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Master's Thesis

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The Discovery of Smoking

Consider the case of a ninth-grader. His friends and he have just set foot (or been initiated) into the “cool” and grown up world of smoking cigarettes. For some, the taste of burning tobacco collecting in their mouths and descending into their relatively unharmed lungs will be nothing but a repugnant and foul sensation. They will soon give it up and dismiss it as an unpleasant memory. For others, however, the act will evoke, among others, feelings of maturity, much like the shaving of facial hair or the commencement of driving. For them, smoking will not remain a rite of passage. It will become a habit, or in medical parlance, an addiction.

Medical Facts

It is now well known that smoking is extremely injurious to the human body. Literally thousands of studies have shown that smoking can cause complications ranging from emphysema and hypertension to fetal deformity and cancer. According to Botvin, Botvin, Michela, Baker, and Filazzola (1991), although smoking prevalence has declined since the Surgeon General’s Report in 1964, it continues to be responsible for 87% of all lung cancer deaths in the United States, 30% of all cancer related deaths, 21% of all deaths from coronary heart disease, as well as 82% of all deaths from chronic lung disease. In 1985 alone, more than 390,000 people in America died prematurely of illnesses attributed to smoking. Costs to society: 138 billion dollars (Botvin et al., 1991). Botvin, Goldberg, Botvin, and Dusenbury (1993) also observe, “Cigarette smoking is the

leading preventable cause of mortality and morbidity in the United States and has been described as the most important public health issue of our time” (p. 1).

The Business of Cigarettes

What has become a major health issue is in fact the proverbial “golden goose” for the tobacco industry. According to a 2001 CNBC market report, the 3 largest cigarette manufacturers, British American Tobacco, Phillip Morris (the market leader), and RJ Reynolds earned respectively \$1.5 billion, \$8.6 billion, and \$435 million in revenue. The next section highlights how adolescents fuel this commercial engine.

Adolescent Cigarette Use

Research shows that the addictive processes in adolescents involving nicotine tolerance, the need to increase the amount smoked, and the inability to quit are essentially the same and as serious as those displayed by adults. According to Elders, Perry, Eriksen, and Giovino (1994), nearly every first-use of tobacco occurs before high school graduation. This finding suggests that if adolescents can be kept tobacco-free, most will never begin it. Early onset of smoking is associated with greater risks of heavy smoking and of smoking-related diseases in adulthood. Early use signals greater eventual involvement with smoking, increasing both the duration of time smoked and the intensity of smoking, both of which eventually affect health and mortality. Most people who smoke try their first cigarettes and become daily smokers by age 18. In a survey referred to by Elders and her colleagues (1994), 88% of 18 year-olds had tried cigarettes and among those who smoked daily, 71% had already done so by age 18. The average age

when smokers tried their first cigarette was 14.5 years. The average age by which they became daily smokers was 17.7 years.

In all states it is now illegal to sell cigarettes to anyone under 18 years of age. Yet, according to Elders et al. (1994), all adolescent smokers in the survey reported that they had purchased a pack of cigarettes at least once. A majority of adolescent smokers found the purchase of cigarettes fairly easy, particularly from vending machines. Among ninth-grade smokers in New York State, 17% reported they had obtained cigarettes from their parents or other adults. Of elementary and secondary students in a Chicago study, 14% reported receiving free tobacco samples at least once.

Most adolescent smokers are addicted to nicotine and report that they want to quit but are unable to do so (Elders et al., 1994). They experience withdrawal symptoms and relapse rates similar to those reported by adults. According to the same authors, nicotine addiction through cigarette smoking is the most common form of drug addiction in the United States. It consists of nicotine dependence and nicotine withdrawal. Dependence involves impaired control of nicotine (the psychoactive substance) with continued use despite adverse consequences. Withdrawal involves a syndrome of symptoms caused by the cessation or reduction of nicotine. Between 33% and 50% of young people who try smoking even a few cigarettes become regular smokers. As these young people become regular smokers, the well-documented problems of dependence and withdrawal become evident.

Survey information incorporated by Elders et al. (1994) suggests that of those 12 through 18 year-olds who had smoked more than 100 cigarettes in their lifetime and had

smoked in the past month, 70% felt that they were dependent on tobacco. Of those who had tried to cut down, 80% were unsuccessful. According to the same authors, in another study of high school students, nearly half of those who had smoked in the past month reported that they wanted to stop the habit. According to the same survey, half of the daily smokers reported that they would either probably or definitely not be smoking 5 years after graduation. However, in a follow-up study conducted 5 to 6 years after graduation, only a fifth of them had quit smoking: 13% reported cutting down, 26% were at the same level, and 40% reported smoking more cigarettes than in high school. Such reports make it evident that adolescent smoking is not a passing fad or phase of life. Once adolescents start smoking regularly, they cannot stop suddenly or without consequences. The question arises, "Have discussions and publications of these trends and statistics led to a decrease in adolescent tobacco use?" The answer quite simply is, "No."

According to Amos, Currie, Gray, and Elton (1998), even though smoking has declined in adults in previous years, rates among young people have remained stable. Altman, Levine, Coeytaux, Slade, and Jaffe (1996) found that in 1993 alone, approximately 19% of high school seniors reported daily smoking, an increase from 17.2% in the previous year. Hahn, Toumey, Rayens, and McCoy (1999) found that among Kentucky high school students, 47% reported smoking in the past thirty days compared to 34.8% of nationwide teens; 16% of all Kentucky high school students reported smokeless tobacco use in the past month compared to 9.4% nationwide. Apart from providing these important nationwide statistics, the study also showed that the state of Kentucky led the nation in adolescent smoking. In a way that is dubiously amusing,

these patterns of adolescent smoking (in Kentucky and nationwide), especially in recent years, have (in part) to do with a fictional camel.

A Brief History of Cigarette Advertising

Since the introduction of the first technique to mass-produce cigarettes, innovations in advertising and promotional techniques have been a trademark of the cigarette industry. Before the health effects of tobacco use were well known, leaders of the tobacco industry credited the large expansion in the number of people who smoked to the effectiveness of advertising and promotional campaigns. According to Pierce, Choi, Gilpin, Frakas, and Berry (1998), these campaigns achieved their effect in part by convincing 14 to 17-year-old adolescents to begin smoking. In 1967, the tobacco industry introduced the first “woman’s” cigarette, again with a large and innovative advertising campaign (Mediascope, 2000). Sales increased dramatically, but the only effect on attracting new smokers occurred in girls 14 to 17 years of age.

In today’s consumption-oriented society, the role of the media in shaping the image of smoking has assumed increased importance. Images and descriptions of smoking are found in periodicals, the cinema, and even music (both heard and seen in the form of videos). In this context, it is impossible not to mention the extremely innovative, and now eliminated “Joe Camel” campaign launched in 1985. The campaign based on a smoking cartoon camel was very effective with children and adolescents. Not only did it increase smoking rates in that age-group but also smoking rates of Camels in general (Coughlin et al., 1998).

Because tobacco companies are not allowed to market cigarettes to adolescents directly, appeals are made in indirect ways. Botvin et al. (1991) observed that adolescents are responsive to the visual images and messages of cigarette advertisements. Advertisers present images of smoking that downplay health concerns and associate smoking with positive attributes such as beauty and youth. The majority of advertisements portray healthy, enthusiastic, young people engaged in outdoor or social activities, sports, or feats of personal achievement. Since experimentation with new social behaviors often begins with the imitation of attractive models who appear to be rewarded for that behavior (Botvin et al., 1991), carefully planned and presented campaigns using attractive models are likely to increase the possibility that adolescents will try and possibly enjoy cigarettes. The question that arises is, “Does cigarette advertising actually influence adolescent smoking?”

The Link between Cigarette Advertising and Adolescent Smoking

There is considerable evidence that tobacco industry advertising is in fact one of the major reasons why young people begin to smoke. Botvin et al. (1991), asked adolescents to view slides of cigarette advertisements and to identify the cigarette brand that corresponded to each slide. Participants were also asked to indicate how often they smoked. In order to rule out the possibility that results were a product of cognitive maturity or media exposure, the researchers also examined adolescents' recognition of automobile advertisements. The results indicated that smokers correctly identified more cigarette advertisements than nonsmokers. This effect held up even for students who smoked only a few times a year. The results for automobile advertisements did not reveal

any significant effects for smoking status or grade, although boys were able to identify more automobile advertisements than girls. Collectively, these findings suggest that the results for cigarette advertisements were not a product of cognitive maturity or media exposure. These findings also suggest that adolescent smokers selectively attend to cigarette advertisements. Even more important is the finding that adolescents who smoke as little as a few times per year are better able to recognize cigarette advertisements.

Botvin et al. (1993) explored the relationship between the exposure of adolescents in the seventh and eighth grades to cigarette advertising and smoking. A survey of 602 adolescents assessed their exposure to cigarette advertising and provided measures of their smoking behavior, demographic characteristics, and some psychosocial variables. The results indicated that exposure to cigarette advertising and having friends who smoked were predictive of current smoking status. Adolescents with a high exposure to cigarette advertising were significantly more likely to be smokers, according to several measures of smoking behavior, than those with low exposure to cigarette advertising.

Extending previous research, Pucci and Siegel (1999) found a positive relationship between adolescent use of specific brands and factors such as frequency of brand display and underlying advertising expenditure. Their longitudinal survey of adolescents assessed baseline exposure to brand-specific cigarette advertising in magazines and smoking behavior resulting from it. The sample comprised 1,069 Massachusetts youths, ages 12 to 15 years in 1993, and 627 who were interviewed after 4 years. Five brands accounted for 81.8% of brand-recall for magazine advertising among Massachusetts youths. These

same brands accounted for 88.4% of the brand market share among 12 to 15 year-old smokers nationally in 1993.

Pucci and Siegel (1999) also found that the levels of brand-specific advertising exposure in the sample were highly correlated with these national brand market shares. Among the cohort they studied, baseline brand-specific exposure to cigarette advertising in magazines was highly correlated with brand of initiation among new smokers, brand smoked by current smokers, and brand whose advertisements attracted the most attention. By establishing a relationship between brand-specific magazine advertising exposure and subsequent brand of smoking initiation among new smokers, this study yet again showed the influence of advertising on adolescent smoking.

Print: the Cigarette Industry's Mass Medium of "No" Choice

According to an American Lung Association Report (2000), cigarettes are among the most heavily promoted products in the country. According to the ALA, in 1997, tobacco companies spent \$5.7 billion for promotions alone. Since the 1971 ban on cigarette advertising in electronic media (Peck, 1993), advertisers dramatically increased their expenditures for cigarette advertising in periodicals, the only remaining mass medium available to them. According to Basil, Schooler, Altman, Slater, Albright, and Maccoby (1991), tobacco companies can target their products to segmented audiences by advertising in specialty magazines. Such segmentation provides audiences with ads appropriate to one behavior, demographic, and psychological characteristic. According to their findings at the time, cigarette advertising expenditures in *Glamour* magazine, one fourth of whose readers were females under 18 years of age, were \$6.3 million. In

addition, *Sports Illustrated*, one third of whose readers were under 18, the figure was \$29.9 million. Furthermore, *TV Guide*, which received \$36 million in tobacco advertising revenue reached as many as 8.8 million people from 12 to 17 years old.

In a statement released by the Internet-based organization tobaccofreekids.org (2000), three of the top youth brands of cigarettes, Newport, Kool, and Camel, significantly increased their “effective reach” of teens as compared to earlier years, while Marlboro maintained its already high level. In addition, the top ten tobacco brands all advertised in magazines whose audience was composed of more than 15 % adolescents ages 12 to 17. Eight of these top ten brands reached over 70 % of that age group five or more times based on their magazine advertising schedule. Marlboro, the favorite teen brand, reached 89% of teens 5 times or more.

Cigarette Advertising Since the Legal Uproar

Interestingly enough, even though it is now well documented that cigarettes have a bad effect on health, the advent of so called “healthy” or “low-tar” or even “ultra-light” cigarettes has diluted these fears in the mind of the public. A savvy nexus of cigarette manufacturers and advertisers have been making and promoting such cigarettes for several years. “Marlboro Ultra Lights” and “Camel Lights” are only two examples among several. This phenomenon is especially salient in light of lawsuits and public outcries in recent years. As a result of a 1998 settlement (CNN, 2000), tobacco companies agreed to pay billions of dollars to cover health- related costs from smoking. It also heralded the demise of billboard advertising and characters like Joe Camel. Since then, according to the same report, a large amount of money has been redirected towards tobacco

advertising in magazines read by young people. According to the American Lung Association (2001), a survey in the *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* found that many smokers had switched to “light” or “ultra-light” cigarettes to reduce health risks. However, the vast majority were unaware that one “ultra-light” cigarette could deliver the same amount of tar as one regular cigarette.

Altman, Slater, Albright, and Maccoby (1987), for example, investigated the quantity, themes, and characteristics of cigarette advertisements in print media. Their findings revealed that an emphasis on erotic images in women’s magazines and on depictions of adventure, risk, and recreation in youth magazines was made to “camouflage” the ill effects of smoking. According to Heasley (1999), advertisers now run defiant and humorous campaigns that make it known that cigarettes will abound and that they will continue to be enjoyed. According to Heasley, in a “Winston” advertisement, advertisers overtly address adolescents by playing the movie *Deep Impact* that shows a young man and woman running for safety with only their cigarettes in tow. According to Heasley, the message here is that if one’s children can see an R-rated feature, it might as well be acceptable for them to smoke. As will be seen in a later section, in order to present cigarettes as healthy, advertisers often highlight the “lightness” or “ultra-lightness” of the tobacco or simply portray the product being enjoyed in healthful and sport oriented situations.

