

Chapter 4

Factors That Influence Tobacco Use Among Four Racial/Ethnic Minority Groups

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Introduction

Tobacco use is determined and influenced by several kinds of factors: (1) individual factors (perceptions, self-image, peers); (2) social factors (societal norms); (3) environmental factors, such as advertising and economics; and (4) cultural factors, such as traditional uses of tobacco, acculturation, and the historical context of the tobacco industry in various communities. Behavior and patterns of tobacco use result from each of these factors and from their complex interplay, which is difficult to study and measure. Although available evidence has demonstrated that these factors contribute to behavior, research has been unable to quantify the distinct effect of each one and the effects of their interaction. The lack of definitive literature points to the need for further research to better quantify the ways in which a person's exposure to various social, environmental, and cultural influences affects tobacco use behavior. Most likely, it is not a single factor but rather the convergence or interaction of some or all of these factors that significantly influences both a person's decision to use tobacco and patterns of tobacco use (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services [USDHHS] 1989; Lynch and Bonnie 1994; USDHHS 1994). This chapter examines the complex factors that influence tobacco use among the four major racial/ethnic minority groups.

Tobacco has a role in all communities through social, economic, and cultural connections. These connections include (1) social customs, such as the sharing and giving of tobacco in Asian communities; (2) employment opportunities and economic growth provided to racial/ethnic groups through tobacco agriculture and manufacturing; (3) tobacco industry support of community leaders and organizations; (4) tobacco industry sponsorship of cultural events; and (5) ceremonial and medicinal uses of tobacco. Indeed, tobacco's history has led to some positive social perceptions of tobacco, perceptions that may also influence use.

Cigarette advertising and promotion may stimulate cigarette consumption by (1) encouraging children and adolescents to experiment with and initiate regular tobacco use, (2) deterring current tobacco users from quitting, (3) prompting former users to begin using again, and (4) increasing daily consumption by serving as an external cue to smoke (Centers for Disease Control [CDC] 1990a). Whether or not they are intended to do so, advertising and promotional activities appear to influence risk factors for adolescent

tobacco use (USDHHS 1994). Cigarette advertising appears to affect young people's perceptions of the pervasiveness, image, and function of smoking. Because misperceptions in these areas constitute psychosocial risk factors for the initiation of smoking, cigarette advertising appears to increase young people's risk of smoking. The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) recently concluded that although advertising may not be the most important factor in a child's decision to smoke, studies establish that it is a substantial contributing factor (*Federal Register* 1996).

A different kind of influence is found in psychosocial variables, which help explain why people start using tobacco, why some continue using it, and why some stop using it. Published research findings are scant about individual and interpersonal factors that influence tobacco use among African Americans, American Indians, Alaska Natives, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics. This paucity of data, in fact, both inspired and hampered the development of this report. Although research findings based on samples of the majority white population may be applicable to racial/ethnic populations, such generalizability has not been sufficiently studied. Furthermore, cultural differences exist among communities and members of various racial/ethnic groups in values, norms, expectancies, attitudes, and the historical context of tobacco and the tobacco industry. Such differences, in turn, may influence both the prevalence of cigarette smoking in a particular racial/ethnic minority group and the effect of certain associated risk factors (Marin et al. 1990a; Vander Martin et al. 1990; Robinson et al. 1992a).

Another important factor that may influence tobacco use behavior is the actual infrastructure within a community for conducting tobacco control activities that support a non-tobacco-use norm. This capacity of the community for tobacco control activities is also discussed in Chapter 5 of this report because it directly affects such programs, in addition to the influence it may have on the environmental context of tobacco use.

The first part of this chapter summarizes the history of tobacco use among members of the four major racial/ethnic groups in the United States—African Americans, American Indians and Alaska Natives, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics. The association between the tobacco industry and these communities, including economic influences and the role of targeted advertising and promotion, is also

described. The second part of the chapter discusses psychosocial influences associated with initiation of tobacco use, maintenance, and cessation among the four groups. Unfortunately, the limited information available affects the length and comprehensiveness of the presentation. The appendix presents a short his-

tory of tobacco advertising targeting African Americans. Because so little information is available on the history of cigarette advertising aimed at American Indians, Alaska Natives, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics, these groups are not discussed in the appendix.

Historical Context of Tobacco

African Americans

The first recorded landing of Africans in the United States was in 1619, when a group of indentured servants was brought to Jamestown, Virginia (Foner 1981), and Jamestown quickly became the center for profitable tobacco trade with England and other European nations (USDHHS 1992). Indeed, a significant portion of the early colonies' wealth derived from the exportation of tobacco (Northrup and Ash 1970). Cotton did not become preeminent until the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 (Foner 1981). Tobacco farming was widespread throughout the south, and although tobacco was later supplanted by other crops (including cotton) in many areas, it remains a major crop in six states—Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia (Gale 1993).

Whites initially were employed in tobacco cultivation, but as tobacco prices fell in Europe, tobacco companies began using less expensive labor (Kulikoff 1986). Among other factors, the need for a larger and less expensive labor force to grow tobacco led the colonies to gradually transform the status of Africans from indentured servants, who earned their freedom after a period of involuntary servitude, to slaves, who were the property of their masters for life. In addition to slaves, many free African Americans worked in tobacco farming during the 18th and 19th centuries. Indeed, more free African Americans were employed in tobacco production than in any other occupational category in the south during that time (Northrup and Ash 1970). Slaves also hired themselves out as tobacco laborers, and some earned enough funds to purchase their freedom.

