

SPECIAL ARTICLE

CURRENT TRENDS IN CIGARETTE ADVERTISING AND MARKETING

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Abstract Because the nation's health is so greatly influenced by cigarette smoking, this report examines current trends in cigarette advertising and marketing. According to the Federal Trade Commission, total cigarette advertising and promotional expenditures reached \$2.1 billion in 1984. From 1974 through 1984, total expenditures increased approximately sevenfold, or threefold after adjustment according to the consumer price index. In 1985, cigarette advertising expenditures accounted for 22.3 percent, 7.1 percent, and 0.8 percent of total advertising expenditures in outdoor media, magazines, and newspapers, respectively. When all products and services were ranked according to national advertising expenditures, cigarettes were first in the outdoor media, second in magazines, and third in newspapers.

The proportion of total cigarette advertising and promo-

tional expenditures devoted to promotional activities has increased steadily, from 25.5 percent in 1975 to 47.6 percent in 1984. The proportion of expenditures for cigarettes yielding 15 mg or less of "tar" has increased substantially and has consistently exceeded the domestic market share of these cigarettes. The fastest growing markets are discounted cigarettes and brands containing 25 cigarettes per pack. Several advertising campaigns have targeted women, minorities, and blue-collar workers.

The study of these marketing trends should assist health officials in identifying and predicting patterns of cigarette use and in developing health promotion programs that counteract the influence of advertising by incorporating similar, effective techniques. (N Engl J Med 1987; 316:725-32.)

ACCORDING to the U.S. Surgeon General, cigarette smoking is "the chief, single avoidable cause of death in our society and the most important public health issue of our time."¹ Estimates of the effects of cigarette smoking on mortality in the United States range from approximately 270,000 deaths² to 485,000 deaths³ per year. A middle estimate by the U.S. Public Health Service puts the toll at about 350,000 deaths per year,^{1,4,5} or about one sixth of deaths from all causes. Smoking-related diseases annually account for an estimated \$22 billion in health care costs and \$43 billion in lost productivity.⁶

Because of the impact of smoking on the nation's health, the widespread promotion of tobacco products has come under intense scrutiny. On July 18 and August 1, 1986, the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Energy and Commerce, Subcommittee on Health and the Environment, held hearings on tobacco advertising. More than 40 witnesses gave testimony, representing health organizations, the tobacco and advertising industries, and several other groups.

Federal legislation was introduced in the last Congress that would ban all tobacco-product advertising and promotion (H.R. 4972) or disallow the deduction of tobacco-product advertising costs as business expenses (H.R. 3950 and S. 1950). These bills have been reintroduced in the new Congress.

The purpose of this article is to analyze, from a public health perspective, current trends in cigarette advertising and marketing. The analysis focuses on the extent of cigarette advertising and on special

themes and targets of advertising and promotional activities.

THE EFFECTS OF CIGARETTE ADVERTISING

The influence that cigarette advertising has on smoking behavior is a matter of current debate. Representatives of the tobacco and advertising industries maintain that the only purpose and effect of cigarette advertising is to promote brand loyalty and brand switching. Others believe that cigarette advertising may perpetuate or increase cigarette consumption by recruiting new smokers, inducing former smokers to relapse, making it more difficult for smokers to quit, and increasing the level of smokers' consumption by acting as an external cue to smoke. These effects may be exerted by direct or indirect means. Indirect mechanisms would include the influence of cigarette advertising revenues in discouraging media coverage of issues related to smoking and disease, and the possible effect of advertising, by its mere existence, in fostering the notion that smoking is socially acceptable or at least "not really all that bad." The evidence on this issue has been reviewed elsewhere,^{7,8} and extensive testimony on the subject was presented at the recent Congressional hearings mentioned above.⁹

The possible effects of cigarette advertising on overall cigarette consumption could be attributed to the language and imagery used in cigarette advertisements, which tend to undermine the effectiveness of the Surgeon General's warnings. In its report to Congress for the year 1978, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) noted that "some ads use language which directly contradicts the required health warning and scientific evidence that smoking is dangerous to health and perhaps to life itself. . . . A number of campaigns imply that smoking a particular brand solves the health dilemma or at least minimizes the prob-

