisements at that time and since has stressed “cool” lifestyles and young people having lots of fun together, both important themes for youth and young adults.^{29,83}

Skoal Bandits, a smokeless tobacco product consisting of moist snuff packaged in teabag-like pouches, is another youth-targeted starter brand. The lower pH of the snuff in this product decreases nicotine absorption

in the mouth and therefore reduces the harshness of the taste for the new user.^{94,95} The pouch avoids the “messiness” of loose tobacco in the mouth, which also facilitates use among young initiates. Industry documents describe a “graduation process” in which youth begin smokeless tobacco use with Skoal Bandits, and then, after developing tolerance to the modest bioavailability of its nicotine content, they graduate to higher nicotine brands. Marketing activities have targeted college students (on campuses and at warm-weather student vacation sites), and advertisements have provided instructions on how to use the products.⁹⁶

The most successful campaign among youth has been the long-standing Marlboro man. While the western imagery, cowboys, and horses would appeal to the youngest child, this campaign features the themes of independence and freedom from authority—both messages that address important issues for adolescents.^{4,83}

These three cigarette brands (Marlboro, Newport, and Camel) and their evolving imagery continue to be popular among children. Marlboro is the leading choice of teens, used by 48.0% of smokers in this age group, followed by Newport (23.2%) and Camel (10.1%), according to the 2005 National Survey on Drug Use and Health.⁹⁷

Rosenberg and Siegel,⁸⁰ in their study of tobacco company sponsorships during the period 1995–99 (described above), identified 11 tobacco-sponsored events, programs, or organizations related to youth, with the tobacco industry’s total financial support exceeding \$8.8 million. The individual events, programs, and organizations are listed in a detailed report authored by Siegel.⁸¹

Chapter 7 reviews other evidence that youth are exposed to, and affected by, tobacco advertising and promotion.

Young Adults

In the late 1970s, the term *young adult* began to replace terms such as *youth* and *young smoker* in the tobacco industry’s internal documents. Cummings and colleagues concluded that this shift was in part an effort by the tobacco industry to dodge claims that tobacco marketing targeted youth, despite stated plans to promote cigarettes near high schools and other youth-oriented locations.⁸³ *Young adult* was more than simply a euphemism for *youth*. There has been keen tobacco industry interest in the 18- to 25-year-old target population because this age range is a time of transition and experimentation and because most new smokers stay with the brand they first use regularly.^{4,98,99}

There is even an acronym found in tobacco industry documents—FUBYAS—that refers to young adult smokers who are choosing their first usual brand.⁶⁰ A successful tobacco brand must attract young smokers who will ideally (from the manufacturer’s perspective) go through a series of stages leading from experimentation, to loyalty to a particular brand, to increased consumption as they age and become mature smokers.^{100,101} Because every day approximately 4,000 adolescents between the ages of 12 and 17 initiate cigarette smoking,¹⁰² the early years are critically important in helping young adult smokers settle on a brand for life, thus helping tobacco companies gain total brand share.

Tobacco marketing has been aimed at “tunnels of influence” through which young adults travel frequently and in which they are experimenting and experiencing changes in their lives, such as colleges, fraternities, bars, and the military.¹⁰⁰ Bars have been identified as locations in which young adults are open to trying new things, influenced by friends and alcohol, receptive to tobacco marketing, and thinking mainly about having a good time.^{98,100} In a survey of 10,904 students

enrolled in 119 nationally representative four-year colleges and universities during the 2000–2001 school year, Rigotti and colleagues¹⁰³ found that 8.5% of respondents had attended a bar, nightclub, or campus social event where free cigarettes were distributed. Tobacco sponsorship of promotions at urban bars appears to have risen in the 1990s.¹⁰⁴

Coupled with restrictions on tobacco marketing in locations accessible to youth, tobacco companies are using bars for a variety of promotions. In the first six months of 2004, more than 10,000 tobacco-sponsored bar nights were announced in California, many representing locations where the marketing staff would stop for a few minutes to see if any potential smokers might be interested in a free sample.¹⁰⁵ In some cases, these promotional methods are used surreptitiously (i.e., without disclosure of the corporate sponsorship). This is referred to as “stealth marketing,” “buzz marketing,” or “undercover marketing,”¹⁰⁶ a subject discussed in more detail in chapter 4.¹⁰⁷