After emancipation, freed African Americans who had obtained some acreage began farming tobacco because it was a cash crop that did not require much land to be profitable. In particular, freed African Americans farmed tobacco in Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. Nevertheless,

the number of tobacco farms owned by African Americans has declined dramatically in the 20th century, possibly because so many African Americans, including tobacco farm owners and laborers, were migrating to the north (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1982; Gale 1993).

In the colonial period and early years of the United States, African Americans and whites worked side by side in cigarette-manufacturing factories, which tended to be primarily small cottage industries. However, the introduction of the cigarette-making machine in the mid-1880s changed this pattern. Because white women were viewed as the only group that had the manual dexterity needed to operate the machines, and it was socially unacceptable for African American men and women to work alongside white women, African Americans were replaced as factory workers and relegated to less skilled, menial, field jobs (Northrup and Ash 1970; Meyer 1992). During the early 1900s, the dirtiest, unhealthiest, and lowest paying jobs in tobacco factories were carried out by African American women (Jones 1984). Because the jobs held by African Americans in stemming and processing the tobacco leaf were low paying, the tobacco industry made little effort to mechanize such jobs before the early 1930s. Thus, many African Americans remained employed in the tobacco industry, even as tobacco factories began replacing people with labor-saving machines (Northrup and Ash 1970).

The high concentration of African Americans in certain occupations helped them gain a foothold in one of the few areas in which organized labor had achieved success in the south. Initial unionizing efforts by the Tobacco Workers International Union began in the early 20th century (Kaufman 1986). The efforts of the United Tobacco Workers Local 22 to encourage African American members to register for and vote in municipal elections are credited with the election of an African American to the city council of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, in 1947. At the same time, a

rival—the Food, Tobacco, Agriculture, and Allied Workers Union—sought to involve African Americans in its unionizing efforts as equals. United Tobacco Workers Local 22, which represented workers at the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company in Winston-Salem, remained one of the strongest unions in the south. The union represented equal numbers of African American and white workers. In addition, African American women held significant leadership roles in the union (Lerner 1973; Foner 1981). This early unionization among African Americans in tobacco-producing states was of such historic importance that it is considered one of the first civil rights movements (Korstad and Lichtenstein 1988). Probably as a result of the racial divisions within the union movement and the residual power held by African American workers, R.J. Reynolds was the first company to have African Americans operate cigarette-making machines after World War II and, in 1961, to open a factory with integrated production lines and desegregated facilities (Northrup and Ash 1970).

Nevertheless, tobacco cultivation has not contributed significantly to the economic well-being of African Americans in the southern states. In each of the decennial censuses conducted between 1960 and 1990, about one-third of all counties in the south where tobacco is a major agricultural product have been identified as areas of persistent poverty. These poverty-stricken counties—concentrated in Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina—tend to have more farms owned and operated by African Americans than the south in general (Gale 1993). In addition, economies of scale and the increasing mechanization of tobacco growing have accelerated the decrease in tobacco farming, particularly by African Americans (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1982; Gale 1993). For example, by 1987, more than 50 percent of the farms operated by African Americans specialized in livestock production, and only 11 percent specialized in tobacco growing (Gale 1993).

In summary, tobacco has been a part of the experience of African Americans since the early 1600s, when Africans were first brought to the Americas. The relationship between African Americans and tobacco growers and manufacturers has changed in the postslavery era but remains strong and complex, particularly since the mid-1940s. The strength derives from the important economic role of tobacco among African Americans, and the complexity comes from the contradictory social and economic forces that affected the African American worker. In addition, changing market forces helped make African Americans significant users of tobacco. As a result, the rela-

tionship of African Americans to the tobacco industry was no longer primarily dependent on their role as workers in the tobacco labor force but was now influenced as well by their status as consumers. For example, until the mid-1940s, many African Americans held low-paying jobs in tobacco-related agriculture and industry; around the time of World War II, however, some tobacco companies began to advertise to African Americans. Advertising efforts increased in the 1950s, a decade that saw African American men surpass white men in smoking prevalence. During this same time, the tobacco industry was hiring and promoting African American workers. Other influences affecting African Americans' ties to tobacco were the tobacco industry's increased attention to and positive steps toward civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s, the broadcast ban on tobacco advertising that led the tobacco industry to seek more targeted market segments in the 1970s, and the expansion of African American political power in the 1980s and 1990s, which served to give the tobacco industry additional access to the African American community (Robinson et al. 1992b). The historical patterns underpinning the African American community's relationship to tobacco may affect African Americans' attitudes and behaviors towards tobacco.

American Indians and Alaska Natives

Tobacco has long played an important role in the cultural and spiritual life of North and South American Indians and Alaska Natives. When the Europeans colonized the Americas, tobacco already was being cultivated and used in many parts of the continent. Early European explorers documented the cultivation and farming of tobacco and its extensive use among tribes throughout most of North and South America (Hodge 1910; Linton 1924) and in Alaska's interior (Sherman 1972)—findings that have been supported by archaeological discoveries at a variety of sites (Haberman 1984).