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lem." The FTC drew attention to the advertising slogan, "Alive with pleasure," which is still in prominent use today.¹⁰ The brand advertised by this slogan — Newport — is touted as "the fastest growing brand in America" in an industry trade journal.¹¹ (The use of trade names in this article is for identification only, and does not constitute endorsement by the Department of Health and Human Services or any of its agencies.) The Commission concluded that cigarette advertisements "may have the capacity to create misimpressions of the safety and desirability of smoking."¹⁰

A British study of cigarette sponsorship of televised sporting events provides evidence that promotional activities have effects similar to those of traditional print advertising.¹² Many of the promotional activities for cigarettes, such as distributing non-tobacco products bearing cigarette brand names, do not include the Surgeon General's health warnings that are required on print advertisements. Moreover, cigarette sponsorship of sporting events allows cigarette brand names to be shown or mentioned on television and radio, despite the ban on broadcast cigarette advertising.

THE EXTENT OF CIGARETTE ADVERTISING

According to an FTC staff report on cigarette advertising, "cigarettes are the most heavily advertised product in America."¹³ Total cigarette advertising and promotional expenditures reached \$2.1 billion in 1984.¹⁴ From 1974 through 1984, total advertising and promotional expenditures increased approximately sevenfold, or threefold after adjustment of expenditures according to the consumer price index (all items) to constant 1974 dollars (Fig. 1). In 1974 dollars, total advertising and promotional expenditures increased from 1.0 cent per pack sold in 1974 to 3.3 cents per pack sold in 1984 (assuming all cigarettes were sold in 20-cigarette packs).

The 100 companies with the highest advertising expenditures in 1985 included all 6 major cigarette manufacturers: Philip Morris Companies, No. 2; RJR/

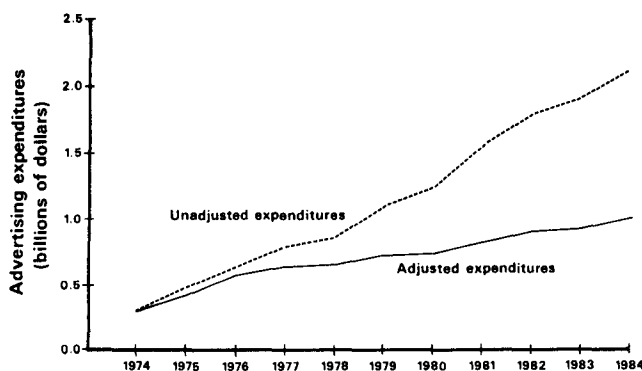


Figure 1. Cigarette Advertising and Promotional Expenditures, United States, 1974–1984.

Adjusted expenditures are adjusted according to the consumer price index (all items) to constant 1974 dollars.

Nabisco (R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company), No. 3; Grand Metropolitan plc (Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company), No. 43; Batus (Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corporation), No. 44; American Brands, No. 51; and Loews Corporation (Lorillard Division), No. 54.¹⁵ Of the 100 most heavily advertised brands of all products and services in the major media in 1985, 8 were cigarette brands¹⁶ (despite the absence of the cigarette brands' advertising from 4 of the 8 media because of the ban on broadcast cigarette advertising).

The FTC classifies cigarette advertising and promotional expenditures into 11 categories (Table 1). Traditional forms of print advertising are the first five categories in Table 1; promotional activities are those that fall into the remaining categories. In 1984, newspaper, magazine, and outdoor advertising accounted for 43.2 percent of total expenditures.¹⁴

The proportion of total expenditures devoted to promotional activities has steadily increased, from 25.5 percent in 1975 to 47.6 percent in 1984 (Table 2). This shift parallels a similar shift from advertising to promotional spending by the packaged-goods industry in general,¹⁷ although the shift has been more rapid in the case of cigarettes. One cigarette company, RJR/Nabisco, sponsored more than 1600 events in 200 cities in 1985.¹⁸

Data are available from several sources on advertising expenditures in different media. Figures vary slightly from one source to another because different methods are used to estimate expenditures and because some sources include both media costs (e.g., charges for broadcast time, magazine space, or billboard rental) and production costs, whereas others include only media costs. The data presented in Table 3 show that cigarette advertising expenditures in 1985 accounted for 0.8, 7.1, and 22.3 percent of total advertising expenditures in newspapers, magazines, and outdoor media, respectively. These proportions underestimate the true proportions because the figures for cigarette advertising expenditures include only media costs, whereas the figures for total media advertising expenditures include media and production costs. The proportions in 1984 were 1.0 percent (newspapers), 8.4 percent (magazines), and 21.1 percent (outdoor). The relative decrease in cigarette advertising in newspapers and magazines may reflect the gradual shift from advertising to promotional activities during the past decade (Table 2).