Tobacco promotions have also occurred at sponsored racing and rodeo events, with booths restricted to adults. The event could be corporate sponsored, such as Supercross motorcycle racing and professional rodeos (with USST sponsorship), or brand sponsored, such as NHRA racing (with Skoal sponsorship). In both cases, Skoal and/or Copenhagen booths (see page 144 for an example) can pass out promotional literature, coupons, and even free samples, as long as distribution is restricted to adults. At these types of events, there is a large young adult population.^{9,10}

Industry documents reveal that music, sports, and social activities are important environments for young adults and can help associate smoking with a fun, normal adult life.¹⁰⁰ Because the number of smokers in this age group far exceeds the number under the age of 18, growth in marketing

aimed at this critical target population is likely to occur.

Racial and Ethnic Populations

Racial and ethnic populations in the United States represent a wide array of opportunities for growth in sales of tobacco products as well as support from community leaders for industry legislative initiatives. Prevalence of tobacco use among some of these populations is higher than among the general population, and quit rates are lower.^{108,109} These characteristics make racial and ethnic groups attractive targets of tobacco marketing, as described below.

African Americans

Tobacco advertising and promotion to African Americans have been marked by special products, imagery, themes, and locations designed to reach and appeal to black audiences. Around 1900, the American Tobacco Company advertised Bull Durham smoking tobacco with the caricatured images of blacks that were commonly used in that era. In the final decades of the 20th century, before the MSA banned cigarette billboards, several studies found disproportionately high rates of cigarette advertisements on billboards in predominantly African-American urban areas.^{87,110,111(p.221)} Tobacco companies have run



American Tobacco Company advertisement for Bull Durham tobacco

advertisements in predominantly African-American publications since the 1940s, when Philip Morris first recognized the significance of this market.¹¹² In a comparison of cigarette advertisements in *Life* and *Ebony* magazines from 1950 to 1965, Pollay and colleagues³ found more athlete endorsements, fewer brands, and a later introduction of filtered products in *Ebony* than in *Life*. They also found that the models and spokespersons in *Ebony* were predominantly black.

Special tobacco products, mostly menthols, were developed and promoted originally to women and then increasingly to African Americans.¹¹³ A senior marketing official of R.J. Reynolds stated, in a speech in 1988, that, “Where menthol smokers make up only 29 percent of the general market, almost 70 percent of Black smokers choose a menthol brand. That’s why special advertising and promotions for Salem cigarettes make a lot of sense in Black media and Black communities.”¹¹⁴(Bates no. 507714730)

Brown & Williamson, along with other companies, has been proactive in advertising to African-American men by

using darker-skinned models, language associated with the black experience, and masculine imagery, which resulted in Kool’s becoming the top-selling cigarette in this population in 1969.²⁹ An example from 2004 of this approach is Brown & Williamson’s Kool Mixx DJ campaign via bars, featuring DJ competitions and tobacco samples, special lighters with a green flame that matches the color of a Kool cigarette package, a CD with hip-hop music with the Kool brand on the outside, and a copy of *VIBE* magazine. Similar promotions ran in retail outlets and magazines (see Newport’s “Full of Pleasure!” menthol cigarette advertisement, page 147).¹¹ This campaign sparked a protest among multiple groups in the United States. When observations were conducted by tobacco control advocates in bars in southern California, materials from a Kool bar night were collected, including Kool bar napkins, a lighter with a green flame, packs of Kool cigarettes, coupons, and a Kool Mixx plastic bag. These materials served as evidence that permitted court actions in three states to halt distribution of some of the promotional items (California Department of Justice,

Standing Up to Targeted Marketing—the Uptown Protest

One product designed to be promoted to African Americans, Uptown cigarettes, was developed by R.J. Reynolds in 1990 to be test-marketed in Philadelphia. It was intended to compete with Newport (Lorillard), which had an 80% share of the young adult African-American market. Package design and colors were tested with this market in mind, with tar and nicotine levels that were higher than in most other menthol brands. While Newport advertising portrayed a fun, stylish, mainstream sensibility, Uptown focused more on status, style, and premium quality. Both brands drew on urban nightlife and music themes. African-American community groups organized a coalition to oppose this introduction of Uptown, forcing R.J. Reynolds to withdraw the planned product launch.^{a,b} Although this achievement was significant and brought national attention to tobacco targeting practices, it did not deter R.J. Reynolds from using many of the Uptown marketing strategies to promote its other menthol products, such as themes focused on urban nightlife, and the use of escape or fantasy settings in its advertisements.^a

^aBalbach, E. D., R. J. Gasior, and E. M. Barbeau. 2003. R.J. Reynolds’ targeting of African Americans: 1988–2000. *American Journal of Public Health* 93 (5): 822–27.