Purpose of Study

Cigarette advertising seems to play a pivotal role in persuading young people to take up smoking. Young people frequently receive the message that smoking is glamorous, exciting, mature and above all “cool.” According to the BBC (1998), the tobacco industry needs a constant crop of adolescent smokers to ensure a lifetime of consumers to replace those dying from tobacco-related health issues, a smoker’s “equilibrium” in some ways. Further, according to a study (Wall Street Journal, 2000), cigarette brands that fail to win over the 18-24 old segment face a bleak future. This is in part because as smokers age, they become both price and health-savvy. They are thus more likely to quit or switch to cheaper brands.

Since magazines are now the only mass advertising media available to reach the adolescent market, content analyses of their advertising content would be pertinent. Overall, there are relatively few such analyses of cigarette advertising in magazines. Further, scholars have seldom attempted to relate the phenomenon of advertising-induced tobacco use by youth to a theory or larger framework. Most, although few overall, studies have been incidence-counting/quantitative ones. Bandura’s (1977) Social Learning Theory with its explanations of imitation caused by rewarded behavior violent behavior (among others) seems relevant to tobacco advertising to youth as smoking behavior could have similar imitative effects. Consequently, this study will employ Social Learning Theory as its base in qualitatively studying tobacco advertising and its effect on young readers. The next section discusses this theory.

Social Learning Theory

One of the prime models that explains how learning and imitation occur through media use is Social Learning Theory. Bandura's (1977, 1994) Social Learning Theory approaches the explanation of human behavior as a continuous process of interaction between cognitive, behavioral, and environmental determinants. Bandura notes, " Within this process lies the opportunity for people to influence their destiny as well as the limits of self-direction" (p. vii). According to Bandura, this conception of human functioning neither casts people into the role of powerless objects controlled by environmental forces nor free agents who can become whatever they choose. Thus, both people and their environment affect each other.

The theory holds that observational learning can be the basis for individual behavior. According to Bandura (1994), a significant amount of social learning occurs based on both deliberate and inadvertent observation of our surroundings and the people inhabiting them. However, scholars also hold that an equally significant amount of learning occurs by observing models portrayed symbolically through words or images. Based on Bandura's work, Kearsley (1994) notes that the most commonly found examples of observational learning situations are television commercials. He observes that commercials promote the idea that drinking a certain beverage or using a certain hair product will make us attractive to others. We may then model or carry out the behavior and buy the product advertised.

As will be seen later in the paper, the media often depict models who are likely to be imitated by audiences. When the model possesses attractive characteristics such as talent, intelligence, power, good looks, or popularity, the observer is more likely to reproduce

the model's behavior. Also, when the model's behavior is rewarded, the observer is likely to reproduce the rewarded behavior. When the model is punished (vicarious punishment), the observer is less likely to reproduce the same behavior. Bandura, Ross, and Ross (1963) found that children who observed violence being rewarded in a film replicated the behavior by hitting a doll in a controlled setting, while those who saw it being punished were more restrained and calm. Bandura (1977, 1994) introduces the idea of observational learning through modeling. According to him, such learning occurs through four processes: attention, retention, production, and motivation.

Attention

Observers cannot learn unless they pay attention to the media. Bandura (1994) observes thus, "Attentional processes determine what is selectively observed in the profusion of modeling influences and what information is extracted from ongoing modeled events" (p. 68). This process is influenced by characteristics related to the model, such as how much one likes or identifies with the model, and by characteristics of the observer, such as the observer's expectations or level of emotional arousal. Among the various determinants of attention, associational patterns are especially important. In other words, one pays attention to models who are like people one likes in real life. Bandura (1977) illustrates this process by employing the phenomenon of televised violence. He notes that such violence will grab a child's attention because it is uncomplicated, unusually risky, commonly found, presented as a solution to certain situations, and usually practiced by attractive people.

Retention

Observers must not only pay attention to the observed behavior but also remember it at some later time. This process depends on the observer's ability to code or structure the information in an easily remembered form or to mentally or physically rehearse the model's actions (Bandura, 1977). Bandura (1994) notes, "Retention involves an active process of transforming and restructuring information about events for memory representation in the form of rules and conceptions" (p. 68). From an aggression-research perspective, a child watching television may discover that guns or knives can be wielded in specific ways so as to maximize damage. He may not immediately go out and actually practice the newly obtained information, but it will lay dormant until conditions might possibly "call for it." Similarly, on observing images of attractive models smoking, a child or adolescent may not practice the act immediately, but may do so in the future, given appropriate conditions (like peer pressure).

Production

Bandura (1994) describes this process as one in which, "Symbolic conceptions are translated into appropriate courses of action" (p. 68). However, observers must be physically and intellectually capable of performing the act. In many instances, the observer possesses the necessary responses, but sometimes, reproducing the model's actions may involve skills and strength the observer has not yet acquired. According to Bandura (1977), it is one thing to observe a circus juggler, but it is quite another to replicate those acts. Bandura separates behavioral enactment into cognitive organization of responses, their initiation, monitoring, and refinement on the basis of feedback. Thus, on observing images or even real life instances of smoking, a previously non-smoking

adolescent might try to reproduce the act resulting in initial discomfort, like coughing and revulsion. However, with “practice” he or she might get accustomed and even habituated to it.

Motivation

In general, observers will perform an act only if they have some motivation or reason to do so. According to Bandura (1977), the presence of reinforcement or punishment either to the model or directly to the observer becomes most important in this process. Among the several responses acquired by observing, effective or rewarding behaviors are favored over those with negative consequences. Thus, a child who observes a peer enjoying the rewards of high grades may be motivated to work hard and achieve the same grades in anticipation of similar rewards. Again, DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) illustrate this process by observing that if an individual sees another resolving a problem successfully by the use of a certain technique, it is likely that he too will try it and that if he succeeds, he will consider it rewarding. They feel that this reinforces the connection between problem and solving-behavior. According to Bandura (1977), “A model who repeatedly demonstrates desired responses, instructs others to reproduce the behavior, prompts them physically when they fail, and then rewards them when they succeed, may eventually produce matching responses in most people” (p. 29). Thus, by being repeatedly portrayed as getting favorable responses to tobacco use, models in tobacco advertisements could potentially invoke the desire to use tobacco in their readers.

Application of the Theory: From Malice to Marlboro

Social learning theory clearly predicts that people can learn about behaviors enacted by attractive actors and that a behavior that is rewarded (or at least not punished) is more likely to be learned than one that is punished (Bandura, 1977, 1994). The theory has been widely used to study aggressive behavior in the media. Studies have looked at the degree of reward presented for violence and antisocial acts on television. Bandura's theories of reward-seeking behavior and modeling have been used extensively to explain phenomena ranging from effects of video game violence (Anderson & Dill, 2000) to violent acts influenced by television portrayals (Bandura, 1994). Scholars hold that an important feature of violence portrayal that is associated with imitation is whether or not the aggressive behavior is rewarded. Violent characters on television can be rewarded in several ways -- they may amass money or property, acquire power, or win admiration. They may even exhibit "auto-rewarding" by feeling proud or exhilarated after performing such an act (Wilson et al., 1997). Many content analyses of television suggest that much of the violence in entertainment programming involves characters who are rewarded or successful (Potter & Ware, 1987; Williams, Zabrack, & Joy, 1982). A metaanalysis by Paik and Comstock (1994) provides evidence for the idea that rewarded violence facilitates aggression among both child (male and female) and adult viewers.

Content analyses of violence on television have applied principles drawn from social learning theory to identify media content most likely to be associated with negative effects. The National Television Violence Survey (Wilson et al., 1997) examined the content of violence on American television as well as contextual variables that may make it more likely for aggression and violence to be accepted, learned, and imitated.

Consistent with the principles of social learning theory, 44% of the violent interactions on television involved perpetrators who had some attractive qualities worthy of emulation. Of violent scenes, 43% involved humor either directed at the violence or used by characters involved with violence. Nearly 75% of violent scenes on television featured no immediate punishment for violence or its condemnation; 40% of programs featured "bad" characters who were never or rarely punished for their aggressive actions.

Paving the Way: Employing SLT to Study Tobacco Advertising Content

My thesis proposes that social learning theory may be relevant to cigarette advertising as well. According to Basil et al. (1991), it is possible that content differences may alter the persuasion process by affecting people's processing of the advertisements. Incorporating the four social learning processes described above, they note that people may pay more attention to advertising that matches the target audience's demographics or psychographics. Audiences may be persuaded by advertisements in different ways. They also observe that consumers are more receptive to models and situations featured favorably in advertisements, responding to them affectively. They relate to or identify with the implied values and rewards shown.

Content analyses of aggression have studied the mechanisms, appeals, and contexts that affect viewers in addition to just counting episodes or measuring frequencies of different violent acts. However, cigarette advertising content has seldom been given such a treatment.

Much like aggression portrayals, tobacco advertising contains several "imitation conducive" contextual variables. Among these, some salient ones are realism or personal

identification, attractiveness and fame of models, and the presence of rewards. Also used as appeals, are the needs for sex, affiliation, autonomy, attention, escape, and sensory fulfillment.

Realism and Personal Identification

Potter, Vaughan, Warren, Howley, Land, and Hagemeyer (1995) refer to studies that argue for the importance of reality (vis-à-vis imitation effects) in a media portrayal. They also describe research showing that viewers' discriminations between portrayals become more refined when the portrayals are perceived as more true-to-life and familiar. They show that when the setting of the program more closely matches the real world, the more serious a scene's violence (for instance) is perceived to be. There is also research that shows that realism can encourage modeling (social learning).

Investigating images of tobacco use, Amos et al. (1998) observe that young people may look positively on and emulate a smoking image if they identify with and relate to the character in it. Portrayals of smoking in the print media could potentially influence the smoking behavior of young people by first associating smoking with being trendy and mature. Second, the abundance of such content may actually provide a justification for smoking. Finally, there may be a diffusion of such an image by early adopters of new fashions who integrate smoking into their lifestyle and act as models who subsequently influence youth culture.

Because cigarette advertisements often portray smokers as young, popular, and fun-loving people engaging in activities like sports, flirtatious conversation, or even simply "hanging out," it is likely that they have a special imitation-inducing appeal for

adolescents and young adults. Botvin et al. (1991) note, “Cigarette advertisements incorporate youthful images and role models that appear to be designed to have high salience and appeal for adolescents” (p. 921). Other factors that may bring about personal identification are race and culture. For example, Schooler and Basil (1990) found that billboards for tobacco advertisements in African-American neighborhoods contained significantly more models and situations keeping with African-American culture.

Thus, the first two hypotheses of this thesis propose that the context of advertisements in magazines will include characters that youthful readers will be able to identify with:

H1: Models featured in tobacco advertisements in youth-oriented magazines will seem younger than models in advertisements in adult-oriented magazines.

H2: Models featured in tobacco advertisements in magazines targeting black readers will be more likely to be black than models in tobacco advertisements in magazines aimed at more general readerships.

Attractiveness

According to Wilson et al. (1997), the meaning of a violent portrayal is closely linked to the characteristics of the person committing the act. The author notes, “Viewers are likely to interpret a gunshot from the star of a popular police series differently than a gunshot from a criminal” (p. 21). People are more likely to attend and learn from models who are perceived as attractive and famous. In other words, an attractive superhero’s violent act would be more likely to be viewed positively and imitated than a villain’s

would. Cigarette advertisements are also replete with images of attractive and athletic men and women in glamorous settings.

Although film and rock stars don't actively appear in tobacco advertisements in the United States, they promote tobacco use indirectly. According to Reaney (2001), movie actors and the characters that they play influence adolescent smoking by making it seem desirable. According to the same source, 57% of characters in films released between 1990 and 1996 used tobacco in some form. In Japan, Charlie Sheen has actually appeared in advertisements for the cigarette brand "Parliament." In the film *Superman 2*, Lois Lane is usually seen with a pack of Marlboro cigarettes.

Thus, the first research question explores the use of celebrities in youth-oriented print tobacco advertising:

RQ1: How often are models portrayed in tobacco advertisements in youth-oriented magazines celebrities (athletes, rock and movie stars etc.)?

Reward

Bandura et al. (1963) consistently found that children exposed to an aggressive film model who was rewarded were significantly more likely to behave aggressively than children exposed to an aggressive model who was punished. Toys, cookies, and/or adult approval were used as rewards in the films, whereas the removal of toys, spanking, and/or adult disapproval were used as punishments. Other studies have shown similar effects for rewards and punishments on children's imitative behavior. Comstock and Strasburger (1990) reviewed over 1,000 articles and concluded that exposure to television violence increases the likelihood of subsequent aggressive or antisocial behavior. Out of

the four variables they found to mediate this effect, two were characteristics of the content: whether the violence was rewarded or punished and whether it was justified or without consequences.

Investigations of tobacco advertising have also revealed that smoking is portrayed as rewarded. According to MacFadyen, Hastings, and MacKintosh (2001), young people consistently observe the desirable and rewarding results of smoking shown in media advertising and imitate it. Botvin et al. (1991) observe that adolescents grow increasingly independent of family and closer to peers. They keenly observe and imitate smoking behavior that incurs rewards such as admiration by the opposite sex and perceptions of toughness and “hipness.” From a social learning point of view, they note that tobacco companies make the models in their advertisements highly salient to the adolescent by presenting attractive young smokers involved in activities or possessing items or qualities that adolescents desire. In this way, the idea that these rewards may be amply received by smoking is made implicit.

According to the World Health Organization (1998), tobacco-using models in advertisements are portrayed as being rewarded with popularity, independence, adventure, and machismo. They note that by selecting these brands, young people may feel they stand to gain the same. The same source offers more evidence of the reward aspect by providing this excerpt from the Export Family Strategy document of RJ Reynolds, “ It is hypothesized that very young starter smokers choose export ‘A’ because it provides them with an instant badge of masculinity, appeals to their rebellious nature and establishes their position amongst their peers” (p. 19).