When Europeans first arrived in the Americas, tobacco served various purposes among American Indians and Alaska Natives, including ceremonial, religious, and medicinal functions (McCullen 1967; Seig 1971; Ethridge 1978). In ceremonial and religious rites, tobacco was a significant part of sacramental offerings. For example, tobacco was used to ensure good luck in hunting and to seal peace and friendship agreements. When used for medicinal purposes, tobacco often was mixed with other substances in topical ointments and ingested for internal healing. For example, in the

northwest region of North America, tobacco was combined with shell lime powder and then formed into small marble-sized balls that were dissolved in the mouth (Linton 1924). Tobacco smoke often was used during prayers to aid in healing and was prescribed to cleanse people, places, and objects of unwanted spirits. Tobacco smoke also was used at the beginning of meetings as a ritual to cleanse the room and secure the truth from the spoken word.

Early inhabitants of the American continent also inhaled tobacco smoke (Linton 1924). They often placed burning or smoldering tobacco on the bare ground or on a mound and then waved the smoke toward their faces using the palms of their hands. Early inhabitants also smoked rolled sheets of dried tobacco leaves (cigars) and wrappings of cut tobacco, and they smoked tobacco through a flaxen reed. The most common way to smoke tobacco was to place cut tobacco within the bowl of a calumet—either a stone or a hollowed-out bone pipe (Linton 1924).

Tobacco smoking was part of many solemn occasions among American Indians, such as when leaders met (Paper 1988). In some tribes, the pipe became such a powerful object that it was considered sacred. Only certain individuals could use the pipe, and only sacredly gathered tobacco could be burned in a pipe's bowl (Linton 1924). The Hopi Tribe used tobacco religiously, blowing smoke in the four sacred directions to invoke good planting and to encourage rainfall. Other tribes, such as the Delaware, Iroquois, and Sioux, smoked tobacco during prayers, at the opening of the *sacred bundle*—a collection of religious artifacts (Paper 1988). Tobacco also was used between enemies in battle to signify a truce. If one party offered the pipe and the other party accepted it, this signified the end of the battle, and both parties would then put down their weapons. As a result, the smoking of tobacco leaves, often with the peace pipe, became associated with the American Indian as a common symbol that had significant positive social and cultural connotations.

During the 1700s, tobacco became one of the most important commodities traded among American Indians and Alaska Natives. For example, Alaska Natives in the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions depended on trade with tribes from the east and south of the North American continent to obtain tobacco products (Fortune 1989). Among the items traded were special smoking vessels, such as pipes made of stone quarried in what is now Wisconsin and Minnesota (Linton 1924; Paper 1988).

With the European colonization of the American continent, tobacco became known in Europe, where it

was at times expressly forbidden, primarily because of health concerns about the dangers of tobacco spitting. Following tobacco practices in the Americas, early European explorers smoked tobacco the way it was smoked by American Indians (Linton 1924). Indeed, many of the pipes these explorers used were fashioned after tribal pipes. Europeans also adopted many of the tribes' medicinal uses of tobacco. However, the use of tobacco for recreational purposes was widely accepted and soon became primary. Europeans also began to chew tobacco raw rather than in a mixture of powdered shells or roots, as was the custom of North American tribes.

Most early American Indian tobacco harvesting was done with farming technologies that originated in the Southern part of North America (Paper 1988). For example, nonfarming nomadic tribes and light farming tribes scattered tobacco seeds on holy grounds near waterways or marshes and let the plants grow without much cultivation. In fact, the Iroquois prohibited their people from cultivating tobacco plants or coming in contact with them while the plants were growing to maturity. Other tribes, such as the Blackfeet, Crow, and some Northern Plains Indian people, grew tobacco plants instead of food crops in small sacred patches for medicinal and ceremonial uses (Linton 1924).

Over the centuries as American Indians and Alaska Natives experienced vast cultural and political upheaval, their attitudes about tobacco changed significantly. Today, among some contemporary American Indian and Alaska Native groups, tobacco use has lost some of its traditional attributes and no longer is endowed with the same special meaning. However, some American Indians have maintained the traditional practices associated with tobacco. For example, tobacco is given as a gift to traditional healers and dancers at powwows and many other social gatherings, and it is presented to honor persons celebrating important events, such as marriages. Many American Indians consider tobacco to be a medicine that can improve their health and assist in spiritual growth when used in a sacred and respectful manner. It is important to recognize the positive social context in which tobacco is viewed in American Indian communities and to recognize the difficulties these connotations may cause in preventing tobacco use among youth and helping adults to quit. It is possible that tobacco control efforts could be enhanced by emphasizing the distinction between sacred uses of tobacco on ceremonial occasions and addictive tobacco use by individuals. An additional complicating factor for tobacco control efforts among this population is that American Indians have become

increasingly reliant on tobacco sales and on the revenues these sales bring to the reservations (see Tobacco Industry Support for Racial/Ethnic Minority Communities later in this chapter).