^bSutton, C. D., and R. G. Robinson. 2004. The marketing of menthol cigarettes in the United States: Populations, messages, and channels. *Nicotine & Tobacco Research* 6 Suppl. 1: S83–S91.

e-mail correspondence to Tess Boley Cruz, June 2004).

African-American opposition to targeted tobacco advertising has been loud and visible in the Kool Mixx and Uptown protests. However, much opposition to the industry's practices has been countered by corporate giving to pivotal community and arts groups, education scholarships, fashion shows, career fairs, and appointments in the top ranks and board rooms of the major tobacco corporations.^{3,15,112} Black publishers have been the recipients of special events and awards, along with substantial tobacco advertising revenues. Black opinion leaders have been courted and enlisted as allies to defuse antitobacco efforts from within and outside their communities and as a frontline force to advance the industry's positions.¹¹² Philip Morris could claim that it supported the African-American community by purchasing advertising space in black publications, hiring and promoting African-American models, promoting diversity hiring and employee retention, and supporting African-American organizations.¹¹⁵

Rosenberg and Siegel,⁸⁰ in their study of tobacco company sponsorships during the period 1995–99 (described above), identified 78 tobacco-sponsored events, programs, or organizations related to minorities, with the tobacco industry's total financial support exceeding \$2.0 million. Fourteen of the sponsorships appear in the category "Minorities—African American."⁸¹

Hispanics

A similar pattern of concentrated magazine advertising, development of special brands, and support for community leaders can be found in both the African American and Hispanic populations.

As early as 1979, Brown & Williamson had produced a report on the Hispanic market, followed by a series of similar reports by

Philip Morris. An investigation of tobacco industry documents¹¹⁶ describes their recommendations. The reports reflect a clear grasp of the regional differences, cultural festivals, and business leadership groups available for special promotions. For example, the "1994 Marlboro Hispanic Marketing Plan" by Philip Morris identified the largest Cinco de Mayo events in the nation for promotions that would lead to the collection of names for the corporation's direct mail databases, resulting in more than 90,000 names generated.¹¹⁷ The main target was development of Marlboro brand loyalty among young adult males, followed by young adult females, primarily through retail visibility and coupon catalogues. The corporation recognized that automobile racing was a popular sport among Hispanics, so they used this theme in stores and through direct mail, along with the Marlboro music shows at cultural festivals and fairs. The other prominent tobacco advertising themes identified in industry documents were quality (Viceroy and Marlboro), fun and sociable occasions (Newport), and authenticity (Winston). The concept of low cost was equated with low quality, and therefore to be avoided. The reports by Philip Morris and by R.J. Reynolds show a preoccupation with the Spanish-speaking smoker, in some cases with special efforts directed to the border area. Lorillard's Newport was similarly promoted to young Spanish-speaking smokers in an effort to capture the Hispanic menthol market, using advertising that emphasized sociability and fun (see "Full of Pleasure!" advertisement, page 147).

Philip Morris, with its specially targeted brand Rio in the 1960s, its advertising for Marlboro and Virginia Slims, and its public relations campaigns, has been the leading advertiser to Hispanics.^{3,111(p.220)} In 1999, Philip Morris launched a new Virginia Slims campaign that seemed aimed at several ethnic women's populations, including whites, Hispanics, African Americans, and Asian Americans, with the slogan,

“Find Your Voice,” suggesting that each woman uphold her own unique form of expression.¹¹¹ The advertisements ran in women’s magazines and were delivered in direct mail to smokers. Some of these advertisements were in Spanish in Spanish-language magazines. This campaign produced a united response among several ethnic networks and women’s organizations nationwide. However, the protest was not completely successful, and the campaign lasted through 2002.