Rewards and punishments need not be obvious in order to affect learning. For instance, research shows that children may imitate a model's behavior so long as there is no explicit penalty given to the model. Mere lack of punishment may actually allow such behavior (Bandura, 1965). The potential to be rewarded in some way, as explained by Bandura (1977), is probably one of the most fundamental and almost omnipresent contexts in advertising. Cigarette advertising extensively employs the rewards and incentive aspect.

Prior studies have seldom linked advertising appeals used in cigarette advertising with social learning theory. In this study, an attempt will be made to do that incorporation, due to their specific nature, the appeals for sex, affiliation, and autonomy. Quite simply, advertisers use appeals to “get to us” or persuade us to buy products and services by evoking a set of basic psychological and even sensory needs that make us want the product.

According to Fowles (1996) advertisers are faced with the challenging task of promoting a particular product set against hundreds of competing ones. He notes that in order to do so, “the messages of the advertiser must be constructed so as to make the fullest contact with the mind of the consumer. The human mind has two components of interest to the creators of advertising: One is the area of the mind governing the individual as a social creature, and the other is the area of the mind housing basic instincts, impulses, drives, and needs” (p.93). Fowles’s (1982) analysis of advertising assumes that advertisers try and “cut through” the skeptical and cautious defenses of the mind of the consumer by trying to tap emotions and unfulfilled desires in order to make

him or her like and subsequently buy the product. Employing certain appeals helps them do just that. Presented below are some of the appeals that may have important implications for reward seeking imitative behavior particularly in the context of cigarette advertising to adolescents.

The second research question considers the use of these appeals/rewards in youth-oriented print tobacco advertising:

RQ2: How often do tobacco advertisements in youth-oriented magazines promise rewards such as sex, admiration, etc.?

The Need for Sex

This appeal exploits the human urge for sexual bonding and pleasure. Sexual references in advertising may occur as innuendos, double entendre, or even overt images. As an example, Fowles (1982) uses a famous blue jeans campaign. He notes, “Jordache ads with the lithe, blouse-less female astride a similarly clad male is clearly an appeal to the audience’s sexual drives” (p. 278). He also mentions an advertisement for the liquor “Black Velvet” displaying an attractive women clad in a tight black outfit, with the caption, “Feel the Velvet.” Fowles notes that sex appeals are more effective with men than women. Further, according to Taflinger (1996), sex is the second strongest of the psychological appeals, right behind self-preservation. Cigarette advertising is seemingly no exception. Several features show glamorous men and women in ambiguously sexual situations (as may be inferred by their clothing, facial expressions, stances etc.), holding a certain brand of cigarette. In a social learning theory context, the imitation-inducing

reward is sexual interaction with other people. Brands like “Kool” for instance often portray a sexual/romantic attraction among men and women. One feature shows a man’s hand holding a pack of “Kools” in the foreground with an attractive woman in a sexually suggestive stance in the back ground looking longingly at him. The caption quite simply says “Be Kool.” An advertisement for “Lucky Strike” shows a man and a woman in a suggestive situation. The woman is portrayed as saying, “I choose an American original.” Her reference seems to be to both the American product and the American man.

Although prior research (Taflinger, 1996) has found that sex appeals are very extensively used in advertising, sex appeals in cigarette advertising have been seldom studied. The next set of research questions considers these very appeals in the context of youth-oriented tobacco advertising:

RQ3: Among a given set of advertising appeals, are sexual appeals the most widely used in tobacco advertising in magazines popular with youth?

RQ4: Are sexual appeals in tobacco advertising more prevalent in youth-oriented publications or adult-oriented publications?

The Need for Affiliation

This appeal uses the human need to bond and relate with others or as Fowles (1982) puts it, “our need for affectionate human contact” (p. 278). He notes that even though American culture upholds autonomous and self-sufficient individuals, the high incidence of affiliation appeals in advertisements belies this. To illustrate this appeal, he mentions an advertisement for “Miller” beer that features a group of friends enjoying the beverage. Cigarette advertising features this appeal as well. From a social learning point

of view, potential for imitation in real life from such advertisements occurs due to the portrayed rewards of acceptance and appreciation by a group of people. Advertisements for several cigarette brands feature loving couples smoking, probably implying a strengthening of their relationships. An advertisement for the brand “Winston” features a large group of cheering cigarette smoking friends enjoying a Nascar event, alluding to the fact that the brand and the smoking act itself “threads” them together. A feature for “Marlboro” shows cowboys wearing virtually identical rainproof clothing conversing while performing various tasks in rough weather. Again, these appeals have been rarely studied in cigarette advertising. The next research question explores the use of this very appeal in tobacco advertising:

RQ5: Are affiliation appeals in tobacco advertising more prevalent in youth-oriented magazines or adult-oriented magazines?

The Need for Autonomy

This appeal is based on the urge to be independent and self-sufficient. Fowles (1982) simply calls it, “The need to endorse the self” (p. 284). It is probably fair to observe that the tremendous success of women’s cigarettes such as “Virginia Slims” is a good indicator of the imitation-inducing effect of the corresponding advertising campaign that stresses female liberty and equality. These advertisements invariably feature proud, confident, and self-assured women. Fowles (1982) illustrates this appeal by mentioning a feature for “Visa” credit cards. The caption says, “You can have it the way you want it.” An advertisement for “Virginia Slims” features an attractive woman applying make-up while driving. The caption says, “Why do we apply Mascara at 55 mph? Because we

can.” Another advertisement features a woman in quite blissful thought with the caption, “find your voice.” One feature for “Winston” goes as far as to show a woman in a men’s shower saying, “Do I look shy?” The solitary Marlboro man seemingly surveying his land and property is another example. In a social learning context, imitative behavior (especially for the young person) might be likely here as being perceived as independent itself could be a reward. Krupka, Vener, and Richmond (1990) found that men’s magazines emphasized vigorous and vital characteristics as portrayed by autonomous activities like cattle-herding and fishing more than female-oriented publications. The next research question will explore the use of this appeal, albeit as a comparison between youth and adult-oriented tobacco advertising:

RQ6: Are appeals of autonomy more prevalent in tobacco advertising in youth-oriented magazines or adult-oriented magazines?

The Need for Attention

This appeal exploits another human need, one to be noticed. Fowles (1982) writes, “the desire to exhibit ourselves in such a way as to make others look at us” (p. 283). He notes that such appeals are usually targeted at women. It is also a powerful imitation inducing means used by advertisers. A feature for “Lucky Strike” is nothing but a close-up image of a man’s back with a huge and “hard not to notice” ornate tattoo on it. Advertisements for the brand “Camel” show beautiful waitresses in restaurants looking admiringly at handsome male patrons smoking the brand. Another feature for “Camel” shows an attractive roller-blade clad diner waitress on the hood of her car smoking the brand. Again, in a social learning framework, imitation may result here due to the

potential of getting that very reward, attention. This appeal has never been studied in tobacco advertising. The next research question explores the use of this appeal in youth-oriented tobacco advertising:

RQ7: Are attention appeals in tobacco advertising more prevalent in youth-oriented magazines or adult-oriented magazines?

The Need to Escape

According to Fowles (1982), this appeal “overlaps” with the need to be autonomous. It utilizes the urge to “get away from it all.” As far as cigarette advertising is concerned, a pertinent example would again be that of the lone Marlboro man riding along on an apparently endless and enchantingly beautiful landscape. Fowles uses the example of a “Benson and Hedges” advertisement that features a lady strolling through the woods behind the words, “Benson and Hedges and mornings and me.” From a social learning point of view the motivation to imitate behavior here could very well be the reward of escape and relief from everyday drudgery, as shown in these images of serenity and calm. In an advertisement for the brand “Merit” a woman is shown jumping with joy in a beautiful sandy resort-like location. The caption is quite simply the exclamation, “Yes!” Another feature for “Benson & Hedges” shows a man blissfully enjoying the spray of a fire hydrant on a hot summer day. Escape appeals have rarely been studied in tobacco-advertising. The next research question deals with the use of these appeals in tobacco-advertising:

RQ8: Are appeals of escape in tobacco advertisements more prevalent in youth-oriented magazines or adult-oriented magazines?

Sensory Needs

According to Fowles (1982), this appeal exploits our urges to eat, drink, and sleep. It also evokes our needs for taste and flavor. He illustrates this by way of the advertisements for crab meat made in “Red Lobster” restaurants. He notes that they “can start us salivating.” (p. 287). Tobacco advertising also employs this appeal. Various brands of tobacco products use the pleasant flavor and taste of the product as a means of persuasion to buy (and keep buying) it. For instance, a feature for “Red Rooster” chewing tobacco expounds on its “bold” wintergreen flavour. “Winston” cigarettes claim to have no additives and thus, a purer, more unadulterated taste. In the social learning context, the reward to be had here is that of satisfaction by means of pleasant tastes, smells, and flavor. Krupka, Vener, and Richmond (1990) found for example that more stress was placed on good taste, flavor, and quality in tobacco advertising in male-oriented publications. The next question explores the use of this appeal as a comparison between youth and adult-oriented publications:

RQ9: Are appeals of taste and flavor in tobacco advertisements more prevalent in youth-oriented magazines or adult-oriented magazines?

Past Research: A Thematic Description of Tobacco Advertising Content Relevant to this

Study

Content analyses have shown that tobacco advertisements are more common in magazines aimed towards women and youth. Sanchez, Sanchez, Goldberg, and Goldberg (2000) found that among magazines popular with youth, *Hot Rod* and *Sports Illustrated*

had the most tobacco advertisements. A directly proportional relationship between youth readership and tobacco advertising incidence was shown.

Albright, Altman, Slater, and Maccoby (1988), for example, analyzed the content of cigarette advertisements in eight popular magazines chosen to represent different market segments, particularly women and youth. Across all magazines, proportionate and expected increases in ads per issue were seen following the 1971 television ban on tobacco advertising on television. But, more ads were seen in women's and young people's magazines than in any other segment.

Krupka, Vener, and Richmond (1990) examined tobacco advertising in magazines and found that there were more advertisements in women's than men's publications and that the messages contained in them were differently stressed and worded. For example, more stress was placed on good flavor, taste, and quality in male-oriented publications. Cigarette advertisements in women's magazines like *Seventeen* almost always gave an emphasis on lean and attractive silhouettes. Men's magazines also emphasized vigorous and vital characteristics as portrayed by activities like cattle-herding and fishing more than female-oriented publications. The following set of hypotheses concerns both relative numbers of advertisements in adult-oriented and youth-oriented magazines and as well as numbers in female-oriented and male-oriented magazines:

H3: Youth-oriented magazines will feature more tobacco advertisements than adult-oriented magazines.

H4: Female-oriented magazines will feature more tobacco advertisements than male-oriented magazines.

Content analyses have found that tobacco advertisements appear to be especially targeting African Americans. Schooler and Basil (1990), for example, examined the possibility of differential content and frequency of billboards advertising tobacco and alcohol in black neighborhoods compared to others. Not only did they find that there were more billboards in black neighborhoods but that these advertisements used social cues such as rewards, attractive models and portrayed situations that they felt were more in keeping with African -American culture.

Basil et al. (1991) continued this line of research in a content analysis of 10 popular magazines concluding that black and youth-oriented publications received an increasing number of cigarette advertisements since 1965. The researchers also found that the incidence of horseplay and coy model in tobacco advertising poses had increased over time while eroticism levels stayed stable. Significant differences were also found in magazines read by different market segments. For instance, horseplay was found to be targeted at female, poorer, and younger readers. Sexual appeals and coy poses were targeted at female, black, and poorer readers more often than at men or general readers. For this study, I plan to explore if there continue to be differences in tobacco advertising targeted towards African Americans. The next question specifically explores if (just like earlier studies found) African American-oriented publications still have more tobacco advertisements than others:

H5: African American-oriented magazines will feature more tobacco advertisements than magazines with more general readerships.

Research has also looked at the health claims/appeals of tobacco advertising in magazines. Altman et al. (1987), investigated the quantities, themes, and characteristics of cigarette advertisements in print media. Their findings revealed that tobacco advertisements focused on depictions of healthy models engaged in adventure, risk, and recreation in youth magazines in an attempt to camouflage detrimental health effects. Also, as mentioned in an earlier section, the American Lung Association (2001) found that smokers were switching to so called “light” and “ultra-light” brands assuming a baselessly advertised decrease in health-risks.

Whelan (1992) conducted an analysis of 147 cigarette advertisements in some prominent women’s publications such as *Redbook*, *Glamour*, *New Woman*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Vanity Fair*. She found that even though magazines otherwise carried articles promoting good health, they still carried a significant number of cigarette advertisements that overtly downplayed the detrimental effects of smoking. One of her conclusions was that publishers turn a blind eye to such advertising as it brings in huge revenues.

According to Amos (1997), a study of European magazines found that 40% of the publications had not covered the health effects of smoking and even those that did devoted more space to advertising cigarettes than discussing their medical implications. In my study, I plan to investigate health appeals employed in tobacco advertisements:

RQ10: How often or how much are tobacco advertisements featured in publications that appeal to youth based almost exclusively on overt references to the “healthy” aspects of the tobacco product (like “low-tar” or “low-nicotine” content) itself?

RQ11: How much or how often do tobacco advertisements in publications that appeal to youth create an indirect image of a healthy product/downplay its ill-effects by featuring healthy and muscular models, sports of various types, or adventurous activities like mountain climbing etc.?