The three major types of advertising are national advertising (e.g., by manufacturers), retail advertising, and classified advertising. Data are available for national-advertising expenditures that allow comparisons of advertising expenditures for different products and services. According to the Media Records classification system, national advertising expenditures are classified into major categories (e.g., alcoholic beverages, automotive products, foods, tobacco, and transportation) and subcategories (e.g.,

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Table 1. Cigarette Advertising and Promotional Expenditures According to Category (FTC Classification), United States, 1984.*

CATEGORY	EXPENDITURES
	\$ millions (%)
Newspapers	193.5 (9.2)
Magazines	425.9 (20.3)
Outdoor media	285.0 (13.6)
Transit†	25.8 (1.2)
Point of sale	167.3 (8.0)
Promotional allowances‡	363.2 (17.3)
Sampling distribution§	148.0 (7.1)
Distribution bearing name¶	128.0 (6.1)
Distribution not bearing name	12.4 (0.6)
Public entertainment**	60.0 (2.9)
All others††	286.0 (13.7)
	2095.2

*Source: Federal Trade Commission.

†Advertising in or on public transportation facilities.

‡Paid to retailers and any other persons (other than full-time company employees involved in cigarette distribution and sales) in order to facilitate the sale of cigarettes.

§Includes the costs of the cigarettes and the costs of organizing, promoting, and running sampling efforts.

¶Net costs of distributing all items, other than cigarettes, including the cost of such items, distributed to consumers by sale, redemption of coupons, or otherwise, bearing the name or depicting any portion of the package of any variety of cigarettes sold by the company.

||Net costs of distributing all items, other than cigarettes, including the cost of such items, distributed to consumers by sale, redemption of coupons, or otherwise, not bearing the name or depicting any portion of the package of any variety of cigarettes sold by the company.

**Promotion and sponsorship of sporting, musical, and other public entertainment events bearing or otherwise displaying the name of the company or any of its cigarettes.

††Includes direct mail, audio-visuals, and endorsements and testimonials. The category "endorsements and testimonials" includes, but is not limited to, all expenditures made to procure cigarette use; the mention of a cigarette product or company name; the appearance of a cigarette product, name, or package; or other representation associated with a cigarette product or company, in any situation (e.g., motion pictures, stage shows, or public appearance by a celebrity) in which such use, mention, or appearance may come to the public's attention.

report any changes in advertising themes for 1984.¹⁴ The advertising and marketing themes discussed below are especially likely to increase cigarette consumption.

Low-Tar Cigarettes

Sixty-four percent of total advertising and promotional expenditures in 1984 were for cigarettes yielding 15 mg or less of "tar." These cigarettes accounted for 54 percent of the domestic market share in the same year.¹⁴ During the past decade, the proportion of total advertising and promotional expenditures devoted to cigarettes yielding 15 mg or less of tar has increased substantially, but this proportion has consistently exceeded the domestic market share of these cigarettes (Fig. 2). This suggests that cigarette companies are seeking to expand this market. An article in *Business Week* explains why the industry may be motivated to try to do so: "Some [industry executives] suggest that the explosion in low-tar brands . . . has finally done the job of stopping health-conscious smokers from quitting."²²

One advertisement for a low-tar cigarette included the headline, "Vantage is changing a lot of my feelings about smoking," and the following statement:

I like to smoke, and what I like is a cigarette that isn't timid on taste. But I'm not living in some ivory tower. I hear the things being said against high-tar smoking as well as the next guy. And so I started looking. For a low-tar smoke that had some honest-to-goodness taste. . . .²³