Both Philip Morris and R.J. Reynolds used various methods, including financial support of groups and events; donations; recognition of Hispanic leaders, publishers, and politicians; and participation of industry staff on community and arts boards. Many business alliances, such as the Hispanic Chambers of Commerce, from the national to local levels, received support from R.J. Reynolds. The Cinco de Mayo festivals, supported first through Marlboro-brand sponsorships and then through Philip Morris support, reached out to leaders as well as to potential consumers. The industry lent its support to these groups to encourage opposition to tobacco regulations, taxes, and legislation, as well as to gain access to grassroots movements that would be willing

to convey the industry’s message and to gain goodwill for its political agenda (Bialous, Cruz, and Baezconde-Garbanati unpublished manuscript).^{9,10,14}

Rosenberg and Siegel,⁸⁰ in their study of tobacco company sponsorships during the period 1995–99 (described above), identified 78 tobacco-sponsored events, programs, or organizations related to minorities. At least 14 of the sponsorships are related to Hispanics⁸¹ and include support for dance companies, theater groups, ethnic festivals, an art exposition, conferences, and leadership development.

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders

There has been relatively little research about tobacco marketing aimed at Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. Billboards and stores in predominantly urban Asian American communities have been found to carry more tobacco advertising compared with other urban neighborhoods and to be less likely to carry health warnings compared with white neighborhoods.¹¹¹

Rosenberg and Siegel,⁸⁰ in their study of tobacco company sponsorships during the period 1995–99 (described above), found at least three sponsorships related to Asian Americans. These sponsorships provided support for the Asian American Expo (in El Monte, California), dinners held by the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus in association with presidential inaugural activities, and publication of a directory of Asian Pacific American organizations.⁸¹

Investigations of tobacco industry documents provide additional information. Beginning in the 1980s, four major tobacco corporations commissioned reports on the marketing possibilities in the Asian American population groups and found promise of growth markets because of high population growth, high smoking rates in countries



“Find Your Voice” campaign for Virginia Slims in Buen Hogar Magazine, 2002

5. Themes and Targets of Tobacco Advertising and Promotion

of origin, increasing consumer power, and high brand loyalty to American products as a way to assimilate. In addition, the majority of convenience store owners in key locations were Asian Americans, making them an important group to cultivate. The heterogeneity of the various population groups and the lack of well-developed Asian American media, however, were barriers to market expansion.¹¹⁸

Philip Morris developed a three-pronged strategy to deal with these issues. First, the “push” strategy would promote trade relations with Asian American business owners through cultural sensitivity training of Philip Morris sales staff, promoting special retail sales materials, and special business-to-business programs involving support of business associations. Second, the “pull” strategy would involve marketing to consumers with special promotions, events such as exhibition of a Marlboro race car and promotions during the Chinese New Year, and tailored advertising materials. One of the themes that emerged as important was upward mobility associated with smoking. The third strategy was corporate goodwill, which was sought by supporting organizations such as political groups, women’s organizations, arts and culture groups, senior centers, and food banks. R.J. Reynolds and Brown & Williamson used similar approaches.¹¹⁸

The types of products promoted are less clear. However, there is a high rate of menthol cigarette use in some Asian countries and among Asian American youth smokers, second only to African Americans.²⁹

In 1990, Japan Tobacco Inc. began advertising Japan’s best-selling Mild 7 cigarette brand on billboards in the Koreatown and Little Tokyo areas of Los Angeles. Mild 7 packages were stacked in displays in restaurants and stores. Retailers reported that demand for the cigarettes was strong. The marketing manager at JATICO, Japan Tobacco’s U.S.



R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company advertisement for Kauai Kolada variant of Camel cigarettes

arm, stated that the brand, although originally imported for Japanese tourists, was also wanted by Asian Americans.¹¹⁹

In 2004, R.J. Reynolds began a national advertising campaign for a new Camel brand named Kauai Kolada. The advertisements, which appeared in several magazines, including *Time*, *Sports Illustrated*, *People*, and *Stuff*, featured a hula girl promoting the pineapple- and coconut-flavored cigarette. Although the campaign used Hawaiian imagery, it was likely aimed at a much broader audience. Kauai residents, tobacco control advocates, the governor of Hawaii, and the mayor of Kauai criticized the campaign for being culturally insensitive and using Hawaiian images and the name of Kauai to market cigarettes to young people.¹²⁰⁻¹²² “I am appalled that this company has chosen to use the Kauai name to market a product that kills,” said Kauai Mayor Bryan Baptiste. “The word ‘Kauai’ is not just the name of our home. It is representative of our culture and our community.”¹²³

American Indians and Alaska Natives

Despite relatively high rates of tobacco use compared with the general

population,^{111,124} there is almost no published literature on tobacco marketing to American Indians or Alaska Natives. A study by Hodge and colleagues¹²⁵ found that among 1,000 internet sites selling tobacco, 52 were identified as American Indian sites, with 77% of these sites owned by American Indians. These types of tobacco sales outlets provide colorful and appealing advertisements, easily accessible products, and very low costs. In turn, the individual and tribal owners reap profits that may blunt opposition to or critical awareness of the negative effects of tobacco use among American Indians.