Such studies have drawn valuable conclusions in terms of rising or falling numbers of cigarette advertisements over the years. They have shown how groups of consumers who differ in race and socio-economic status receive different types and frequencies of advertising. They have also brought to light differences based on gender and smoking rates. However, as discussed before, such studies have rarely gone beyond description. I plan to take a theoretical approach and explore aspects of tobacco ads such as rewards (linked to appeals) that might encourage modeling of the behavior shown in those ads. I am going to use, in part, a content analysis framework based on social learning theory to study the elements of tobacco advertisements that make smoking rewarding and more likely to be imitated. The next section presents the method used for this study.

Chapter 2

METHOD

I conducted a content analysis of tobacco product advertisements in a sample consisting of magazines aimed specifically at youth, adults, African-Americans, men, and women, and at general audiences.

Sample

Magazines included in the sample were selected based on data in a study by King and Siegel (2001) on the basis of Simmons Inc. data that listed youth and adult-oriented magazines featuring tobacco advertising. This study also reported valuable information such as the amount of advertising dollars these publications accepted from the makers of tobacco products in the year 2000. King and Siegel defined youth-oriented magazines as those having readerships of at least 2 million 12 to 17 year olds. Sets of these magazines were geared towards adults, youth, women, men, African-Americans, and general audiences. I coded a sample of issues published in 2000 and 2001 of some those magazines (see table 1). Only distinct advertisements for tobacco products of various types were analyzed.

Table 1
Magazines Analyzed

Magazine	Category	Issues coded (2000)	Issues coded (2001)
Field & Stream	Adult-Male	January-December	January-December
Esquire	Adult-Male	January-December	January-December
Cosmo	Adult-Female	January-December	January-December
Glamour	Adult-Female	January-December	January-December

Rolling Stone	Youth-male	January- 6,20 February- 3,17 March- 2,16,30 April- 13,27 May- 11,25 June- 8,22 July- 6,20 August- 3,17,31 September- 14,28 October- 12,26 November- 9,23 December- 7,14,21,28	January- 4,18 February- 1,15 March- 1,15,29 April- 12,26 May- 10,24 June- 7 July- 5,19,21 August- 2,16,30 September- 13,27 October- 11,25 November- 8,22 December- 6,13,27
Sports Illustrated	Youth-male	January- 3,10,17, 24, 31 February- 7, 14, 21,28 March- 6, 13, 20, 27 April- 3, 10, 17, 24 May- 1, 8, 15, 22, 29 June- 5, 12, 19, 26 July- 3, 10, 17, 24, 31 August- 14, 21, 28 September- 4, 11, 18, 25 October- 2, 9, 16,18, 23, 30 November- 6, 13, 20, 27 December- 4, 11, 18, 25	January- 1,8,15, 22, 29 February-5,12,19,28,26,28 March- 5, 12, 19, 26 April- 2, 9,11,16, 23, 30 May- 7, 14, 21, 28 June- 4, 11, 18,20,25,27 July- 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 August- 6,13, 20, 27 September- 3, 10, 17, 24 October- 1, 8, 15, 22, 29 November- 5, 12, 19, 26 December- 3, 10, 17, 24, 31
Maxim	Youth-male	January-December	January-December
Hot Rod	Youth-male	January-December	January-December
Vogue	Youth-Female	January-December	January-December
Elle	Youth-Female	January-December	January-December
Harper's Bazaar	Youth-Female	January-December	January-December

Table 1 continued

Magazine	Category	Issues coded (2000)	Issues coded (2001)
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Time	Adult- general	January- 1, 17, 24, 31 February- 7, 14, 21, 28 March- 6, 13, 20, 27 April- 3, 10, 17, 24 May- 1, 8, 15, 22, 29 June- 5, 12, 19, 26 July- 3, 10, 17, 24, 31 August- 7, 14, 21, 28 September- 4, 11, 18, 25 October- 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 November- 6, 13, 20, 27 December- 4, 11, 18, 25	January- 8, 15, 22, 29 February- 5, 12, 19, 26 March- 5, 12, 19, 26 April- 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 May- 7, 14, 21, 28 June- 4, 11, 18, 25 July- 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 August- 6, 13, 20, 27 September- 3, 10, 17, 24, 30 October- 1, 8, 15, 22, 29 November- 5, 12, 19, 26 December- 3, 10, 17, 24, 31
People	Adult- general	January- 1, 10, 17, 24, 31 February- 7, 14, 21, 28 March- 6, 13, 20, 27 April- 3, 10, 17, 24 May- 1, 8, 15, 22, 29 June- 5, 12, 19, 26 July- 3, 10, 17, 24, 31 August- 7, 14, 21, 28 September- 4, 11, 18, 25 October- 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 November- 6, 13, 20, 27 December- 4, 11, 18, 25	January- 8, 15, 22, 29 February- 5, 12, 19, 26 March- 5, 12, 19, 26 April- 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 May- 7, 14, 21, 28 June- 4, 11, 18, 25 July- 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 August- 6, 13, 20, 27 September- 3, 10, 17, 24 Fall 2001 October- 1, 8, 15, 22, 29 November- 5, 12, 19, 26 December- 3, 10, 17, 24, 31
Essence	African- American-youth	January-December	January-December
Ebony	African- American-adult	January-December	January-December
Jet	African- American-adult	January- 3, 10, 17, 24, 31 February- 7, 14, 21, 28 March- 6, 13, 20, 27 April- 3, 10, 17, 24 May- 1, 8, 15, 22, 29 June- 5, 12, 19, 26 July- 3, 10, 17, 24, 31 August- 7, 14, 21, 28 September- 4, 11, 18, 25 October- 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 November- 6, 13, 20, 27 December- 4, 11, 18, 25	January- 1,8, 15, 22, 29 February- 5, 12, 19, 26 March- 5, 12, 19, 26 April- 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 May- 7, 14, 21, 28 June- 4, 11, 18, 25 July- 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 August- 6, 13, 20, 27 September- 3, 10, 17, 24 October- 1, 8, 15, 22, 29 November- 5, 12, 19, 26 December- 3, 10, 17, 24, 31

Units of Analysis

There were two units of analysis, the advertisement and the character/characters illustrated within it. They each had their own set of variables and coding schemes.

The Advertisement

Based on Healy (1993), the advertisement was operationalized as a feature consisting of an image, corresponding text, and the name of the product brand or logo. The feature was required to display intent to sell that product.

I first coded the descriptive elements of the advertisement (coding instrument 1, 2-10). These included the brand name of the product, frequency with which it appeared in the sample, the name of the magazine in which it occurred, date the magazine was published, the issue number of the publication, the age-orientation of the publication (for youth and adult comparisons of advertising content), the race-orientation of the magazine (white, black, asian, hispanic, or other), the gender-orientation of the magazine (male, female or both/neutral), and whether the advertisement appeared on either the first page, last page, or back cover (premium space). Beyond these descriptive features, I coded several other aspects of the advertisement. These were as follows:

Type of Tobacco Product

I ascertained the type of tobacco product by using an 8 item-coding scheme:

1. Cigarettes: All brands of all lengths
2. Cigars: All types of all lengths.
3. Cigarettos: All brands of all types.
4. Chewing, dipping, or spitting tobacco: All brands of all types.
5. "Snuff" or sniffing tobacco: All brands of all types

6. Pipe tobacco: All brands of all types
7. Rolling tobacco: All brands of all types
8. Other

Type of Cigarette

I determined the type of cigarette by using the following scheme

1. Regular
2. Light
3. Ultra-light
4. Low-tar
5. Low-carcinogen
6. Menthol
7. Other

Make-Up of Each Advertisement

In order to ascertain who or what appears in the advertisement, I used the following items

1. Product featured only: The product is the prime or only focus of the feature
2. Character/characters and product featured: The product and human models are featured
3. Only character/characters featured (not seen smoking)

Gender-Orientation

As Healy (1993) did, I used two measures to assess the gender orientation of the advertisement. The first, gender composition, was operationalized as the presence of males, females, or both sexes in the advertisement. Thus, an advertisement with only males in it was a male gender composition. An advertisement with females only was a female gender composition. Finally, one with both was a neutral gender composition.

Second, I coded the gender of the user of the product, that is the character portrayed as holding, consuming, or being in any way physically associated with the product.

Marketing-Appeals Employed in Advertisement

As Healy (1993) did, six marketing appeals as described by Fowles (1982) were coded. Appeals were defined as “Persuasive means based on human needs.” Based on Fowles’s description of these appeals, each one was operationalized as:

1. The need for sex: titillation, sexual imagery
2. The need for affiliation: to please and win affection of another; to be part of a group.
3. The need for attention: to be looked at.
4. The need for autonomy: focus on the independence and integrity of the individual, breaking away from the crowd, from authority, parents etc.
5. Sensory appeals: focus on pleasurable sensual elements like taste.
6. Need to escape: focus on rest, breaking away from everyday constraints.

As Healy (1993) did, each appeal was coded to show that it did not appear, appeared with a minor focus, or appeared with a major focus.

Presence of Reward in Advertisement

The last item to be coded was whether the featured product promised a reward other than its mere physical consumption or the sensation caused by consuming it. For instance, an advertisement for a certain brand of cigarette might not just assure the user of taste and flavor, but also through imagery, the prospect of winning the loyalty and admiration of his or her colleagues and friends.

The Characters

The second unit of analysis was each character within an advertisement. First, I gathered basic demographic information about the character (coding instrument 2, 1-4). This data included gender (male, female, or both genders present), chronological age (from 1 to 99 years, as apparent) and social age (whether a baby, child, adolescent, young adult, or elderly), and the race/ethnicity of the character (whether white, black, hispanic, asian, or other) .

Health-Level

As Healy (1993) did, I used the following items in order to examine the health level of the character:

1. Apparent weight: whether emaciated, normal, slightly overweight, or overweight
2. Body type/ level of fitness: whether flabby, average, or very muscular/fit.

Type of Activity Engaged

I then conducted an examination of the featured activity of the character by coding the following items:

1. Using product: yes or no
2. Running/walking: by oneself or competitively
3. Engaged in a vigorous activity or sport: timber logging, playing football, rugby, etc.
4. Engaged in an adventurous activity: mountain climbing, kayaking, yachting etc.
5. Sexual posturing / flirting with sexual intent
6. Casual gathering / flirtation at bar, sporting event, etc.
7. Solitary activity

Whether Activity Actually Engaged or Merely Implied

Next, I examined whether or not the activity was actually performed or the models were simply seen in the relevant stances:

1. Actually engaged
2. Stance / backdrop / prop

Whether a Celebrity or Not

In order to determine whether or not the characters/character featured were famous people in real-life, I used a simple yes/no scheme.

Whether Attractive or Not

In order to ascertain the level of attractiveness of models shown, I used the following scheme:

1. Unattractive
2. Plain or average
3. Pleasant
4. Stunning/gorgeous

Coder Training

I trained two coders in the relevant methods for this analysis. They were requested to “rehearse” or practice coding on a small sample of ads. Anomalous situations and doubts were resolved before the commencement of data collection.

Reliability Analyses

About 25 percent of the sample was selected and coded by two separate coders for reliability analyses. Tables 2 and 3 depict the outcomes of these analyses.

Table 2
Reliability Analysis for Advertisement Variables

Variable name	Alpha
Advertisement identification	1.00
Brand of product	1.00
Type of product	1.00
Type of cigarette	1.00
Number of times advertisement appears in sample	1.00
Content make-up of advertisement	1.00
Gender composition of advertisement	1.00
Gender of product user in advertisement	.98
Sex appeals	.73
Affiliation appeals	.94
Attention appeals	.87
Autonomy appeals	.92

Physiology appeals	.90
Escape appeals	.93
Presence of reward appeals in advertisement*	0.0

*Percentage agreement was 100 %

Table 3

Reliability Analysis for Character Variables

Variable name	Alpha
Advertisement identification	1.00
Number of times advertisement appears in sample	1.00
Brand of product	1.00
Type of product	1.00
Gender of character	.83
Chronological age of character	.86
Social age of character	.96
Race of character	1.00
Weight of character	.94
Body type of character	.97
Type of activity portrayed	.96
Whether activity actually portrayed (or prop)	1.00
Whether character celebrity or not	.81
Attractive*	0.0

* Percentage agreement was 100 %

Chapter 3

RESULTS

The following chapter presents the results of the data analysis. First, descriptive information with regard to both the characters and the advertisements is discussed. Second, the outcomes of the hypotheses concerning the advertisements and characters are presented. Finally, research questions pertaining to those units of analysis are answered.

Descriptive Information for Advertisements

Magazines and Issues Coded

Table 4 on the next page shows the names of the magazines, number of their issues coded, number of tobacco advertisements coded in those issues, the target races, genders, and ages of those magazines, and finally their frequencies of publication.

Table 4

Magazines and Issues Coded

Magazine	Number of issues	Number of advertisements	Target race	Target gender	Target age	Frequency of publication
Field & Stream	24	89	General	Male	Adult	Monthly
Esquire	24	67	General	Male	Adult	Monthly
Cosmo	24	99	General	Female	Adult	Monthly
Glamour	24	74	General	Female	Adult	Monthly
Rolling Stone	52	156	General	Male	Youth	Semi-monthly
Sports Illustrated	112	154	General	Male	Youth	Weekly
Maxim	24	148	General	Male	Youth	Monthly
Hot Rod	24	74	General	Male	Youth	Monthly
Vogue	24	38	General	Female	Youth	Monthly
Elle	24	29	General	Female	Youth	Monthly
Harper's Bazaar	24	35	General	Female	Youth	Monthly
Time	112	74	General	General	Adult	Weekly
People	104	165	General	General	Adult	Weekly
Essence	24	47	Afro - American	Female	Youth	Monthly
Ebony	24	34	Afro - American	General	Adult	Monthly
Jet	104	92	Afro - American	General	Adult	Weekly

Marketing Appeals

Overall, a total of 1375 advertisements, of which 366 were unique, were coded for the analysis. Sex appeals were seen in 24.5 % of the sample, affiliation appeals occurred in 34.0% of the advertisements, attention appeals were found in 29.5% of

the sample, appeals of autonomy were seen in 36.4% of the sample, sensory appeals in 79.0%, and finally appeals of escape occurred in 56.9% of the advertisements coded. Since multiple appeals were seen in many advertisements, percentages in the table yield a sum greater than 100. Table 5 summarizes these results.