Another advertisement for True cigarettes contained this testimonial from a woman smoker: "Considering all I'd heard, I decided to either quit or smoke True. I smoke True."¹³ According to the FTC, advertising that emphasizes tar and nicotine content may "contain the implied representation that low 'tar' and nicotine cigarettes are 'safe.' Such implied representations may mislead the reader about the safety of smoking reduced 'tar' and nicotine brands."¹⁰

Table 2. Cigarette Advertising and Promotional Expenditures, United States, 1975-1984.*

YEAR	ADVERTISING EXPENDITURES†	PROMOTIONAL EXPENDITURES‡
	\$ millions (percent of yearly total)	
1975	366.2 (74.5)	125.1 (25.5)
1976	430.0 (67.3)	209.1 (32.7)
1977	552.1 (69.1)	247.4 (30.9)
1978	600.5 (68.6)	274.5 (31.4)
1979	748.9 (69.1)	334.5 (30.9)
1980	829.9 (66.8)	412.4 (33.2)
1981	998.3 (64.5)	549.4 (35.5)
1982	1040.1 (58.0)	753.7 (42.0)
1983	1080.9 (56.9)	819.9 (43.1)
1984	1097.5 (52.4)	997.7 (47.6)

*Source: Federal Trade Commission.

†Includes advertising in newspapers and magazines and outdoor, transit, and point-of-sale advertising (see Table 1 for definitions).

‡Includes promotional allowances, sampling distribution, distribution bearing name, distribution not bearing name, public entertainment, and "other" (see Table 1 for definitions).

beer, passenger cars, dairy products, cigarettes, and airlines). In 1985, the subcategory of cigarettes was the most heavily advertised in outdoor media, the second most heavily advertised subcategory in magazines (after passenger cars), and the third most heavily advertised subcategory in newspapers (after passenger cars and airlines) (Newspaper Advertising Bureau [New York]: unpublished data).

Of the seven companies with the largest advertising expenditures in outdoor media in 1985, six were cigarette companies.¹⁵ Cigarette advertisements accounted for 14.6 percent of transit-shelter advertisements in 1984, second only to liquor advertisements (19.4 percent).¹⁹ In 1985, tobacco advertising expenditures for eight-sheet (5 by 11 ft [1.5 by 3.4 m]) billboards were \$7.8 million — about half the total expenditures for this medium (\$15.6 million).²⁰

SPECIAL THEMES

The major advertising themes for 1982 and 1983, according to the FTC, associated cigarette smoking with high-style living, healthy activities, and economic, social, and professional success.²¹ The FTC did not

Although today's filter-tipped "low-yield" cigarettes are associated with lower rates of lung cancer than their higher-yield predecessors, their effect on the incidence of cardiovascular disease, chronic obstructive lung disease, and fetal damage is unclear. In some ways, low-yield cigarettes may even increase the health risk, since smokers who switch to these cigarettes may compensate for the lower intake of nicotine by smoking more cigarettes per day, inhaling more deeply, puffing more frequently, or smoking cigarettes to a shorter butt length. Moreover, cigarette additives are more commonly introduced into lower-yield cigarettes to enhance their "taste"; the identity of these additives is not disclosed to consumers, and they present unknown risks to the smoker.²⁴

Other cigarette brands are designed and advertised in ways that suggest a lower exposure to tar. These too may mislead consumers about the dangers of smoking. For instance, Parliament Lights have a "recessed" filter that is claimed to "keep your lips from touching the tar that builds up on the filter."²⁵ Concord has a "flavor control filter," which can be twisted to "adjust the taste from a rich, flavorful low tar to a light, mild ultra low tar, or anyplace in between."²⁶

Discounted Brands

Several discounted name brands (e.g., Doral and Stride) were introduced in 1984, reportedly to compete with the less expensive, nonbrand ("generic") cigarettes. Doral was offered at a price competitive with the prices of generic varieties, approximately 30 percent below the cost of regular brands. The market share of discounted brands has increased from

Table 3. Estimated Tobacco Advertising Expenditures in Five Media, United States, 1985.*

MEDIUM	ALL ADVERTISING†	CIGARETTE ADVERTISING‡	ADVERTISING OF OTHER TOBACCO PRODUCTS AND ACCESSORIES‡
			millions of dollars
Newspapers	25,170	199.8	4.2
Magazines	5,155	367.1	8.1
Television	20,770§	0	23.5¶
Radio**	6,490	0	4.7
Outdoor	945	210.8	0.2
Other††	36,220	NA	NA
	94,750	777.7	40.7

*Source: Newspaper Advertising Bureau, New York City, based on data from Media Records, Leading National Advertisers, Spot Radio Report, and McCann Erickson Inc. NA denotes data not available.