There are limited examples of cigarette advertisements that have featured either American Indian themes or images. For example, American Spirit cigarettes liberally use traditional imagery in all their product and promotional materials and provide support for the arts in New Mexico. Joe Camel once sported an American Indian eagle feather headdress.¹²⁶

There have also been some efforts by Philip Morris to fund American Indian leaders, causes, and community groups. Rosenberg and Siegel,⁸⁰ in their study of tobacco company sponsorships during the period 1995–99 (described above), identified 78 tobacco-sponsored events, programs, or organizations related to minorities. Six of the sponsorships are related to American Indians.⁸¹ These gifts, each from Philip Morris, went to the American Indian College Fund, Dull Knife Memorial College, First Nations Development Institute (to alleviate hunger in Native American communities), Joslyn Art Museum (to support an exhibit of drawings by Plains Indians), Red Earth Native American Cultural Festival, and teacher development programs at tribal colleges. However, there is no documentation as yet of clear and persistent targeting of American Indians.

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Populations

Advertising aimed at lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) populations initially was largely covert, coded to be sexually ambiguous in ways that would resonate with gay audiences and avoid charges of blatant targeting. For example, a Virginia Slims advertisement in the early 1990s featured a man and a woman walking together while the woman looked over her shoulder at a woman behind her. The caption, “If you always follow the straight and narrow, you’ll never know what’s around the corner,” contains language that could be read two different ways by straight women and lesbians.^{127(p.66)}

An ad for Montclair cigarettes (c. 1991) featured a male model who, according to the *Detroit News*, “looked to many like an aging, effeminate homosexual—captain’s cap on head, pinky ring (no marriage ring), dapper ascot—shrieking in pleasure over his cigarette.”^{128(p.158)}

Industry documents reveal another covert effort called Project SCUM (subculture urban marketing), developed by R.J. Reynolds to market Camel and Red Kamel to “consumer subcultures” in the San Francisco area between 1995 and 1997. The special targets were rebellious Generation X’ers (i.e., youth) in the Castro and Tenderloin districts with a large LGBT population, including portions of these populations with high rates of illicit drug use. The plans were apparently not carried out, but the documents reveal the interest in these populations.¹⁵

Gay and lesbian audiences have been an attractive target because smoking prevalence among those populations is substantially higher than among the straight population.^{15,115,129–132} To reach this audience, tobacco companies have directed advertising and promotions to magazines such as *The Advocate*, *Genre*, and *Out*, with a high percentage of gay readers; bars frequented by LGBT crowds;

and outdoor signs featuring images such as the Marlboro Man in predominantly gay neighborhoods. These marketing efforts have been complemented by corporate donations such as Philip Morris's support for LGBT and HIV-related causes or organizations.¹¹⁵ Loyalty to brands and companies advertising through these channels or supporting these organizations is reported to be high, due to neglect of the LGBT market by traditional advertisers and corporate sponsors.^{15,130} LGBT magazines may be more dependent on tobacco accounts because of the historic neglect by other advertising revenue sources.¹³⁰ This population, in turn, may be especially vulnerable because smoking has been sensualized on Internet sites and in magazines featuring gay and lesbian imagery, counterbalanced by relatively thin antitobacco efforts in LGBT communities.¹³⁰

Concerned Smokers

Tobacco corporations work hard to avoid losing customers and they have developed many products and messages to counter the major "health scares" of the past 50 years.^{24,29} The messages are typically not designed to promote all cigarettes as safe, but rather the idea that some brands are less hazardous than others. As noted above, reducing anxiety among smokers has been a major theme in tobacco advertising. In the 1950s, filters emerged with health claims such as L&M's "Just What the Dr. Ordered" and Life's "The Secret to Life is in the Filter," implying that the risks of smoking were greatly reduced, if not eliminated, by these products.²⁴ Menthol filters entered the mainstream in the late 1950s and early 1960s, with Salem, Newport, and Kool first positioned as remedial- or medicinal-type products, then repositioned as providing a positive and refreshing taste.^{24,29} Following the Surgeon General's 1964 report, Philip Morris aimed menthol advertising at women, anticipating that they would be the most receptive to a "health cigarette."²⁴