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders

Because about 63 percent of the Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the United States are immigrants (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993), their lives have been influenced by the history of tobacco use in Asia and the Asian Pacific. Asia's many countries and cultures have different traditions regarding the use of tobacco. These differences are also reflected in Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders themselves. Tobacco was introduced in Asia in the early 17th century by Europeans (Goodman 1992). Like the introduction of opium in China, the exportation of tobacco to Asia has led to an addiction that has dramatically changed the health behaviors of Asians (Chen and Winder 1990). The Dutch brought tobacco to China, where it was mixed with opium. The Chinese subsequently introduced tobacco in Mongolia, Tibet, and Eastern Siberia (Goodman 1992). Early Portuguese explorers then carried tobacco to India, Japan, and Java in 1605, and the Japanese in turn introduced tobacco in Korea (Laufer 1924). Asians later used tobacco in ways more similar to its medicinal uses in other parts of the world. In China, for example, tobacco was used as a remedy against colds, malaria, and cholera. The beliefs about the usefulness of tobacco as a medicine were so ingrained in China during the 17th century that two imperial edicts (1638 and 1641) prohibiting its use failed to curtail tobacco use.

Currently, tobacco is a crop of great significance in Asia. In 1990, Asian countries produced approximately 60 percent of the world's tobacco crop (Goodman 1992). By 1995, United Nations statistics showed that Asian countries were producing 63.2 percent of tobacco leaves in the world (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations [FAO] 1996). Both China (34.1 percent) and India (9.0 percent) ranked above the United States (6.3 percent) in the percentage of total tobacco leaf production (FAO 1996). In China, the manufacture and sale of tobacco products are part of the economic role that tobacco plays. After foreign investment was legalized in China in 1979, the China National Tobacco Corporation entered into joint ventures with Philip Morris, R.J. Reynolds, and other foreign tobacco companies. The China National Tobacco Corporation has dramatically increased production after implementing western technology, and its 183 cigarette factories, 150 tobacco drying

plants, 30 research institutes, and 520,000 workers make up a strong part of the local economy (Frankel and Mufson 1996).

Whereas cigars, pipes, snuff, chewing tobacco, cheroots (cigars), bidis (cigarettes of India), and kreteks (clove cigarettes) initially were more commonly used than regular tobacco cigarettes in Asia, cigarettes now are an integral part of contemporary Asian and Asian Pacific life. As expected, Asians and Pacific Islanders who migrate to the United States bring with them the attitudes and expectancies that have characterized the use of tobacco in their countries of origin. Sharing cigarettes, particularly among adult male guests, is a gesture of hospitality in a number of Asian cultures (Tamir and Cachola 1994). For example, distributing cigarettes, particularly U.S. cigarettes, at Cambodian weddings is a customary way of honoring the bride and groom. In China, foreign visitors are expected to give cartons of cigarettes to their hosts. In this regard, the importance of using tobacco as a form of social exchange is very similar to the reinforcement given to tobacco use among Hispanics.

Cigarette smoking also has acquired utilitarian uses in some Asian countries. In Southeast Asia, for example, cigarette smoking is perceived as a way to keep warm at night and to keep mosquitoes away (Mackay and Bounxouie 1994). In some provinces in China, anecdotal information indicates that babies and toddlers are given puffs of lighted cigarettes to stop them from crying (Mackay et al. 1993).

Cigarette smoking in Asian society has been popularly associated with affluence and sophistication (Frankel and Mufson 1996). Accordingly, the promotion of cigarette smoking in Asian countries follows patterns fairly similar to those found in the United States, where cigarette smoking is glamorized and often associated with affluence. In a recent article, Sesser (1993) recounted how in one week of traveling in Asia he "attended a Virginia Slims fashion show at a Taiwanese disco, watched the finals of the Salem Open tennis tournament in Hong Kong, and followed the progress of the Marlboro Tour '93, a bicycle race in the Philippines" (p.78). Cigarettes made in the United States are not only promoted in those Asian countries where the importation of foreign cigarettes is allowed, but also in China, where U.S. cigarettes are not freely sold (Stebbins 1990). In these cases, brand recognition is an important outcome of promotional campaigns once the market is opened to imported cigarettes.

Before market access trade actions by the United States in the 1980s, advertising was unnecessary in most Asian countries because tobacco production was operated through state-owned tobacco monopolies.

As a result, few brands were available for purchase. The expansion of large transnational corporations (e.g., British American Tobacco Company, Ltd., and Philip Morris Companies Inc.) into Asian markets brought about more brand competition and, thus, more advertising. Advertising techniques have included sponsorship of rock concerts and teen dances and extensive radio and outdoor advertising (Frankel and Mufson 1996). According to a study reported by the National Bureau of Economic Research using data from Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, and Thailand, "... in 1991, average per capita cigarette consumption was nearly ten percent higher than it would have been had the markets remained closed to U.S. cigarettes" (Chaloupka and Laixuthai 1996, p. 13).

The paucity of information about tobacco use among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders hampers the formation of substantive conclusions about the relationship between community attitudes and behaviors and the historical relationship with tobacco and the tobacco industry. Existing information, however, is sufficient to show that factors associated both with the respective native cultures and with acculturation are important. Tobacco prevention and control programs must take these cultural factors into account to positively influence the norms, attitudes, and behaviors of these racial/ethnic communities.