†Includes media and production costs.

‡Includes media costs but not production costs.

§Includes network and spot television, and network and local cable television.

¶Includes network and spot television and network cable television, but not local cable television.

||Pursuant to the Comprehensive Smokeless Tobacco Health Act of 1986 (Public Law 99-252), advertising of smokeless tobacco products (chewing tobacco and snuff) on electronic media was prohibited after August 27, 1986.

**Includes network and spot radio.

††Includes farm publications, direct mail, business papers, transit, point-of-sale, yellow pages, weekly newspapers, "shoppers," "penny-savers," and others.

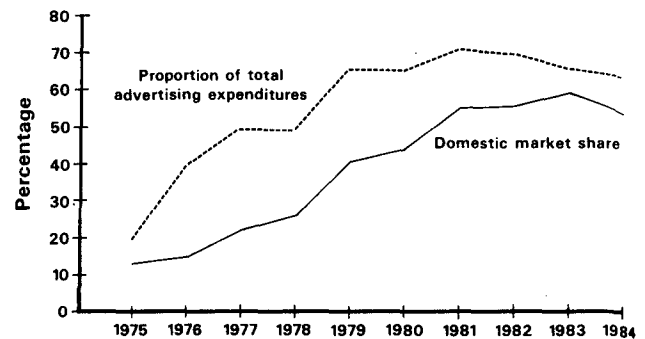


Figure 2. Domestic Market Share and Proportion of Total Advertising and Promotional Expenditures Related to Cigarettes Yielding 15 mg or Less of "Tar," United States, 1975-1984.

5.5 percent in 1984 (approximately twice the share in 1983) to 7.2 percent in 1985. More than 80 percent of the discounted-brand share in 1984 was attributed to generic cigarettes.^{14,27}

This trend has important public health implications since cigarette sales are inversely related to price. Teenagers appear to be especially price-sensitive in their purchase of cigarettes.²⁸

Packages with 25 Cigarettes

Another fast-growing market includes brands with 25 cigarettes per pack, which were virtually nonexistent in the United States before 1983. Five of the six major U.S. cigarette manufacturers now sell brands in packs of 25 cigarettes, some at the regular, "value-added" price, and others at a premium price. By the end of 1985, three of these brands (Richland, Century, and Players Lights 25s) accounted for 1.4 percent of the domestic cigarette market.²⁹

John C. Maxwell, Jr., a tobacco-industry analyst, refers to marketing of the 25-cigarette pack as the "consumption goes up to availability" strategy.³⁰ In other words, a person usually smoking one pack per day would be inclined to finish the pack by the end of the day, whether it contained 20 or 25 cigarettes. The advertising slogan for Marlboro 25s is consistent with this strategy: "5 more smokes for the long working day."³¹ Since the health effects of smoking are dose-related, switching to 25-per-pack brands would increase the risk of disease if daily cigarette consumption increased. On the other hand, persons smoking 30 or 40 cigarettes per day might reduce their daily cigarette consumption by switching to 25-cigarette packs³² (although compensatory changes, such as an increased frequency of puffing, might offset the benefits).

SPECIAL TARGETS

In response to the decline in cigarette sales and the proliferation of brands, the U.S. cigarette market has become increasingly segmented. According to industry analysts, new cigarette brands must target specific segments of the market in order to succeed.³³ As a result, marketing campaigns have targeted women.

minorities, blue-collar workers, and several other groups.