By 1973, a significant number of brands, characterized by the industry as a "new low-delivery segment" of the market, were designed either to be or to give the illusion of being low-yield cigarettes (low tar and/or low nicotine) or to reduce risk through filtration. The balance was challenging because the products and their claims were intended to assuage guilt and prevent health-conscious smokers from quitting, but the lower nicotine levels made it also likely that the users would be less addicted and thus more able to quit.²⁴

Philip Morris overcame this hurdle with Merit in 1976. The full-page advertisements appeared to proclaim a technological breakthrough that married taste and low tar. The advertisements were text-heavy to give the impression of science news, with headlines that shouted: "National Smoker Study: Merit Science Works!" Even the product name was designed to communicate virtue.²⁴

Other new products, with virtuous-sounding names such as FACT, Real, and Long Life, were launched along with brand extensions such as Marlboro Lights. Models were shown engaging in outdoor activities such as skiing that were in keeping with valuing health. Industry documents suggest it was the marketing impression of well-being, intelligence, and harmony with nature rather than the factual basis that mattered in an era of increasing news about the dangers of smoking.⁴ "Light" and "ultralight" cigarettes were designed to convey the impression of lower yield when the actual absorption of tobacco smoke constituents from these brands was similar to that experienced with regular brands.

For decades, this marketing strategy worked. In 1996, 6 of 10 smokers in California thought that these labels indicated low tar or nicotine or a related health claim, and even more smokers used such brands.¹³³ These results appear to run counter to

industry documents that have suggested most smokers are unconvinced that low-tar cigarettes are safer, instead lumping all cigarettes together as risky.⁴ According to the national Adult Use of Tobacco Surveys conducted in 1970, 1975, and 1986, 21% to 25% of smokers believed that the kind of cigarettes they smoked were less hazardous than others.²

Products have also been designed and promoted to allay concerns about secondhand smoke and to improve the social acceptability of smoke.⁹² Memos from Philip Morris, Brown & Williamson, and R.J. Reynolds in the 1980s and early 1990s describe efforts to develop additives and technologies that could reduce or mask the odor, visibility, and irritation of secondhand smoke. In 1989, R.J. Reynolds introduced Chelsea cigarettes, which were reintroduced as Horizon in 1990;⁹² both brands were marketed with identical claims as “the first cigarette that smells good,” backed up by “scratch ‘n sniff” boxes in their advertisements. Several tobacco products have been introduced to address concerns about secondhand smoke. Newer products such as Omni and Accord convey the impression that they have broken away from the others to offer reduced risk to the



R.J. Reynolds advertisement for Chelsea cigarettes

smoker. R.J. Reynolds claims that Eclipse, a product that looks and can be inhaled like a cigarette, heats rather than burns tobacco. In 2004, its Web site claimed it “may present less risk,” “reduces secondhand smoke by 80%,” and “leaves no lingering odor” and suggested that the best choice for smokers worried about smoking is to quit and the next-best choice may be Eclipse (see chapter 4).¹³⁴

These products—collectively referred to as potential reduced-exposure products (PREPs)²⁷—appear to be a key effort by the industry to protect against smoking cessation in the face of mounting concern about the risks of smoking and exposure to secondhand smoke. PREPs may also



R.J. Reynolds advertisement for Horizon cigarettes



R.J. Reynolds advertisement for Eclipse cigarettes, www.newcig.com, 2004

be intended to allow tobacco companies to reinvent themselves as corporations responsive to the criticisms leveled against the industry.