Hispanics

The cultivation and processing of tobacco have played a significant role in the economies of most Latin American countries, including Brazil (Nardi 1985), Colombia (De Montaña 1978), Cuba (Rivero Muñoz 1964), and Mexico (Ros Torres 1984). In 1995, the level of production of tobacco leaf in South America alone reached 9.1 percent of the world total (FAO 1996). In the United States, Hispanics, primarily those of Cuban ancestry, have played a key role in the manufacture of cigars in Florida factories. As is true of all immigrants, Hispanics who migrate from Latin America are influenced by historical conditions in their native countries regarding tobacco and the tobacco industry and bring with them the attitudes and ex-

pectancies that characterize tobacco use in their countries of origin. These attitudes and expectancies are often modified as the process of acculturation takes place (Marín et al. 1989a).

The history of tobacco use in Central and South America as well as in the Caribbean predates the arrival of the European explorers and therefore has acquired a rich lore. Tobacco played a prominent role in religious and healing practices of native inhabitants of those regions. It was used by shamans or spiritual leaders to induce trancelike states, ensure fertility, and facilitate spiritual consultations. Many cultural and social norms surrounded tobacco, all of which have contributed to defining the role of tobacco in these societies. Tobacco became a staple crop of the Americas when the predominant means of obtaining food shifted from hunting to agriculture. Tobacco manufacture and trade played a significant role in the economies of the Caribbean, Latin America, and North America. A detailed account of the history of tobacco in the Americas can be found in the Surgeon General's report *Smoking and Health in the Americas* (USDHHS 1992).

Recent surveys also indicate that Hispanic cigarette smokers have group-specific expectancies and attitudes that differentiate them from smokers of other racial/ethnic groups. These expectancies and attitudes are the product of social conditions and norms that have dictated the use of tobacco in Latin American countries for the last few centuries and are also the effects of certain relevant cultural values, such as *simpatía* (a social mandate for positive social relations), *personalismo* (the value placed on personal relationships), and *familialism* (the normative and behavioral influence of relatives) (Marín and Marín 1991). Among many Hispanics in the United States, cigarette smoking is a social activity (Marín et al. 1989a; 1990a,b). Although tobacco use remains a social activity among all communities, given the cultural values of *simpatía* and *personalismo*, sharing cigarettes often serves as a particularly strong form of social affiliation and friendship. This norm must often be considered when tobacco prevention and control programs are initiated within Hispanic communities.

Economic Influences

Tobacco Industry Support for Racial/Ethnic Minority Communities

The tobacco industry's longtime economic support for U.S. racial/ethnic communities may have contributed to the survival of many of these communities' institutions (Robinson et al. 1992b). For example, the tobacco industry supports African American communities in five main ways: (1) direct employment of African Americans, (2) support for social services and civil rights organizations, (3) contributions to politicians and political organizations, (4) support for educational and cultural programs, and (5) contracts with small businesses (Blum 1989; Robinson et al. 1992a,b). More recently, the tobacco industry also has provided economic support to American Indian, Alaska Native, Asian American, Pacific Islander, and Hispanic communities.

As detailed below, the tobacco industry has employed members of racial/ethnic communities primarily in farming and manufacturing, although some have been employed in sales and marketing positions. The industry's support for social services and civil rights organizations and its involvement in educational and cultural activities have been wide-ranging. This support has included contributions to endowments, scholarship funds, and literacy campaigns as well as support for artistic groups, exhibits, and performances. Contributions from tobacco companies and tobacco-related political action committees have underwritten the growth of racial/ethnic political power at the local, state, and national levels. In addition, many tobacco companies use the services of minority-owned businesses either through their own internal programs or through formal alliances with such groups as Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In addition, tobacco product sales and promotions have contributed to the economies of racial/ethnic communities. For example, the sale of cigarettes and smokeless tobacco contributes to the economies of small corner convenience stores catering to racial/ethnic minority communities in urban areas. Tobacco is an important income-generating resource also on some Indian reservations. Because reservations are exempt from paying excise and sales taxes on tobacco products, tobacco shops are operated to produce additional income for the community. Although these shops are legally restricted to selling

tax-free cigarettes to American Indians, this restriction is rarely monitored. A number of reservations are located a short distance from major cities whose residents often drive to the reservations to purchase tax-free or low-tax cigarettes and other tobacco products.

The interrelationships between the tobacco industry and racial/ethnic group leaders, industries, and community agencies may have served to strengthen bonds between the industry and the four racial/ethnic groups that are the subject of this report. These relationships are based on several factors, one being that the tobacco industry has often been the only source of funds for community initiatives. In addition, the tobacco industry has built personal alliances with members of racial/ethnic groups through employment and personal relationships (Robinson et al. 1992b). Indeed, Philip Morris's record in making financial commitments to community programs as a result of racial/ethnic-related networking has been noted (Stanley 1996). Efforts in African American communities to put tobacco control strategies in place have had to overcome some leaders and organizations who were reticent about such action because the community had a positive relationship with the tobacco industry, partly based on the industry's strong support for local economic, social, and cultural activities (Robinson et al. 1992b). Many leaders and members of these communities have a positive predisposition toward both the industry and cigarette smoking.

Employment Opportunities

Although the tobacco industry initially discriminated against African Americans, excluding them from many types of factory jobs, it eventually began hiring many African Americans in manufacturing positions (Northrup and Ash 1970). By the 1930s, African Americans made up about half of all persons employed in the process of taking tobacco from its leafy state to a finished product (Northrup and Ash 1970; Foner 1981).