Women

Since 1968, several cigarette brands marketed specifically for women have been introduced, including Virginia Slims, Silva Thins, More, Eve, Satin, and Ritz. A number of "brand extensions," such as Newport Slim Lights and Salem Slim Lights, are also targeted toward women. The cigarette paper and package are often designed to appeal to women. For instance, Eve has a flower design on its filter tip; Satin has a satin-like paper tip; and Ritz, billed as the first "designer cigarette," bears the logo of the fashion designer, Yves Saint Laurent, on its package and filter tip.³⁴⁻³⁶

Although the current prevalence of smoking among women (28 percent) is nearly as high as that among men (33 percent),³⁷ women's brands account for only 5 to 10 percent of the total cigarette market.^{35,38} This suggests that the majority of female smokers purchase sex-neutral (or male-oriented) brands instead of women's brands, perhaps as a sign of equality.

The use of such words as "slim" and "thin" in the brands' names and advertisements may suggest the weight-losing effect of smoking, which is likely to have special appeal to women. Indeed, advertisements for women's brands appear prominently in *Weight Watchers Magazine*. Similarly, Silver Lights cigarette paper is advertised with the slogan, "Keep thin and light."

Cigarette advertising in women's magazines has grown substantially.^{39,40} Of the 20 magazines receiving the most cigarette advertising revenue in 1985, 8 were women's magazines (*Better Homes and Gardens*, *Family Circle*, *Woman's Day*, *McCall's*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Redbook*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Glamour*).⁴¹ The themes in these advertisements are typically designed to attract women. The slogan for Virginia Slims — "You've come a long way, baby" — associates smoking with women's liberation. Similarly, Brown and Williamson Tobacco Corporation is test-marketing a new slim cigarette, KIM 25s, using the advertising slogan: "For women who know the meaning of free."⁴² Ritz, according to an R.J. Reynolds spokesperson, is aimed at women in their 20s and 30s who are "more independent, probably tending to be single rather than married, and who spend more of their income on fashion and fashion accessories."⁴³

Women's products are offered free or at discounted prices when some women's brands are purchased. During the introduction of Newport Slim Lights, a free package of Aziza eye shadow came with the purchase of two packs of cigarettes.³⁶ Empty packs of Eve Lights were redeemable for a free pair of Silkies panty hose or a discounted Anne Rothschild chemise.

During the past 20 years, the rate of smoking among women has declined much more slowly than among men.^{37,44} Among adolescents, females have surpassed males in terms of smoking rates. In 1985, a

higher proportion of women than men were daily cigarette smokers among graduating high-school students (21 percent and 18 percent, respectively) and college students (18 percent and 10 percent, respectively).⁴⁵

The American Cancer Society predicted that by the end of 1985, lung cancer would surpass breast cancer as the most common cause of death from cancer in women.⁴⁶ By contrast, the incidence of lung cancer among men is now declining.⁴⁷

Blacks

Several cigarette brands have been promoted specifically to the black community, including Kool, Winston, More, Salem, Newport, and Virginia Slims.^{48,49} In one study, Newport, Kool, and Salem accounted for 60 percent of cigarettes purchased by blacks. Blacks (65 percent) were more likely than whites (24 percent) to smoke menthol cigarettes, and menthol brands were more commonly advertised in black-oriented than in white-oriented magazines (Cummings KM, Giovino G, Mendicino AJ: unpublished data).

Cigarettes are advertised heavily in black-oriented publications such as *Ebony*, *Jet*, and *Essence*. Cigarette advertisements account for 12 percent of total advertising revenue in *Essence*, billed as "The magazine for today's black woman."⁴⁸ In 1985, cigarette companies spent \$3.3 million for advertisements in *Ebony*.⁴¹ Philip Morris has published "A Guide to Black Organizations," filled with cigarette advertisements featuring black models.⁴⁸

An effective advertising medium for targeting ethnic groups is the eight-sheet billboard, which is small (5 by 11 ft) and usually placed low and close to the street. In 1985, tobacco companies spent \$5.8 million for advertisements on eight-sheet billboards in black communities, accounting for 37 percent of total advertising in this medium. The most commonly advertised brands in these markets were Newport (\$2.0 million), Kool (\$1.4 million), Salem (\$911,000), and Winston (\$622,000).²⁰

Other promotional methods targeted to blacks include sponsorship of athletic, civic, cultural, and entertainment events by cigarette brands or companies. Examples include the 40th anniversary gala of the United Negro College Fund, the Kool Achiever Awards (presented to "outstanding adults who are working to improve the quality of life in inner city communities"), an *Ebony* fashion show, and a forum for publishers of black newspapers on preserving freedoms in American life.⁴⁹⁻⁵¹