Religious Groups

Although little research has been published on tobacco industry targeting of religious groups, Blum and Fitzgerald¹³⁵ describe many ways in which tobacco companies “have found religion.” They point out, for instance, that cigarette advertising has appeared in the Jewish-oriented publications *Hadassah Magazine* and *Jewish World Review*. The editor of *Hadassah Magazine* told the *New York State Journal of Medicine* that their policy of accepting tobacco advertising would continue, despite complaints, “unless the people who say there are surely other sources of revenue, can show them to me.”^{135(p.448)} However, the magazine changed its mind two years later, when it published a full-page announcement on the back cover of its January 1987 issue. Below the boxed Surgeon General’s warning ran this headline in huge, bold letters: “We will never print this warning again.” Text at the bottom explained:

HADASSAH MAGAZINE is clearing the air. Starting with this issue, we will no longer accept advertisements for tobacco products. We are quitting cigarette ads cold turkey, with a discomfort similar to that felt by smokers who have just quit; the main withdrawal symptom will be the loss of 20 percent of our annual ad revenue. Our reason for quitting cigarette ads is also the same as that of the smoker—to promote health. We won’t be printing the Surgeon General’s warning again because there will be nothing in our pages to warn against.

The magazine editor elaborated on the decision in a column inside the publication.¹³⁶

A 1969 “study of ethnic markets” by R.J. Reynolds indicates that the company

spent \$206,000 advertising in “Jewish media” in 1969.¹³⁷ The document also notes:

Since 1961, R.J. Reynolds has recognized the existence and importance of the separate and distinct Jewish market by advertising its products with specially directed copy appeals, promotions, sampling, and other merchandising activities. This has been accomplished through the utilization of the Joseph Jacobs Organization. While compensated as Jewish media sales representatives, they have functioned as a Reynolds advertising agency at no extra cost.^{137(Bates no. 501989455)}

In a “Jewish Market 1981 Annual Marketing Plan,” R.J. Reynolds (RJR)¹³⁸ outlined strategies to target low-tar and ultra-low-tar (ULT) cigarette brands to Jews throughout the United States. The “media objective” was to “establish an effective presence for the priority ULT brands in national Jewish media and in the top 10 Jewish markets (70% of the Jewish population).”^{138(Bates no. 506053152)} The document outlined plans to (1) spend \$582,000 on advertising in national Jewish newspapers and national and local Jewish magazines; (2) use the Joseph Jacobs Organization to distribute free cigarette samples “at selected gatherings of Jewish people”^{138(Bates no. 506053168)} (budgeted at \$30 million); (3) use point-of-sale advertising in Jewish retail outlets; and (4) “implement block parties to generate RJR opportunity brand presence in Jewish neighborhoods”^{138(Bates no. 506053168)} (budgeted at \$20 million).

Blum and Fitzgerald¹³⁵ drew attention to a poorly publicized facet of the relationship between tobacco companies and prominent religious organizations. Several Jewish and Christian organizations—including the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Catholic Charities USA, the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, the United Jewish Appeal/Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, and the American Jewish

Committee—hosted dinners in honor of tobacco company executives. Full-page ads promoting the dinners were published in the *U.S. Tobacco & Candy Journal* (later renamed the *U.S. Distribution Journal*), a trade publication for tobacco distributors. Blum and Fitzgerald¹³⁵ listed several of these events that were held in 1984. Further examples include the following:

- The National Conference of Catholic Charities honored Vincent and Ellen Buccellato, Vice President/Sales, Philip Morris USA, on April 17, 1990, at a \$300-a-plate dinner at the Marriott Hotel in Chicago.¹³⁹
- The Anti-Defamation League gave a “Man of the Year Award” to Yancey W. Ford Jr., Executive V.P.-Sales, R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, on October 28, 1993, at a \$350-a-plate dinner at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in New York City.¹⁴⁰

The religious groups benefit from the funds raised by the dinners themselves—bolstered, presumably, by other financial support from the tobacco companies whose executives were honored. The tobacco companies benefit from the public relations value of the awards, from the opportunity to market their products to a target audience, and from strengthened relationships with important community organizations. As these relationships mature, the religious groups might be expected (or asked by the companies) to side with the industry in opposing tobacco control legislation or to mute their support for it.

Financial support for exhibits, events, or facilities that are important to a religious group is another means by which tobacco companies can align themselves with that group. In 1983, for example, Philip Morris was a \$3 million sponsor of the Vatican Art Tour, which was advertised in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and other publications (see chapter 6).¹³⁵

Extensive media coverage of the tour included photos of Philip Morris executives with church dignitaries, museum officials, patrons of the arts, politicians, and the First Lady. The ads promoting the tour listed the company’s cigarette brands but did not include the Surgeon General’s warning.