African Americans have been concentrated in the tobacco industry for three main reasons: (1) factories were located in the Southern states, where the African American population was largest; (2) more laborers were needed as the demand for cigarettes grew after World War I; and (3) other opportunities opened for whites in an expanding economy, leaving African Americans with few job alternatives because of racial

discrimination and other factors (Northrup and Ash 1970).

In the last few decades, the involvement of African Americans in the production and marketing of tobacco has changed significantly. By 1960, African Americans represented less than 25 percent of tobacco workers—a decline from more than 50 percent 30 years earlier. Possible reasons for this dramatic decrease include (1) the migration of African Americans from southern to northern states; (2) the imposition of the minimum wage, which eliminated many of the low-paying jobs in which African Americans were concentrated; (3) the mechanization of tobacco factories, which required fewer people to produce the same number of cigarettes; and (4) the inability of unions to change the poor working conditions of African American workers, leading to their exodus from those companies (Northrup and Ash 1970).

Today, the tobacco industry employs African Americans as well as members of other racial/ethnic minority groups in a variety of factory, marketing, and promotional positions. In the latter two types of positions, members of racial/ethnic groups conduct promotional and marketing activities with owners of local shops and convenience stores serving racial/ethnic neighborhoods in urban areas and racial/ethnic enclaves in metropolitan areas.

The tobacco industry was one of the early leaders among corporations in providing opportunities in management to qualified African Americans. Two African American executives of tobacco companies were honored in 1997 by the Business Policy Review Council at its annual Corporate Pioneers Gala Tribute for their long-term contributions as corporate pioneers in breaking down color barriers in the business world (US Newswire, Inc. 1997).

Members of various racial/ethnic communities also have been employed as models or spokespersons in the advertising and promotion of tobacco products. Advertising and public relations agencies select racial/ethnic minority models and celebrities to promote and advertise tobacco products to targeted racial/ethnic groups in print and outdoor advertisements. These easily recognizable racial/ethnic models and celebrities are essential to targeted advertising, and advertising agencies have relied heavily on members of racial/ethnic communities to fill these modeling jobs. For example, the tobacco industry used African American athletes extensively to advertise tobacco products during the 1950s and 1960s, when racial integration was taking place in sports (see the appendix). In a study of advertising in *Ebony* magazine during the 1950s and 1960s, investigators found that African American athletes were used in cigarette advertisements far more

frequently than other African American celebrities and entertainers (Pollay et al. 1992). The use of well-known athletes, entertainers, and public figures in tobacco industry marketing and public relations campaigns has continued into the 1990s.

Advertising Revenues

By placing advertisements in racial/ethnic publications, primarily those with limited circulations, tobacco companies have become important contributors of advertising revenues for these publications (Blum 1986). As a result, many racial/ethnic minority publications—including community-oriented newspapers and national magazines—rely on revenues from tobacco advertising (Cooper and Simmons 1985; Milligan 1987; Blum 1989; Tuckson 1989; Robinson et al. 1992b). Some racial/ethnic publications independently sought closer economic ties with the tobacco industry. For example, after the ban on the broadcast advertising of tobacco products took effect in 1971, a group of African American newspaper publishers approached the tobacco companies and asked them to increase their business with African American media (Williams 1986).

Corporate media leaders are aware of the reliance of African American publications on tobacco advertising (Robinson 1992). The publisher of *Target Market News*, an African American consumer-marketing publication, has suggested that “reducing cigarette ads could deprive the inner city of much-needed revenues” (Johnson 1992b, p. 27). Similarly, the president of an African American advertising agency has predicted that “if they kill off cigarette and alcohol advertising, black papers may as well stop printing” (Johnson 1992b, p. 27). In 1988, the *National Black Monitor*, a monthly insert in about 80 African American newspapers, published a three-part tribute to the tobacco industry. The *National Black Monitor* has defended its relationship with the tobacco industry and has stated that “black newspapers . . . could not have survived without the past and continuing support from the tobacco industry” (1990, p. 4).

National and local publications directed at other racial/ethnic groups also frequently carry tobacco product advertisements and promotions. These include full-page, four-color advertisements in magazines and full-page advertising spreads in community newspapers. In 1989, for example, *Hispanic* magazine ran a short story contest, sponsored by Philip Morris, which offered a \$1,000 honorarium and publication of the winning story. The contest was promoted in a special issue celebrating Hispanic Heritage Month, and announcements

appeared in a message from the editor on the magazine's first page and in a one-page display.

The relatively high level of tobacco product advertisements in racial/ethnic and general publications is problematic because the editors and publishers may limit stories dealing with the damaging effects of tobacco or limit the level of antitobacco information in their publications for fear of retribution from tobacco companies (Evans 1990; Robinson et al. 1992a; Warner et al. 1992). Their concerns may be valid. For example, when *Newsweek* published an article on the nonsmokers' rights movement, tobacco advertisers removed all tobacco advertisements from that issue and ran them later (Warner 1985). In addition, a study of cancer coverage and tobacco advertising over a six-year period in three African American popular magazines (*Ebony*, *Essence*, and *Jet*) found that these magazines published only nine articles that focused on cancers caused by cigarette smoking (six on lung or bronchus cancer, one on bladder cancer, and two on throat cancer). In the articles on lung cancer, smoking was rarely discussed as a major contributing cause; smoking was not mentioned as a cause of throat cancer (Hoffman-Goetz et al. 1997).