From 1965 to 1983, smoking rates among black males consistently exceeded those among white males by 8 to 10 percentage points, whereas rates among black females and white females were similar.⁵² Correspondingly, black males have had a 45 percent excess mortality rate from lung cancer as compared with non-minority males, whereas the mortality rates among black and non-minority females are about the

same. Death rates associated with heart disease are higher in blacks than whites, among both males and females.⁵³

Hispanics

Three cigarette brands with Spanish names have been introduced in recent years (Rio, Dorado, and L&M Superior) and are reportedly aimed at Hispanics.^{33,54,55} Of the top 10 companies advertising in Hispanic markets, 2 are cigarette companies — Philip Morris (No. 1) and R.J. Reynolds (No. 10).⁵⁶ In 1985, tobacco companies spent \$1.4 million for advertisements on eight-sheet billboards in Hispanic areas — more than twice the amount spent for the next most heavily advertised product (liquor). In these markets, the brands most commonly advertised were Newport, Winston, Camel, and Salem.²⁰ Since 1981, Philip Morris has published a directory of national Hispanic organizations, filled with cigarette advertisements in English or Spanish. Cigarette brands and companies have sponsored cultural and entertainment events in Hispanic communities, often accompanied by free-sample campaigns.^{49,57}

The Behavioral Risk Factor Surveys for 1981–1983 showed that smoking rates were somewhat lower in Hispanic males than in white and black males, but markedly lower in Hispanic females than in white and black females.⁵⁸ According to the National Health Interview Survey for 1980, Hispanic men had a smoking rate (38 percent) intermediate between that of white men (36 percent) and black men (42 percent).⁵⁹ Local surveys have shown a marked increase in smoking among Mexican-American youths, to a rate above those among their black and white peers.⁵³

Blue-Collar Workers

Recently, cigarette companies have increased their emphasis on advertising in “blue-collar” magazines (e.g., *Popular Mechanics*). The number of pages with cigarette advertising in the top 10 “upscale” magazines (e.g., *Vogue* and *U.S. News & World Report*) fell 23 percent in 1984 and 17 percent in 1985, whereas the number of pages in the top 10 blue-collar magazines fell only 7.1 percent in 1984 and 9.5 percent in 1985.⁶⁰ Blue-collar workers are also targeted in other media. According to an R.J. Reynolds executive:

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.²²

Smoking rates among blue-collar male workers (47 percent) exceed those among white-collar male workers (33 percent),⁶¹ and smoking rates generally increase with decreasing education.⁵⁸ Tobacco-industry executives are no doubt aware of these trends. The executive director of the Tobacco Merchants Association (New York) has attributed the higher smoking rates among blue-collar workers to their relative lack of education (presumably regarding the health haz-

ards of smoking): “Certainly a lot of data indicate that smoking is becoming a more blue-collar activity, partly because of increased education, at the other end.”⁶⁰ This contradicts the usual assertion by the industry that consumers are universally aware of the “claimed health risks” associated with smoking.

Children and Adolescents

Whether adolescents are the target of, or at least exposed to, cigarette advertisements is an important question, since most smokers acquire the habit as minors. According to the National Health Interview Survey for 1978–1980, 79 percent of male smokers and 70 percent of female smokers born between 1940 and 1949 began to smoke before they were 20.³⁷

The tobacco industry denies that it advertises to children.⁶² The Tobacco Institute states that “In 1969, the industry offered to end radio and television advertising because of its substantial audience of young people.”⁶³ However, cigarette advertisements continue to appear in publications with large teenage readerships. In *Glamour*, one fourth of whose readers are girls under 18 years of age,⁶⁴ cigarette advertising expenditures were \$6.3 million in 1985.⁴¹ In *Sports Illustrated*, one third of whose readers are boys under 18 years of age,⁶⁴ cigarette advertising expenditures were \$29.9 million in 1985.⁴¹ R.J. Reynolds is the exclusive advertiser in *Moviegoer*, a “customized” magazine distributed free in hundreds of movie theaters nationwide.^{65,66} About half of those who attend movies today are less than 21 years of age.⁶⁷ *TV Guide*, which receives more cigarette advertising revenue than any other magazine (\$36 million in 1985),⁴¹ informs its advertising clients that each issue reaches 8.8 million teenagers 12 to 17 years old.^{68,69} Themes in cigarette advertising that emphasize youthful vigor, sexual attraction, and independence are likely to be especially appealing to teenagers and young adults grappling with these issues.