Table 5

Frequency of Appeals

Sensory	1086	79.0
Escape	783	56.9
Autonomy	500	36.4
Affiliation	468	34.0
Attention	406	29.5
Sex	337	24.5

Brand of Product

As evident in table 6 below, Camel, Marlboro, Newport, Kool, and Winston, were the top five brands in terms of advertisement frequency in the sample.

Table 6

Most Frequent Brands

Name	Frequency	Percent
Camel	224	16.3
Marlboro	179	13.0
Newport	147	10.7
Kool	134	9.7
Winston	126	9.2

Type of Product

In descending order of frequency (see table 7), cigarettes, chewing tobacco, sniffing tobacco, and cigars were the four types of tobacco products most often advertised.

Table 7

Types of Products Analyzed

Type of product	Frequency	Percent
Cigarette	1220	88.7
Chewing tobacco	73	5.3
Sniffing tobacco	52	3.8
Cigar	30	2.2

Type of Cigarette

Again, in descending order of frequency (see table 8), regular cigarettes, menthols, light cigarettes, ultra-light cigarettes, and low-carcinogen cigarettes were the five types of cigarettes seen in the analysis.

Table 8

Types of Cigarettes Analyzed

Type of cigarette	Frequency	Percent
Regular	543	39.5
Menthol	439	31.9
Light	161	11.7
Ultra-light	38	2.8
Low-Carcinogen	6	0.4
Undetermined	4	1.2

Make-up of Advertisement

More than twice (see table 9) the advertisements coded revealed the presence of both characters and product than the presence of the product alone.

Table 9

Make-up of Advertisements

Make-up	Frequency	Percent
Both product and character/characters shown	953	69.3
Product shown only	421	30.6

Gender Composition of Advertisement

In descending order, the analysis revealed (see table 10) that 25.4% of the advertisements featured males exclusively, 20.4% featured females exclusively, 15.8% had even numbers of both genders, 3.6% were predominantly male, and 3.3% were predominantly female

Table 10

Gender Composition of Advertisements

Gender composition	Frequency	Percent
Male only	349	25.4
Female only	281	20.4
Even	217	15.8
Predominantly male	50	3.6
Predominantly female	45	3.3
No people	433	31.5

Gender of Product User in Advertisement

Further, the analysis revealed (see table 11) that in 19.3% of the advertisements, men used the tobacco product exclusively, 11.9% featured only female users, and 2.3% featured users of both genders.

Table 11

Gender of Product Users

Gender of user	Frequency	Percent
Male only	265	19.3
Female only	163	11.9
Both use	32	2.3
No user	259	66.5

Presence of Reward in Advertisement

Of the advertisements, 99.9% promised rewards such as the assurance of taste, the prospect of winning admiration from colleagues, and attention from the opposite sex.

Age-Orientation of Publication

The analysis also revealed that 50.4% (see table 12) of the advertisements in the sample occurred in magazines that are targeted toward youth readers. 49.5% of them were in magazines aimed at adults.

Table 12

Age-Orientations

Age-orientation	Frequency	Percent
Adult	681	49.5
Youth	694	50.4

Gender-Orientation of Publication

Of the advertisements (see table 13), 70.7% were in magazines that were male-oriented, 29.3% were in female-oriented publications, and 24.9% were in magazines read by both genders

Table 13

Gender-Orientations

Gender-orientation	Percent
Male	70.7
Female	29.3
Both	24.9

Racial-Orientation of Publication

As shown in table 14 below, 88.2% of the advertisements were seen in magazines aimed at a relatively racially homogenous group. 11.8% were seen in publications aimed exclusively at African-Americans.

Table 14

Racial-Orientations

Racial-orientation of Publication	Frequency	Percent
General	1202	88.2
African-American	173	11.8

Descriptive Information for Characters

Gender of Characters

As shown in table 15, of all coded characters, 52.6% were male and 28.7% were

female.

Table 15

Gender of Characters

Gender of character	Frequency	Percent
Male	332	52.6
Female	181	28.7
No User	118	18.7

Chronological Age of Characters

The oldest character in the sample was 70. Ages ranged from 25 to 70 years. The average age was 30.78 ($SD=5.13$).

Social Age of Characters

As shown in table 16, characters were predominantly young adults, followed by adults, the middle-aged, and the elderly. No adolescents were seen. In this table as well as the next seven, several characters could not be coded as they were (among various reasons) not shown in enough light or appeared as vague silhouettes .

Table 16

Social Age of Characters

Social age	Frequency	Percent
Young adult	208	33.0
Adult	190	30.1
Middle-aged	8	1.3
Elderly	2	0.3
Unable to code	223	35.3

Race of Characters

As evident in table 17, characters were predominantly White, followed by Black, Hispanic, and Asian.

Table 17

Race of Characters

Race of characters	Frequency	Percent
White	379	60.1
Black	71	11.3
Asian	3	0.4
Hispanic	5	0.8
Unable to code	173	27.4

Bodyweight of Characters

Characters were overwhelmingly of desirable or "normal" weight (see table 18).

Table 18

Bodyweight of Characters

Bodyweight	Frequency	Percent
Normal	478	75.8
Overweight	5	.8
Unable to code	148	23.4

Body-type of Characters

Again, as shown in table 19, characters were predominantly fit and muscular, followed by a very small number with average bodies, and weak or "spindly"

bodies.

Table 19

Body-type of Characters

Body-type	Frequency	Percent
Very fit, muscular	424	67.2
Average	49	7.8
Weak, flabby, spindly	5	.8
Unable to code	153	24.2

Type of Activity Portrayed

As seen in table 20, social gathering was the most commonly seen activity, followed by sexual posturing, vigorous activity like playing football, adventurous activity, running or walking (competitively or otherwise), solitary activity, and simply using the product.

Table 20

Types of Activity Portrayed

Type of activity portrayed	Frequency	Percent
Social gathering/casual flirting	209	33.1
Sexual posturing/flirting with sexual intent	96	15.2
Vigorous activity or sport	59	9.4
Adventurous activity	44	7.0
Running/walking competitively or otherwise	34	5.4
Solitary activity	32	5.1
Using product	10	1.6

Unable to code	147	23.2
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Whether Activity Actually Engaged or Shown as Prop

Characters were predominantly (see table 21) shown as actually engaged in activities as against the activities being portrayed as backdrops or "hinted at."

Table 21

Whether Activity Actual or Prop

Whether activity actual or prop	Frequency	Percent
Actually shown	450	71.3
Prop or backdrop	49	7.8
Unable to code	132	20.9

Whether Character Portrayed is Celebrity or Not

Characters were predominantly not celebrities as illustrated by table 22.

Table 22

Whether Character Celebrity or Not

Whether celebrity or not	Frequency	Percent
Not a celebrity	427	67.7
Celebrity	7	1.1
Unable to code	197	31.2

Attractiveness of Characters

As seen in table 23, characters were predominantly stunning or at least attractive.

Table 23

Attractiveness of Characters

Level of Attractiveness	Frequency	Percent
Stunning	232	36.8
Attractive	153	24.2
Plain	13	2.1
Unattractive	1	.2
Unable to code	232	36.8

Hypotheses

H1: Models featured in tobacco advertisements in youth-oriented magazines will seem younger than models in tobacco advertisements in adult-oriented magazines.

This hypothesis was not supported. The 251 models in magazines aimed at adults had a mean age (perceived) of 31.13, $SD = 5.51$, and were not significantly older than the 147 models in youth-oriented magazines ($M = 30.18$; $SD = 4.37$), $t(396) = 1.8, p < .08$.

H2: Models featured in tobacco advertisements in magazines targeting African - Americans will be more likely to be African American than models in tobacco advertisements in magazines aimed at more general readers.

Table 24 reveals support for this hypothesis. There were significantly more African-American models in tobacco advertisements in Afro-centric magazines than

in others. Of the models in these magazines, 80.6% were African-American compared to White, Hispanic, and Asian, that were respectively 12.5%, 4.2%, and 2.8%. In magazines with general readerships, only 3.4% of the models portrayed were African-American.

Table 24

Frequency of African-American Models in Afro-centric Publications

Race of models Portrayed	Frequency in Afro-centric magazines	Percent	Frequency in magazines with general readership	Percent
White	9	12.5	370	95.9
Black	58	80.6	13	3.4
Hispanic	3	4.2	0	0.0
Asian	2	2.8	3	.8

$$\chi^2 (3, N = 458) = 302.47, p < .001$$

H3: Youth-oriented magazines will feature more tobacco advertisements than adult oriented magazines.

Table 25 does not reveal support for this hypothesis. When repetitions of advertisements were counted (aggregate numbers), youth-oriented magazines did not have significantly more advertisements (50.4%) than adult-oriented magazines (49.5%).

However, as revealed table 26, the analysis using unique advertisements did reveal support for it.

Table 25

Number of Advertisements (aggregate)

Age-orientation	Frequency	Percent
Youth	694	50.4
Adult	681	49.5

$$\chi^2 (1, N = 1375) = 0.10, p = .75$$

Table 26

Number of Advertisements (unique)

Age-orientation	Frequency	Percent
Youth	243	66.4
Adult	123	33.6

$$\chi^2 (1, N = 366) = 138.35, p < .001$$

H4: Female-oriented magazines will feature more tobacco advertisements than male-oriented magazines.

Table 27 does not reveal support for this hypothesis. With 688 advertisements, male-oriented magazines had significantly more advertisements than the 322 advertisements in female-oriented magazines.

Table 27

Gender Comparison of Advertisement Numbers

Age-Gender-orientation	Frequency	Percent
Youth-male	532	52.6
Youth-female	149	14.7
Adult-male	156	15.4
Adult-female	173	17.1

$$\chi^2 (1, N=1010) = 96.29, p < .001$$

H5: Afro-centric magazines will feature more tobacco advertisements than magazines with more general readerships.

This hypothesis was supported (see table 28). With 352 advertisements in 3 magazines ($\underline{M} = 117.3$), Afro-centric magazines had significantly more advertisements than magazines with general readerships ($n = 1023$ in 13 magazines, $\underline{M} = 78.69$).

Table 28

Race Comparison of Advertisement Numbers

Race-orientation	Frequency	Percent
African-American	352	25.6
General	1023	74.4

$$\chi^2 (1, N = 1375) = 42.16, p < .001$$

Research Questions

RQ1: How often are models portrayed in tobacco advertisements in youth-oriented magazines celebrities (athletes, rock and movie stars, etc.)?

In addition to answering the query, a comparison was also made between the frequency of celebrity models in youth-oriented magazines and adult-oriented magazines (see table 29). Only one celebrity model was seen in adult-oriented publications. Youth-oriented publications on the other hand had 7. This was a statistically significant difference.

Table 29

Frequency of Celebrity Characters

Frequency of celebrities in adult-oriented magazines	Percent	Frequency of celebrities in youth oriented magazines	Percent
1	.4	6	3.7

$$\chi^2 (1, N = 434) = 6.9, p < .05$$

RQ2: How often do tobacco advertisements in youth-oriented magazines promise rewards such as sex, admiration, etc?

As illustrated in table 30, 99.9% of the advertisements in youth-oriented magazines promised rewards in the form of one appeal or the other. Almost identically, 100.0% of advertisements in adult-oriented magazines promised rewards.

Comparisons of the actual incidence/frequency of each appeal between the two age-orientations of magazine are made in answering research questions 6-11.

Table 30

Frequency of Portrayed Rewards

Frequency of rewards in youth-oriented magazines	Percent	Frequency of rewards in adult-oriented magazines	Percent
905	99.9	469	100.0

RQ3: Among the given set of appeals, are sexual appeals the most commonly used in magazines popular with youth?

In order to answer this research question, the appeals were recoded so that 1 = present in the advertisement, 2 = not present in the advertisement. Thus, lower numbers indicated greater use of the appeal (see table 31). Sex appeals ($M = 1.75$) occurred significantly less than sensory appeals ($M = 1.20$): $t(1374) = 34.72, p < .001$. They were also significantly less than affiliation appeals ($M = 1.66$): $t(1374) = 5.94, p < .001$, attention appeals ($M = 1.70$): $t(1374) = 5.88, p < .001$, appeals of autonomy ($M = 1.63$): $t(1374) = 6.29, p < .001$, and finally lesser than escape appeals ($M = 1.43$): $t(1374) = 16.31, p < .001$. Thus, sexual appeals were actually the *least* employed of all marketing appeals in tobacco advertisements in youth-oriented magazines.

Table 31

Rank Order of Appeals

Appeal	Mean
Sex	1.75
Attention	1.70
Affiliation	1.66
Autonomy	1.63
Escape	1.43
Sensory	1.20

RQ4: Are sexual appeals in tobacco advertising more prevalent in youth-oriented publications or adult-oriented publications?

As illustrated in table 32, significantly more sexual appeals were seen in magazines aimed at youth ($n = 266$) than those aimed at adults ($n = 11$).

Table 32

Comparison of Frequency of Sexual Appeals between Adult and Youth Magazines

Frequency of sexual appeals in youth-oriented magazines	Percent	Frequency of sexual appeals in adult-oriented magazines	Percent
266	29.4	11	15.1

$$\chi^2(1, N = 1375) = 33.79, p < .001$$

RQ5: Are appeals of affiliation in tobacco advertising more prevalent in youth-oriented publications or adult-oriented publications?

As shown in table 33, affiliation appeals were more prevalent in youth-oriented magazines (n = 285) than in adult-oriented magazines (n = 173). But, the difference was not statistically significant.