The following year, Philip Morris sponsored the national tour of “The Precious Legacy,” which displayed Jewish artwork confiscated from persons killed in the Nazi holocaust. The exhibition, according to Blum and Fitzgerald,¹³⁵ broke attendance records at the San Diego Museum of Art and other venues. In 1992, Philip Morris sponsored an exhibit at the Jewish Museum at the New York Historical Society, entitled “Bridges and Boundaries: African Americans and American Jews”; the exhibit was advertised in *Jewish Week*.¹⁴¹ In 1993, UST Inc. (now USST), the nation’s largest manufacturer of smokeless tobacco products, gave a 5-year, \$280,000 grant to the Yale Divinity School to underwrite the school’s urban ministries program.^{142,143}

In his study of tobacco company sponsorships during the period 1995–99, Siegel⁸¹ found three religious groups that had received tobacco industry funding: Interfaith AIDS Ministry of Greater Danbury¹⁴⁴ (Danbury, CT), Christian Relief Services Charities¹⁴⁵ (Lorton, VA), and Jewish Community Council of Greater Coney Island¹⁴⁶ (New York City).

In the Philippines, which is predominantly Catholic, images of R.J. Reynolds cigarette brands (Camel, Winston, and More) appear on calendars featuring religious icons such as the Virgin Mary, Jesus (as a baby and an adult), and St. Teresa of Avila.^{147,148}

Other Populations

Tobacco companies have continued to pursue a full range of marketing practices in other countries, especially those where restrictions

on marketing practices fall behind those of the United States. Western brand imagery features heavily in branded cigarette advertising in many other countries, especially low-income nations.^{149–151}

Most of the groups discussed in this chapter have been important targets of tobacco industry marketing activities. However, this list is by no means exhaustive, as many other groups may have been targeted in ways that have largely escaped attention or commentary by health advocates and the media. Some groups may have been targeted with marketing approaches that were less prominent or shorter in duration compared with those aimed at the groups mentioned above.

Prisoners, for example, have been targeted by tobacco companies. Years ago, Lorillard offered free athletic equipment to prison inmates in exchange for empty packages of Newport cigarettes and Beechnut chewing tobacco.¹⁵²

Given the competitiveness of the cigarette market, it is likely that manufacturers will continue to pursue niche markets with targeted communications through narrowly defined channels. Observational research and further analyses of tobacco industry documents are needed to identify targeted marketing activities that are less well known than those described above.

Summary

Targeted advertising and promotion of tobacco products represents an important tool for the tobacco industry in the growth and market share of its products. A symbiotic relationship exists among the development and branding of tobacco products, the segmentation of specific target markets, and the themes and marketing techniques used to effectively reach subpopulations within these market segments.

Themes in tobacco advertising and promotion have evolved over time to focus on areas such as product taste and satisfaction, affinity with desirable social characteristics, and the perception of reduced health risk. These, in turn, are focused on demographic subgroups that include men, women, racial and ethnic minorities, and gays and lesbians, as well as populations seen as likely to smoke, such as military personnel, blue-collar workers, or people undergoing life transitions to places such as work or college. A wide variety of tobacco industry advertising and promotional channels serve to connect these groups with the brand identity of specific tobacco products.

Such targeted marketing efforts represent an important subject for further study. Research in this area will help elucidate the dynamics of subpopulations most susceptible to smoking and the necessity for greater community awareness and policy interventions pertaining to targeted marketing activities. Understanding the successful marketing of tobacco products to specific groups can provide deeper insight into the needs and motivations of those who choose to smoke.

Conclusions

1. Tobacco advertising has been dominated by three broad themes: providing satisfaction (taste, freshness, mildness, etc.), assuaging anxieties about the dangers of smoking, and creating associations between smoking and desirable outcomes (independence, social success, sexual attraction, thinness, etc.).
2. Targeting various population groups—including men, women, youth and young adults, specific racial and ethnic populations, religious groups, the working class, and gay and lesbian populations—has been strategically important to the tobacco industry.

3. The tobacco industry has become increasingly sophisticated in applying market research to population segments in order to design products, messages, communication channels, and promotions more aligned with the needs and susceptibilities of particular market segments. This research results in more efficiency, greater reach, and increased effectiveness for marketing activities aimed at targeted populations.
4. Little attention has been paid to understanding tobacco marketing aimed at American Indians and Alaska Natives, despite their high prevalence of tobacco use.
5. Targeted marketing of tobacco products to specific groups such as youth, women, and minorities has become a focus for monitoring and protest by antitobacco advocates and community groups.

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