Although magazines and newspapers with large circulations can sustain the sporadic loss of advertising revenues, the livelihood of racial/ethnic publications can be effectively threatened by such losses. Tobacco companies typically place less than 10 percent of their advertising budgets with small African American weeklies (Russ 1993); however, these advertisements may often mean the difference between survival and failure for small publications (Tuckson 1989; Robinson et al. 1992b). Magazine advertisements of tobacco products have decreased recently in all types of publications (Federal Trade Commission [FTC] 1997), indicating that magazines distributed nationally, including those serving racial/ethnic minority communities, may rely somewhat less on tobacco companies for advertising revenues. For example, 6.5 percent of *Ebony's* full-page advertisements were for tobacco products in 1993, compared with 9.4 percent in 1988, 13.5 percent in 1983, and 11.6 percent in 1978 (Gerardo Marín and Raymond Gamba, unpublished data). Additionally, a comparison of revenues generated from advertising for the first 11 months of 1989 showed that major African American publications such as *Jet*, *Ebony*, and *Essence* received proportionately higher revenues from tobacco companies than did major mainstream publications (Ramirez 1990).

Industries associated with the tobacco industry may also provide public relations support to racial/ethnic publications. In 1992, for instance, an adver-

tisement in *Ebony* paid for by the Nabisco Foods Group (RJR Nabisco, Inc., of which R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company is a subsidiary) saluted the magazine's publisher and seven other African American entrepreneurs as "role models to our nation's youth and as inspiration to all of us" (Nabisco Foods Group 1992, p. 2).

Eight-sheet billboards are also frequently used to advertise tobacco products in racial/ethnic communities. These billboards are small (5 x 11 feet) and are often placed close to eye level on the sides of buildings and stores. In 1985 alone, tobacco companies spent \$5.8 million on eight-sheet billboards in African American communities; this amount accounted for 37 percent of total expenditures for this medium. Tobacco companies spent \$1.4 million on such billboards in Hispanic neighborhoods (Davis 1987).

Funding of Community Agencies and Organizations

The tobacco product and alcoholic beverage industries have made significant financial and in-kind contributions to various racial/ethnic community organizations at the local, regional, and national levels. These contributions have at times been described as marriages of convenience in which community organizations and agencies receive much-needed income and tobacco companies gain, at a minimum, name recognition and goodwill (Maxwell and Jacobson 1989). Trade publications suggest that such community relations efforts are "effective . . . devices to augment minority advertising efforts and throw some water on any hot spots" (DiGiacomo 1990, p. 32). Recipients of tobacco industry support include most of the larger national organizations as well as a plethora of smaller local community agencies. In fiscal year 1989, for example, organizations receiving support from tobacco companies included the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Urban League, and the United Negro College Fund (UNCF) (Johnson 1992a,b). Internal tobacco industry documents released by Doctors Ought to Care (DOC) show that Philip Morris gave more than \$17 million to racial/ethnic, educational, and arts groups in 1991 (Solberg and Blum 1992).

One large racial/ethnic minority organization that has refused the support of the tobacco industry is the National Coalition of Hispanic Health and Human Services Organizations (COSSMHO), which has adopted a formal policy not to accept money from tobacco companies or their subsidiaries. The diversity

of contributions to racial/ethnic community agencies can be illustrated through a review of contributions made to African American organizations. For example, Philip Morris has contributed to such organizations as the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the National Association of Black Social Workers, the National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the National Black Police Association, 100 Black Men of America, Inc., the National Coalition of 100 Black Women, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the National Minority AIDS Council, and Operation PUSH (Jackson 1992; Rosenblatt 1994). R.J. Reynolds has contributed to the NAACP; UNCF; and Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, a national network of job training centers (Russ 1993). Other tobacco companies and the Tobacco Institute itself have made similar contributions to African American and Hispanic organizations (Robinson et al. 1992a).

In communities where tobacco companies have offices and factories, additional programs and activities have been funded to the benefit of whites as well as members of racial/ethnic communities. This support has ranged from funding for local sites of the Young Men's Christian Association to sponsorship of Christmas tree-lighting ceremonies (Jackson 1992). The tobacco industry also has participated in special celebrations and has sponsored awards and recognition events for various civic organizations. For example, at each year's conference of the National Urban League, Philip Morris presents the Herbert H. Wright Awards to African American executives of major corporations who have excelled in working on behalf of humanitarian causes. The awards are named in memory of one of the first African American executives at Philip Morris.

Promotional materials further document the tobacco industry's involvement with racial/ethnic communities. Current information is difficult to obtain, but in 1986, RJR Nabisco published the booklet called *A Growing Presence in the Mainstream*, which summarized the company's involvement with racial/ethnic communities amid quotations from Martin Luther King, Jr., John F. Kennedy, Booker T. Washington, Maya Angelou, and the *New Testament*, along with photographs of an African American member of the company's board of directors (RJR Nabisco, Inc. 1986). The booklet reported a number of the company's accomplishments, including RJR Nabisco's record for employing members of racial/ethnic minority groups, the provision of more than 25 percent of RJR Nabisco's total company-paid employee group life insurance by African American-owned insurance firms, the

advertising of RJR Nabisco's products in more than 200 racial/ethnic magazines and newspapers each year, and recognition by the UNCF as the largest contributor to the fund's schools since 1983. The booklet also listed 122 different organizations to which the company provided funding, including the National Urban League; the NAACP; the League of United Latin American Citizens; Howard University; Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority; the Portland Life Center; the Harlem Dowling-West Side Center for Children and Family Services; New Jersey's Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children; the National Council of Negro Women; the National Puerto Rican Coalition; and ASPIRA, Inc., of New Jersey (RJR Nabisco, Inc. 1986).