Table 33

Comparison of Frequency of Affiliation Appeals between Adult and Youth Magazines

Frequency of affiliation appeals in youth-oriented magazines	Percent	Frequency of affiliation appeals in adult-oriented magazines	Percent
295	32.6	173	36.9

$$\chi^2(1, N = 1375) = 2.58, p = .11$$

RQ6: Are appeals of autonomy in tobacco advertising more prevalent in youth-oriented publications or adult-oriented publications?

As presented in table 34, autonomy appeals were more prevalent in youth-oriented magazines (n = 347) than adult-oriented magazines (n = 153). This difference was statistically significant.

Table 34

Comparison of Frequency of Autonomy Appeals between Adult and Youth Magazines

Frequency of autonomy appeals in youth-oriented magazines	Percent	Frequency of autonomy appeals in adult-oriented magazines	Percent
347	38.3	153	32.6

$$\chi^2(1, N = 1375) = 4.31, p < .05$$

RQ7: Are appeals of attention in tobacco advertising more prevalent in youth-oriented publications or adult-oriented publications?

As shown in table 35, attention appeals were also significantly more common in youth oriented magazines ($n = 321$) than adult-oriented magazines ($n = 85$).

Table 35

Comparison of Frequency of Attention Appeals between Adult and Youth Magazines

Frequency of attention appeals in youth-oriented magazines	Percent	Frequency of attention appeals in adult-oriented magazines	Percent
321	35.4	85	18.1

$$\chi^2(1, N = 1375) = 44.48, p < .001$$

RQ8: Are appeals of escape in tobacco advertising more prevalent in youth-oriented publications or adult-oriented publications?

As seen in table 36, appeals of escape were more common in tobacco advertisements in youth-oriented magazines ($n = 490$) than adult-oriented magazines ($n = 293$). The difference was statistically significant.

Table 36

Comparison of Frequency of Escape Appeals between Adult and Youth Magazines

Frequency of escape appeals in youth-oriented magazines	Percent	Frequency of escape appeals in adult-oriented magazines	Percent
490	54.1	293	62.5

$$\chi^2(1, N = 1375) = 8.87, p < .01$$

RQ9: Are appeals of taste and flavor (sensory appeals) more prevalent in youth-

oriented magazines or adult-oriented magazines?

Sensory appeals were more commonly seen in youth-oriented magazines ($n = 774$) than adult-oriented magazines ($n = 312$). The difference was statistically significant.

Table 37

Comparison of Frequency of Sensory Appeals between Adult and Youth Magazines

Frequency of sensory appeals in youth-oriented magazines	Percent	Frequency of sensory appeals in adult-oriented magazines	Percent
774	85.4	312	66.5

$$\chi^2(1, N = 1375) = 66.54, p < .001$$

RQ10: How often or how much do tobacco advertisements featured in publications refer to the "healthy" aspects of the tobacco product (like "low-tar" or "low-nicotine" content) itself?

This research question was answered using not only an adult/youth-oriented magazine comparison but also a male/female- oriented magazine comparison. As revealed by table 38, more "light" cigarettes were targeted at adults (47.6%) than youth (15.1%), more "ultra-light" cigarettes were targeted at adults (5.4%) than youth (5.0%), and finally more "low-carcinogen" cigarettes were aimed at adults (1.4%) than youth (0.7%). These differences were statistically significant.

Table 38

Comparison of Frequency of "Healthy" Product Advertisements between Age Groups

Type of cigarette	Frequency in adult-oriented magazines	Percent	Frequency in youth-oriented magazines	Percent
Regular	67	45.6	476	79.2

Lights	70	47.6	91	15.1
Ultra-lights	8	5.4	30	5.0
Low-Carcinogen	2	1.4	4	0.7

$$\chi^2 (3, N = 748) = 77.03, p < .001$$

The analysis based on male/female-oriented magazines (see table 39) revealed that "healthier" cigarettes were aimed significantly more at women than men. While 88.3% of regular cigarettes were targeted at men, only 64.4% were aimed at women. While 31.0% of "light" cigarettes were aimed at female-oriented magazines, only 16.0 % were aimed at male-oriented publications. 4.6 % of "ultra-light" cigarettes were targeted at women and 1.0% targeted at men. "Low-Carcinogen" cigarette advertisements were only found in magazines with largely non-gender-specific relationships.

Table 39

Comparison of Frequency of "Healthy" Product Advertisements between Genders

Type of cigarette	Frequency in male-oriented magazines	Percent	Frequency in female-oriented magazines	Percent	Frequency in non-gender specific magazines	Percent
Regular	128	88.3	56	64.4	359	69.6
Lights	16	11.0	27	31.0	118	22.9
Ultra-lights	1	0.7	4	4.6	33	6.4
Low-Carcinogen	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	1.1

$$\chi^2 (6, N = 748) = 27.87, p < .001$$

RQ11: How much or how often do cigarette advertisements in publications that appeal to youth create an indirect image of a healthy product by featuring healthy, attractive, and muscular models, sports of various types, or adventurous activities like mountain climbing etc.?

Again, this question was answered for both youth and adult oriented magazines (as a comparison) with regard to bodyweight, body-type, type of activity engaged, and level of attractiveness in general. As table 40 reveals, 99% of models in adult-oriented magazines had normal or "good" weight, with models in youth-oriented magazines trailing closely behind at 98.9% (not a statistically significant difference). Overweight models were an obvious minority at 1% for adult-oriented magazines and 1.1% for youth-oriented magazines.

Table 40

Comparison of Weight of Models between Adult and Youth Magazines

Bodyweight	Frequency of models in adult-oriented magazines	Percent	Frequency of models in youth-oriented magazines	Percent
Normal	302	99	176	98.9
Overweight	3	1	2	1.1

$$\chi^2 (1, N = 483) = .022, p = .6$$

Again, as far as body-type was concerned, models in tobacco advertisements in both adult and youth-oriented magazines were largely of a very fit / muscular body-type. As table 41 illustrates, adult-oriented magazines featured 87.7% muscular models, 11.3% averagely built models, and only 1% overweight or "unfit" models.

Youth-oriented magazines contained 90.4% fit models, 8.4% average models, and 1.1% flabby/spindly models. Differences between the two types of age-orientation of magazine here were also not found to be statistically significant.

Table 41

Comparison of Body-type of Models between Adult and Youth magazines

Body-type	Frequency of models in adult-oriented magazines	Percent	Frequency of models in youth-oriented magazines	Percent
Fit	263	87.7	161	90.4
Average	34	11.3	15	8.4
Spindly/flabby	3	1	2	1.1

$$\chi^2(2, N = 478) = 1.034, p = .59$$

Analyses of types of models' activities portrayed in tobacco advertisements did reveal some statistically significant differences between youth and adult-oriented magazines (see table 42). Of the models in youth-oriented magazines, 2.1% were shown simply using the product, 3.2% were shown running or walking, 13.9% performed vigorous activities and adventurous activities, 24.1 % were shown as flirting with sexual intent, 36.9% were seen gathered socially like in a party, and finally 5.9% were portrayed as performing activities by themselves (reading, enjoying a panoramic view etc.).

Adult-oriented magazines featured 2% simply using the product, 9.4% running or walking, 11.1% engaged in vigorous activity, 6.1% were shown as involved in adventurous activity like mountain-climbing, 17.2% were shown flirting with intent,

47.1 % were shown in social situations such as parties or sporting events (as an audience), and finally 7.1% were depicted performing activities alone.

Table 42

Comparison of Portrayed Activities between Adult and Youth Magazines

Type of activity	Frequency of models in adult-oriented magazines	Percent	Frequency of models in youth-oriented magazines	Percent
Using product	6	2	4	2.1
Running/walking competitively or otherwise	28	9.4	6	3.2
Vigorous activity	33	11.1	26	13.9
Adventurous activity	18	6.1	26	13.9
Sexual Posturing	51	17.2	45	24.1
Social gathering	140	47.1	69	36.9
Solitary activity	21	7.1	11	5.9

$$\chi^2 (6, N = 484) = 20.64, p < .05$$

As far as general level of attractiveness, models in tobacco advertisements in both youth and adult magazines were found to be largely of the “gorgeous” or at least “very pleasant” type. To be more exact (see table 43), 65.4% of models in youth-oriented magazines were gorgeous, 30.1% very pleasant, 3.8% average, and only 1% unattractive. The percentages in adult-oriented magazines were significantly (statistically) different. 53.5% were stunning, 43.6% were pleasant, 2.9% were plain or average, and none were found to be unattractive.

Table 43

Comparison of Model Attractiveness between Adult and Youth

Level of attractiveness	Frequency of models in adult-oriented magazines	Percent	Frequency of models in youth-oriented magazines	Percent
Gorgeous/stunning	130	53.5	102	65.4
Very pleasant	106	43.6	47	30.1
Plain	7	2.9	6	3.8
Unattractive	0	0.0	1	0.6

$$\chi^2 (3, N = 399) = 8.649, p < .05$$

Chapter 4

DISCUSSION

This study examined the use of emotional appeals and portrayals of rewarded behavior in youth-oriented (and adult) tobacco advertising. This was done by conducting a content analysis of such advertising in sixteen nationally circulated magazines. The results revealed that not only were emotional appeals and rewarded behavior extensively used, but that there was a differential and pronounced use of these elements in youth-oriented advertising as compared to adult-oriented advertising. The following section discusses the implications of descriptive information that was gathered vis-à-vis both the advertisements and the characters in them, analyzes the outcomes of the related hypotheses and research questions, and discusses directions for future research.

Descriptive Information

The Advertisements

Interestingly enough, in spite of the seemingly abundant use of sex in advertising for most products, it was not the case for tobacco advertising. Sex was revealed to be the least occurring appeal. The appeals of taste and need for escape turned out to be the most frequently used appeals, followed by the needs to be autonomous, to get attention, and to affiliate or belong to a group. This might be because advertisers/manufacturers of tobacco do not want their products to be associated with sex as at least its casual or recreational practice is largely considered a “vice” with its medical and moral implications of disease, teen pregnancy, and promiscuity. They might shy away from using one notorious appeal to market an already notorious product. Instead they prefer to use more “innocent” and healthy appeals like the reward (based on the need) of escape. This finding is discussed in greater detail in discussing research question 6.

As far as the types of tobacco products seen in the study, compared to others, cigarettes dominated. This might be because for many young people especially, snuff or chewing tobacco is not considered hip enough and might even be seen as “low-class.” Even though older segments usually prefer cigars, they were not advertised as much in mainstream magazines. This is probably on account of their high cost and consequently, a niche customer base.

Further, regular and menthol cigarettes were revealed to be the most heavily advertised. In spite of the notional health benefits of light, ultra-light, and low carcinogen cigarettes, they were not advertised as much. This might be due to the fact that most people, especially youth (as is discussed later), give taste and flavor a high priority and assume a reduction in those sensations in non-regular cigarettes. Another reason for this disparity may be that youth are often not as concerned about smoking-related health risks as adults (*Wall Street Journal*, 2000). Perhaps, because they assume that they “still have time” and will be able to quit before harm is done.

As far as the make up of the advertisements, a little more than twice as many advertisements revealed the presence of both the product and characters than advertisements featuring the product alone. This highlights the importance of models (as explained by social learning theory). It is rewarded models that induce/motivate audiences (readers in this case) to imitate their actions (Bandura, 1997; 1994). The imitation in the case of this study would be that of portrayals of rewarded tobacco use.

Even though most advertisements were in magazines read by both genders, overall, most of the ads featured males exclusively. This dominance of male models could be due to the fact that smoking rates have decreased faster among women than men (*Wall Street Journal*, 2000). As men become a more lucrative market, male models could induce more imitation (social-learning) among their own gender than female models. Such differential same-gender imitation has been demonstrated by Bandura, Ross, and Ross (1963). Male models were also observed to use tobacco products more than their females.

Almost all advertisements analyzed promised rewards such as the assurance of taste, the prospect of winning admiration of peers, and attention from the opposite sex. Again, this is a pertinent example of the social learning implications of attractive models being rewarded and potentially inducing imitation of their

actions among observers (Bandura, 1977). These findings are also consistent with earlier studies that, for instance, found that young people consistently observe the desirable and rewarding results of smoking shown in media advertising and imitate it (MacFadyen, Hastings, & MacKintosh, 2001) or that tobacco-using models in advertisements are portrayed as being rewarded with popularity, independence, adventure and machismo (World Health Organization, 1998).

An overwhelming majority of advertisements were seen in magazines aimed at a relatively racially heterogeneous-general readership. On the other hand, 16.4% were seen in publications aimed at African-Americans. This was most likely due to the fact that there were only 3 African-American publications in this sample as, first, that was the case in the study (King & Siegel, 2001) whose sample inspired the one for this study and second, there are relatively fewer African-American-oriented magazines published overall. However, as will be seen in a later section, Afro-centric magazines did reveal more advertisements per magazine than those with more general readerships.

The Characters

Of all analyzed characters, 52.6% were male and 28.7% female. Again, the male emphasis could be due to the fact that smoking rates are declining faster among women than men. Consequently, males become a better market. According to Potter, Vaughan, Howley, Land, and Hagemeyer (1995), viewer's discriminations between portrayals become more refined when the portrayals are perceived as more true-to-life and familiar. Thus, viewing an advertisement portraying a group of male friends smoking and chatting might induce a young male smoker to imitate that behavior, as he identifies with the setting shown in the advertisement and enjoys the portrayed activity in real life.