Cigarette brands are promoted indirectly to children as candy cigarettes. Many have names, logos, and packaging identical or similar to those of real cigarette brands.⁷⁰⁻⁷² Although not manufactured by tobacco companies, they have remained on the market for years despite obvious copyright infringement.

More important than the issue of whether tobacco advertising targets children and adolescents is the question of whether the advertisements actually reach these groups. Studies have shown that cigarette advertisements and promotional activities do indeed reach teenagers. In a study involving 1195 Australian schoolchildren, subjects were presented with cigarette advertisements from which all identifying writing had been removed. A large proportion of smokers and nonsmokers were able to identify the brand names and slogans correctly.⁷³ Similar results were obtained in a study of 306 high-school students in Georgia (Goldstein AO, et al.: unpublished data). A survey of 880 children in Great Britain showed that their recogni-

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tion of cigarette brands varied according to which brands had recently sponsored televised sporting events.¹²

Although daily cigarette smoking among high-school seniors fell from 29 percent in 1976 to 20 percent in 1981, the rate has remained at 19 to 21 percent through 1985.⁴⁵

Military Groups

Members of military services have long been targets of cigarette advertising campaigns.⁷⁴ Numerous cigarette advertisements continue to appear in publications aimed at those in the military, such as *Army Times*, *Navy Times*, and *Air Force Times*. For the six-month period from March through August 1986, each weekly issue of *Army Times* carried an average of 2.3 pages of color cigarette advertisements, including 14 of 26 back covers. Park Avenue Tobacco Company (Richmond, Va.) was reported to have introduced a cigarette brand named 1776, aimed at those in the military. Its advertising slogan is "The flavor says 'Attention.' The price says 'At ease.'"^{75,76} Philip Morris has tested Cambridge, a discounted brand, on U.S. military bases.⁷⁷

Smoking rates in the military are among the highest reported for any group — 47 percent of military-service members in 1985. Smoking-related costs to the military health care system in fiscal year 1984 were an estimated \$210 million.⁷⁸

Miscellaneous Groups

There are probably many other unrecognized cigarette advertising campaigns that have targeted various groups. Two unusual targets are religious groups and prisoners. Cigarette advertisements have appeared in the Jewish-oriented publications *Hadassah Magazine* and *Jewish World* (Long Island, N.Y.), and cigarette companies have sponsored several religious events.⁷⁹

Lorillard has offered free athletic equipment to prison inmates who save empty packages of Newport cigarettes and Beech-Nut chewing tobacco. Correctional institutions were supplied with collection bins for the empty packages and with posters to alert inmates to the promotion.⁸⁰ Smoking rates have been reported to be 80 to 85 percent in various prison populations.⁸¹⁻⁸³

CONCLUSION

The advertising of tobacco products promises to be the subject of ongoing discussion and debate. While these discussions proceed, the study of trends in cigarette marketing will be useful in several ways. Marketing data may assist health officials in identifying and predicting patterns of cigarette use. Groups targeted by advertising campaigns are likely to face greater problems with cigarette smoking in the future. The heavy promotion of low-yield brands will continue to undermine the message that there is no safe cigarette.

The study of cigarette advertising may be useful in developing effective health promotion programs. Anti-

smoking counteradvertisements that parody cigarette advertisements have been developed. "Ad-spoof" competitions among schoolchildren have been used to enhance their understanding of the messages in cigarette advertisements as well as the health and cosmetic consequences of smoking.⁸⁴⁻⁸⁹ An entire school curriculum project has been developed around the film *Death in the West*. The film, featuring six cowboys in the American West who were dying of lung cancer or emphysema, was designed to counter what is generally regarded as the most successful cigarette advertising image ever created: the Marlboro cowboy.⁹⁰

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