On analyzing the ages of the characters, it was revealed that the most frequently occurring ages of the models were respectively 28 and 30. This could be due to the fact that even though the tobacco industry does target readers well below 30, incorporating models that look convincingly 18 or even 21 (even though it is legal to smoke at those ages in most states), might shed a bad light on the industry as these ages are still considered relatively tender and impressionable. However, many models that "seem" 30 could pass for much younger to many readers and hence potentially induce imitation among those readers. Further, there

is the possibility of “anticipatory” socialization where adolescents may want to use tobacco in order to feel older. In other words, a young yet convincingly adult-looking model of about 28-30 becomes the optimal choice for evoking feelings of personal identification and inducing potential imitation by youthful readers.

Characters coded were predominantly White, followed by African-Americans, Hispanics, and Asians. This is probably because first, at 71.3% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001), Whites are the largest ethnic group in the United States. Consequently, by sheer number, they constitute the largest market in the in the nation. Second (as mentioned before), only three African-American oriented publications were included in the King et al. (2001) study that the sample for this study was based on. No publications for Asians or Hispanics were included in the analysis.

Several studies in the past (Botvin et al, 1991; Krupka et al, 1990; Wilson et al, 1997) found models in tobacco advertising in youth-oriented magazines to be lean, muscular, shapely, and attractive. This study confirmed those findings. Models were predominantly attractive, fit, and muscular. Again, coupled with the fact that these models were shown as being rewarded in most advertisements (99.7% of them to be exact), the possibility of imitation by young readers becomes imminent.

Most activities portrayed in the advertisements were healthy and seemingly “vital.” Even though social gatherings at parties, barbecues, and sporting events (to name a few) were the most commonly shown, activities like flirting, playing sports, running, rock climbing and race car driving were also often seen. It is probably reasonable to conclude that the manufacturers/advertisers of tobacco products attempt to somehow associate using tobacco with vitality and vigor. As there is an abundance of research proving the harmful medical repercussions of tobacco use, indirect associations of happiness and health are made to counter those health claims. Further, the fact that advertisements for products like chewing tobacco and sniffing tobacco almost exclusively showed activities like race (stock) car driving, motor crosses, hunting, and cattle-ranching probably provides evidence that the users of these products predominantly like to either indulge in or view these activities. Yet again, manufacturers hope for imitation based on personal identification and reward.

Further, this study found that most of the characters were not celebrities. This is probably because in an age of political correctness and a heightened awareness of the ill-effects of smoking, American athletes, actors, and even rock stars largely do not endorse or model for tobacco products. Aside from being perceived as amoral, celebrities probably shy away from such advertising as it might damage their careers due to possible public outcries and boycotts. However, this American phenomenon is in contrast to other cultures. For instance, in Japan, Charlie Sheen has actually appeared in advertisements for the cigarette brand “Parliament.”

Despite of largely shunning official endorsements, American film and rock stars do promote tobacco use indirectly. According to a study by Realy (2001), cine-personalities and the characters they play influence adolescent smoking by making it seem “hip” and desirable. It was also revealed that significantly more celebrities were seen in tobacco advertising in youth-targeted magazines. This is discussed in greater detail in a later section.

Hypotheses

The first hypothesis was not supported. According to Botvin et al. (1991), cigarette advertisements employ youthful images and actors that appear to have a high degree of appeal for adolescents. While this study confirmed that finding, differences between perceived chronological or social ages of models in youth and adult-oriented publications were not found to be significant. Again, this is probably due to the fact that although youth as young 18 can in fact smoke legally in most states, actually employing models perceivably that age may cause a public outrage. Instead, manufacturers employ models that look “just about” acceptably old yet also youthful enough to “pass” for younger men or women (especially to the young and casual reader). Employing obviously older looking models would probably not result in imitative behavior on account of a lack of personal identification on the part of the young reader. Thus, the “twilight” age of 28-30 becomes optimal.

The second hypothesis was supported. Schooler and Basil (1990) found more black models and references to black culture in billboard advertisements for tobacco products in African-American neighborhoods compared to others. This study confirmed those findings in magazines. Rewarded models in

tobacco-advertisements in Afro-centric magazines were in fact predominantly African-American (80.6%). Tobacco manufacturers/advertisers probably employ a majority of African-American models to ensure imitation (by way of both initiation and sustained use of tobacco) by younger readers on account of personal identification with and attractiveness of models that look like them. However, magazines with more general readerships had a few (3.4%) African-American models at best.

The third hypothesis was not supported. When counting repetitions of advertisements (aggregate analysis), youth-oriented magazines did not have significantly more advertisements than adult-oriented magazines. However, the analysis counting only unique advertisements did reveal significantly more advertisements in youth magazines. This is a confirmation of the findings of previous studies (Albright et al, 1991; Basil et al, 2000; Sanchez & Sanchez, 1988). The most salient conclusion to be made from this finding is that although advertisers have carefully changed the numbers of advertisements featured in youth oriented publications in keeping with the 1998 settlement between tobacco makers and several US states, the high use and differential emphasis on rewards and emotional appeals pertinent to youth still abounds (as has been and will further be seen in this section). The agreement has been adhered to in letter but by no means in spirit.

The fourth hypothesis was not supported. Male-oriented magazines had significantly more advertisements than female-oriented magazines. Krupka et al. (1990) and Albright et al. (1988) found that female-oriented magazines had significantly more advertisements than male-oriented magazines. This study confirms that the trend has reversed. This is probably due to especially increased health-awareness among women. A *Wall Street Journal* (2000) study also confirmed this trend. It found that smoking rates among women were declining faster than men, a reversal of a pattern that started in the 1960s. Perhaps, tobacco advertisers/manufacturers have simply kept up and diverted more advertising dollars to male-oriented advertising.

The fifth hypothesis was supported. Afro-centric magazines had significantly more advertisements (per magazine) than magazines with more general readerships. This finding was a confirmation of earlier studies (Basil et al, 1991; Schooler & Basil, 1990) that also found more tobacco-advertising in Afro-oriented

magazines. As a matter of fact, per magazine frequency of tobacco advertisements in Afro-oriented publications was almost thrice as much as others. It would be overly simplistic to simply shrug this off as racism or ethnic “malice” on the part of the tobacco makers. It is more likely that rational (not ethical) business motives are responsible for this trend. Unfortunately African-Americans are still less educated and wealthy compared to other ethnic minorities. Since smokers increasingly continue to be from such groups (*Wall Street Journal*, 2000), tobacco advertisers and makers simply exploit the relative lack of enlightenment and opportunity of such groups and target them more than others.

Research Questions

In answering the first question, it was found that although overall, models were not celebrities, significantly more celebrity models were found in tobacco advertisements aimed at youth than in adult-oriented magazines. Advertisers/manufacturers probably realize that younger readers are impressionable and crave role models more than adult smokers. After all, according to MacFadyen et al. (2001), young people consistently observe the desirable and rewarding results of smoking shown in media advertising and imitate it, a young reader would find a celebrity portrayed as consuming tobacco all the more imitable and desirable.

In answering the second research question, it was found that both adult and youth-oriented magazines almost always contained advertisements portraying models as being rewarded with sexual attention, recognition, taste and flavor, etc. The social learning and imitation potential here is especially salient (and lucrative for the industry) for young readers. This finding also confirmed, for instance, those of the World Health Organization (1998) where it was found that tobacco-using models were rewarded with prosperity, independence, and adventure.

The third research question dealt with sex appeals. Sex is seemingly used abundantly in advertising. Fowles (1982) uses the example of “Jordache” jeans featuring a lithe, blouseless woman laying aside a similarly clad male as a clear appeal to the audience’s sexual drive. However, he then mentions a study in which only two percent of advertisements were found to incorporate sexual appeals. He notes that even an erotic magazine like *Playboy* shied away from sex appeals. He adds that the reason that this appeal is used

minimally is that it tends to take away from product information, ultimately reducing brand recall. Sex appeals are thus tricky and consequently sparingly used.

This study confirmed this view. Sex was found to be the least-used appeal. As mentioned before, tobacco makers might abstain from using this appeal as it could be perceived as promoting one vice with another (with the moral and medical ramifications of sex and potential for controversy). However, sexual appeals were seen significantly more in youth-oriented magazines than others. This was found in answering the fourth research question.

In answering the fourth question, while still a minimally used appeal, this study found significantly more sexually themed advertisements in youth-oriented magazines than in others. Although earlier studies (Altman et al., 1987; Basil et al., 1991), found differential emphases laid on eroticism aimed at women, African-Americans, and poorer segments, the frequency of the use of this appeal specifically among youth (as an overall group) had hitherto not been studied.

The reason for this phenomenon is probably that since the target readership/potential customer base for such sexually charged advertising is recently or relatively recently pubescent, hormonal activity is (especially for men) at a lifetime high. Hall (1922) notes, “The dawn of adolescence is marked by a special consciousness of sex.” (1922, p. 97). Sexual desire and curiosity in men abound at 18 and a few years thereafter. For women, the “peak” comes several years later. Erotic or suggestive smoking portrayals thus become very imitable as they suggest the rewards of both sexual bonding and release.

The fifth research question focused on affiliation appeals. Fowles (1982) observes, “The need to associate with others is widely invoked in advertising and is probably the most widely used appeal. All sorts of goods and services are sold by linking them to our unfulfilled desires to be in good company” (p. 282).

This study found that, even though not the most prevalent appeal, affiliation appeals were fairly (in fact relatively more) frequent in tobacco-advertising aimed at youth. The reason for this might be the importance of the peer group for youth. A sudden awareness of independence from family brings into the forefront the second most important circle, friends and compatriots. Also, according to Semmens and

Krantz (1970), the failure of society to give adolescence its due dignity and status encourages adolescents to create their own world and identity. They note, “ Advertising firms, publishing companies, clothing manufacturers, and mass media of communication have long recognized the present and future buying power of this age group and have skillfully created its “needs”.” (p.19). If one or a few people within an adolescent’s peer group start/starts smoking or using another form of tobacco, the pressure and desire to imitate that activity and realize subsequent rewards becomes immense. Cigarette manufacturers probably exploit this need to affiliate in their portrayals of team sports, groups of friends “hanging-out” and making merry.

Next, appeals of autonomy were also more prevalent (significantly) in youth-oriented tobacco advertising. Again, according to Fowles (1982) when credit card company “Visa” claims, “You can have it the way you want it,” yet another fundamental motive is invoked: The need to endorse oneself. This need is critical with youth. According to Semmens and Krantz (1970), young people want to make independent decisions and choose their own companions. They note, “ they are quick to resent any parental interference with their behavior and decision making.” (1970, p. 18). Again anatomical/hormonal changes coupled with a sudden infusion of “new fangled” ideas and social scripts makes young people rebellious. Parents might often hear the phrase, “You don’t understand,” when admonishing or restricting their adolescent. In this scenario, it is likely that tobacco-use becomes a symbol of that angst and rebellion, especially when shown as rewarded with the respect and admiration of one’s peers.

Astute tobacco manufacturers subsequently use such a need for self-assertion in their advertising campaigns aimed at youth. An example of the fairly obvious use of this appeal is its incorporation in the “Virginia Slims” campaign, seen fairly frequently in this study. It portrays happy, independent, and seemingly self-fulfilled women. Most likely, the target here is young rebellious women seeking such autonomy.

The seventh question was concerned with the need for attention. This study found that advertisements in youth-oriented magazines employed attention appeals significantly more than the ones in adult-oriented magazines. Fowles defines the need for attention as the need to be seen and noticed. This need is salient for

youth. Puberty and physical change come with insecurities vis-à-vis appearance and personality. Hall (1922) notes, “The boy suddenly realizes that his shoes are not blacked, or his coat is worn and dirty, his hair unbrushed, his collar, necktie, or cap not of the latest pattern, while girls love to flaunt new fashions and color combinations and have a new sense for the toilet.” (p. 364). This coupled with a pining for acceptance of both peers and members of the opposite sex make young men and women seek means of getting such attention. Portrayals of models getting recognition and acknowledgement on consuming a brand of tobacco might induce the young reader to seek and use that brand.

The next question concerned appeals of escape. Again Fowles (1982) observes that appeals of escape (getting away from it all) often go hand-in-hand with the appeals of autonomy. He notes, “Freedom is the pitch here, the freedom that every individual yearns for whenever life becomes too oppressive” (p.285). Again, according to Hall, there is an impulse to migrate or wander at the dawn of adolescence. He notes, “Home seems narrow, monotonous, intolerable, and the street and the motley passers-by interest and invite to be up and away.” (p. 377). This study found that significantly more tobacco advertisements in youth-oriented magazines used these appeals. In fact, it was the second most frequently occurring appeal. Although escape would normally be associated with older people with their busy schedules and stressful careers, using this yearning to target young potential/recently recruited smokers seems rational for a lot of the reasons discussed in answering the autonomy related question.

The need to get away among adolescents could be the urge to get away from parental constraints, strict discipline at both home and school, and pressure to conform to not just the peer unit but to the outside world. Fowles observes that escape does not have to be solitary. Using an example from cigarette advertising (not specifically seen in this analysis) he mentions a feature for “Salem” cigarettes in which several people retreat together into the mountains. Hence very often, the tobacco industry portrays models as being rewarded with escape and respite, hoping to grab the attention of the young reader and subsequently inducing imitation by way of actually smoking that brand.

The ninth query concerned sensory appeals: Taste and flavor, in the case of this study. This study found such appeals to be the most prevalent of all. They also occurred significantly more in tobacco advertising in

youth-oriented magazines than in adult-oriented publications. Just as according to Fowles, “The crab meat in the Red Lobster restaurant ads can start us salivating” (p.286), cigarette manufacturers were observed to emphasize the pleasant taste of various brands of tobacco. According to a study quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* (2000), younger smokers experiment more than older smokers, trying different brands before they settle on one. However, by the time they reach the 25-35 age range, their preferences solidify and they stay with one brand. Thus, during the experimentation stage, taste becomes a very pertinent marketing “hook” for tobacco advertisers. It may also be perceived as the most tangible or directly- received reward of all (as compared to say affiliation or autonomy) from smoking.

As mentioned previously, according to a *Wall Street Journal* study (2000), smokers are more likely to quit at older ages. The study also found that people seem to be quitting earlier than before, with more people dropping the habit between ages 35-44. Further, even the quitting-rates of older smokers seem to be increasing. Also, smoking rates are decreasing faster among women than men. In answering the tenth research question, it was revealed that tobacco makers have astutely kept up with these trends. The study confirmed that “light” and other notionally healthy forms of cigarettes and tobacco products are being aimed more at women than men. It is probably a final effort to entice older and female market segments with a “healthier” alternative before they quit altogether.

On the other hand, according to the same study, young people, especially between ages 18-24, smoke in greater numbers and carry their brand preferences with them in later years. Thus, the advertising “canvas” for them is more open and not just restricted to “healthier” tobacco products. For youth, the appeals of taste and escape rather than health were (discussed in detail later) seen most frequently. Overall, low-carcinogen cigarette advertisements were seen least. This might be because in spite of their purported health benefits, people fear compromised taste.

The response to the final research question is quite simply, “Cigarette advertisements in magazines that appeal to youth very often create an indirect image of a healthy product by featuring healthy, attractive, and muscular models, sports, adventurous activities such as mountain climbing.” Previous studies such as Altman et al. (1987) and Botvin et al. (1991) found similar trends. While the overall attempt was found to

be one of creating a “camouflage” of well being, health, and prosperity, some differences were found between activities performed by models in adult-oriented magazines and those in youth-oriented magazines. For instance, more running, walking, or cardio-vascular intensive activity was seen in adult-oriented magazines. This is probably because of the heightened awareness of that demographic of the medical benefits of exercise vis-à-vis disease prevention etc.

Another interesting (albeit ironic) difference found was that models in adult-oriented magazines were shown to indulge in both social gatherings and solitary/introspective activities more than those in youth-oriented magazines. However, more models in youth-oriented magazines were seen indulging in adventures like mountain climbing or kayaking. This was probably because advertisers/tobacco manufacturers realize that younger readers /potential imitators are less risk-averse overall and would identify with those images better than adults.

Limitations to the Study

There were several limitations to this study. First, even though the sample included 16 prominent magazines, only 366 distinct advertisements were found. This is because there was a very high rate of repetition of advertisements throughout the sample. The popularity and widespread use of a brand was seemingly directly proportional to how many times its advertisements were repeated. A larger sample, preferably one collected over a longer period of time would have been more desirable in terms of trends and the study of the use of appeals. Also, it would have allowed “time of year” analyses where specific sets of months in any given year might have potentially revealed interesting trends. There were several reasons for the relatively smaller sample. First, the magazines were difficult to obtain. Owing to financial constraints, only one publication (Maxim’s 2000 and 2001 issues) was purchased. Libraries had to be resorted to for the other magazines.

The second limitation to the study was its poor generalizability. This analysis focused on a differential emphasis on youth-oriented tobacco advertising in popular magazines. However, for instance, a study of tobacco use as portrayed in other popular media such as television (both cable and network) or feature films for that matter could have provided a very informative comparison. Thought not official endorsements or

advertisements of tobacco products (as they are banned on television), the analysis of tobacco use in shows, sitcoms, and other programming might have revealed other types of appeals, rewarded behavior, and social learning possibilities. Also it would have helped ascertain if such portrayals have a lesser, more, or similar impact on youthful audiences.

The third limitation was that this study was unable to provide a complete race based- analysis of youth-targeted rewarded and appealing portrayals of tobacco use. For instance, only three African-American magazines were used in this study, due among other reasons , to lack of resources and availability. Even though some interesting results were obtained, a larger sample would have obviously been better. Virtually no exclusive data was obtained on Asian, Hispanic, or youth of other races. Although most publications used in this analysis are deemed to have “general” readerships, it is likely that due to sheer numerical strength, European-Americans constitute a large part of those readerships.

The fourth limitation was that it was hard to tell if some magazines had (as policy) more pages devoted to advertising. If, for instance, it was ascertained that certain or all youth magazines had relatively more pages devoted to tobacco advertising, then it could have been concluded that youth probably view and learn more from advertisements in those magazines.

Directions for future research

Much like Tichenor, Donahue, and Olien’s (1970) work on knowledge gaps in mass media flows, future research could explore if there exists a knowledge gap about the health implications of tobacco-use among various races and socio-economic strata. This could be of significant consequence to effective and specific anti-tobacco policy making for those races / strata.

Future studies could also analyze tobacco advertising content in Hispanic, Asian and other minority-oriented publications (as against only African-American) in order to study trends across a more racially complete spectrum.

A second important possibility for future research is that of a study that employs the measurement techniques for differential tobacco-related appeals and rewards among target age-groups used in this study to that of one in an international context. For example, it would be interesting to know whether erotic

imagery (sexual rewards) are used more widely in youth-targeted tobacco advertising in Norway or Sweden where nudity is common even on prime-time network television. It would also be pertinent to see range of appeals, types of rewards, and variations by age in tobacco advertising in tradition bound countries like Japan or Korea or conservative nations like India with (although rapidly changing) traditional social structures and gender roles. Just like this study, interesting trends in emotional appeals employed and rewards perceived may emerge. For instance, family-oriented Japan might reveal stronger affiliation appeals even in the advertising of tobacco or similar to this study, taste might still turn out to be the ploy of choice for young people there.

Although vast in its scale and resource-intensive, a study like this could establish the universal relevance of social learning theory (or its clever use) in youth-oriented tobacco advertising, while still revealing culture-based differences in the inducement of imitative behavior. This could, in turn, be helpful in formulating more effective and culturally attuned anti-tobacco campaigns and legislation.

Conclusion

It is clear from this study that tobacco manufacturers still lay a pronounced and differential emphasis on advertising in youth-oriented magazines. The study revealed the impact of advertisements on young readers vis-à-vis social learning theory. It also shed light on the reinforcing effect of portrayed rewards by the use of attractive models and pleasant situations. From the beautiful and seemingly healthy young models kayaking against a snowy mountain backdrop in “Rolling Stone” to a confident and svelte woman in “glamour” proclaiming autonomy, the message to the young reader is indeed “Smoke and you shall be rewarded.” Such advertising is an important means of social learning and personality formation in general. The social “lessons” could range from “Just like this model, if I smoke a certain brand of cigarette, popularity and affection will be showered upon me” to “Just like this model, the menthol laced flavor of this brand will make me ecstatic.” Six appeals / perceived rewards were studied in this analysis. Out of these, sex, sensory satisfaction, and escape were revealed to be significantly more frequent in youth oriented tobacco advertising.

Overall, there were significantly more advertisements for tobacco products in youth-oriented magazines than adult-oriented publications. Almost all advertisements portrayed rewarded behavior in some form. Characters portrayed were also overwhelmingly attractive. Afro-centric magazines featured significantly more advertisements than magazines with general readerships. These magazines also had a majority of African-American models.

An encouraging trend that was observed was that contrary to patterns in previous years, women were targeted less than men and so called “healthier” cigarettes were also aimed at them more than men. The social learning tenet “rewarded behavior is imitated” seemed very relevant to this analysis and appeared to be the industry’s prime motivation behind the portrayals of youthful and attractive models being rewarded for tobacco use.

In a 1998 settlement, tobacco companies agreed not to target youth in their advertising. This agreement has not been honored. Tobacco companies spent more money on advertising to youth in 1999 (the very next year after the settlement) than that year. According to King et al. (2001), tobacco companies spent \$87.6 million in 1998, 96.6 million in 1999, and 91.3 million in 2000 (a slight decrease from the previous year but still more than the year the settlement was reached). Although manufacturers like Phillip Morris made concessions like ceasing advertising on the back covers of magazines (as they are considered premium), the youth targeting is still rampant.

According to a report in the *Wall Street Journal* (2000), cigarette companies pledged not to advertise in magazines with either more than 15 million young readers or where the teen-readership exceeded two million. The companies did not keep their pledge. For instance, *Rolling Stone* which featured more advertisements than any other magazine in 1998, had a teen readership of 28%. In 2000, it was still one of the prime advertisers of tobacco while having youth- readerships in excess of two million or 15% of the overall readership.

Just like tobacco, magazines are a business and industry. They need the handsome revenues that they get for allowing tobacco advertising on their pages. Although comprehensive bans on all forms of tobacco advertising would be ideal, they are not likely for many years owing to the tobacco companies’ immense

wealth and political clout. However, studies by Bauer, Johnson, and Hopkins (2000) and Friend and Levy (2002) have shown that counter advertising and public tobacco control programs do have a positive impact on reducing smoking-rates among young people.

Hence, since tobacco use clearly takes hold at an early age and goes on to be a life-long scourge, counter advertising and state sponsored anti-tobacco campaigns could be the optimal choice for effectively controlling tobacco-use among the young in both the US and across the world.

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Appendix

CODING INSTRUMENT

The Advertisement

1. Advertisement number

2. Brand name of product

3. Type of tobacco product

- 00= Cannot Code
- 01= Cigarette
- 02= Cigar
- 03= Cigarillos
- 04= Chewing, spitting, or dipping tobacco
- 05= Snuff or sniffing tobacco
- 06= Pipe tobacco
- 07= Rolling tobacco
- 08= Other

4. Type of cigarette

- 00=cannot code
- 01=Regular
- 02=Light
- 03=Ultra-light
- 04=Low-tar
- 05=Low-carcinogen
- 06=Menthol
- 07=Other

5. Name of publication in which ad appears, number of appearances in that magazine, and whether or not premium page

- 00=does not appear on premium page
- 01=appears on premium page
 - Field & Stream
 - Field & Stream premium page
 - Esquire
 - Esquire premium page
 - Cosmopolitan
 - Cosmopolitan premium page
 - Glamour
 - Glamour premium page
 - Rolling Stone
 - Rolling Stone premium page
 - Sports Illustrated
 - Sports illustrated premium page
 - Maxim

Maxim premium page
Hot Rod
Hot Rod premium page
Vogue
Vogue premium page
Elle
Elle premium page
Harper's Bazar
Harper's premium page
Time
Time premium page
People
People premium page
Essence
Essence premium page
Ebony
Ebony premium page
Jet
Jet premium page

6. Number of times ad appears in overall sample

7. Make-up of advertisement

01= Product featured only

02= Product and character/ characters featured)

8. Gender composition of advertisement

00= Cannot code

01= Male only

02= Female only

03= Both (neutral)

9. Gender of product user in advertisement

00= Cannot code (no one uses/ cannot tell gender)

01= Male only

02= Female only

03= Both male and female use

10. Appeal (Persuasive means based on human needs) employed in advertisement

00= Does not appear

01= Appears- minor focus

02= Appears- major focus

03= Cannot code

The need for sex: titillation, sexual imagery

The need for affiliation: to please and win affection; to be part of a group

The need for attention: to be looked at.

The need for autonomy: focus on the independence and integrity of the individual, breaking away from the crowd, from authority, parents etc.

Physiological appeals: focus on pleasurable sensual elements like taste.

Need to escape: focus on rest, breaking away from everyday constraints.

11. Presence of reward in advertisement

Does the advertised product promise a reward other than its mere physical consumption or the sensation caused by consuming it? For instance, an advertisement for a certain brand of cigarette might not just assure the user of taste and flavor, but also through imagery, the prospect of winning the loyalty and admiration of his or her colleagues and friends.

00= Cannot code (no rewards portrayed)

01= Reward portrayed

The Characters

1. Advertisement number

2. Name of Publication, and how many times advertisement occurs in it

Field & Stream
Esquire
Cosmopolitan
Glamour
Rolling Stone
Sports Illustrated
Maxim
Hot Rod
Vogue
Elle
Harper's Bazaar
Time
People
Essence
Ebony
Jet

3. Brand name

4. Type of tobacco product

00= Cannot Code
01= Cigarette
02= Cigar
03= Cigarillos
04= Chewing, spitting, or dipping tobacco
05= Snuff or sniffing tobacco
06= Pipe tobacco
07= Rolling tobacco
08= Other

5. Gender of character/ characters

00=cannot code (no characters/ cannot tell gender)
01=Male only
02=Female only
03=Both present

6. Chronological age

Estimation of age from 01 to 99 years. If, for instance, the character is an infant,

code 0

7.Social age

00= Cannot code
01= Baby
02= Child
03= Teenager/ adolescent
04= Young adult
05= Adult
06= Elderly

8. Race/ethnicity of character/characters

00= Cannot code
01= White
02= Black
03= Hispanic
04= Asian
05= Other (specify)

9. Body weight

00= Cannot code
01= Skinny/emaciated
02= Normal weight (“good body”)
03= Obese (fat)

10.Body type

- 00= Cannot code
- 01= Flabby, spindly, weak (out of shape)
- 02= Average
- 03= Very fit, muscular

11.Type of activity engaged

- 00= Cannot code/ no activity
- 01= Using product
- 02= Running/ walking competitively (racing) or other wise
- 03= Vigorous activity or sport like timber logging, playing football etc.
- 04= Adventurous activity like mountain climbing, kayaking, yachting etc.
- 05= Conversing, flirting (as apparent), gathered at party, bar, sporting event
- 06= Sexual posturing (flirting with sexual intent)
- 07= Solitary Activity (reading, looking on at landscape, strolling)

12. Whether activity shown as actually engaged or as backdrop or “prop”

- 00=cannot code
- 01=engaged
- 02=backdrop / prop

13. Whether a celebrity or not

- 00= cannot code

- 01= yes
- 02= no

14. Whether attractive or not

- 00= cannot code
- 01= Unattractive
- 02= Plain or average
- 03= Pleasant
- 04= Stunning/gorgeous