At the community level, tobacco companies rely on athletic, cultural, and social events to promote their products' images, often in association with small community agencies. In African American and Hispanic communities, tobacco companies frequently sponsor street fairs, jazz festivals, Little League baseball teams, soccer teams, symphony orchestras, auto races, and art exhibits, just as they do in white communities (Blum 1986; Robinson et al. 1992b; Sanchez 1993). These contributions place community agencies in a particular dilemma, because many of the agencies' programs depend directly or indirectly on contributions received from the tobacco industry. At the same time, acceptance of money and services from the tobacco industry may be perceived as an indirect endorsement of tobacco use. Community leaders generally are split in their opinions about the propriety of accepting support from tobacco companies and alcoholic beverage companies (Robinson et al. 1992a). Opponents argue that the costs of compromised integrity, implicit endorsement of tobacco and alcoholic beverages, and current and future increases in disease and death in these communities are far greater than the benefits these funds provide. Proponents argue that these funds—when made available for such purposes as scholarships, conferences, business development, health fairs, and the organizations' survival—benefit the various racial/ethnic communities, particularly when other sources of financial support have been in short supply or unavailable. Strategies and policies that promote funding sources other than tobacco companies are needed to alleviate communities' reliance on tobacco-related support (Satcher and Robinson 1994).

The tobacco industry also supports the operations and activities of racial/ethnic organizations by providing special services, such as the publication of resource guides and other materials (Blum 1986). For

example, Philip Morris has biennially published the *Guide to Black Organizations* since 1981 (Philip Morris Companies Inc. 1992). The guide lists national, regional, and local African American nonprofit organizations throughout the United States, as well as African American state and regional caucuses of elected and appointed officials. Philip Morris also publishes and widely distributes two similar publications, the *National Directory of Hispanic Organizations* (Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute, Inc. 1993) and the *National Directory of Asian Pacific American Organizations 1997–1998* (Organization of Chinese Americans 1997).

Support for Education

For years, the tobacco industry has contributed to programs that aim to enhance the primary and secondary education of children, has funded universities and colleges, and has supported scholarship programs targeting African Americans (the UNCF) and Hispanics (the National Hispanic Scholarship Fund).

Philip Morris has contributed to Teach For America, a not-for-profit group that trains teachers, primarily those in racial/ethnic urban school systems, such as those in Baltimore City and the District of Columbia (Marriott 1992). In addition, both Philip Morris and R.J. Reynolds donate money to public school systems in racial/ethnic minority communities (Milloy 1990).

For more than a century, the tobacco industry has provided financial support to historically and predominantly African American colleges and universities in the United States. This funding tradition can be traced to Richard Joshua Reynolds, who founded R.J. Reynolds about the time that African Americans were emerging from slavery. In 1891, Reynolds gave money to a school that eventually became Winston-Salem State University, a school that educated freed slaves (Russ 1993).

The tobacco companies also have been strong supporters of the UNCF, which was founded in the mid-1940s to provide a central fund-raising arm for a number of small, struggling, predominantly African American private colleges and universities. When questioned in the mid-1980s about the appropriateness of accepting contributions from tobacco companies, a former head of the UNCF gave three reasons for accepting the contributions: (1) the companies had been longtime supporters of higher education for African Americans, even when the cause was not popular; (2) the contributions from the tobacco companies were too large to reject because the colleges needed the money to survive; and (3) the tobacco companies had factories in communities where the African American

colleges and universities were located (Blum 1985). In addition to supporting the UNCF, tobacco companies have supported African American higher education in a variety of other ways, such as through other scholarships and internship programs (Robinson et al. 1992b).

In recent years, the tobacco industry has begun supporting adult literacy efforts. In 1990, Philip Morris joined with the Pew Charitable Trusts and the Philadelphia Mayor's Commission on Literacy to launch the Gateway Program, an adult literacy campaign designed to serve as a national model. Philip Morris contributed \$1.5 million to the program and an additional \$1.5 million for media support (Robinson et al. 1992b). In yet another outreach effort, Philip Morris subsidized the Milwaukee County Youth Initiative, a program designed to help low-income and minority families become more involved in the education of their children (Haile 1991).

Support for Political, Civic, and Community Campaigns

The emergence of racial/ethnic minority political power, mostly at the local level, has provided yet another avenue for the tobacco industry to bolster its support of racial/ethnic communities. Although most of the contributions at the national level have gone to white legislators, two African American legislators were 14th and 16th on a list of tobacco industry-related campaign contributions received from January 1985 through September 1995 (Fisher 1995).

At the state and local levels the tobacco industry has been generous to all, including racial/ethnic legislators, particularly those in a position to vote on increases in tobacco excise taxes and smoking restrictions on the job and in public places. Since Californians passed Proposition 99, which raised the cigarette sales tax by 25 cents per pack, political contributions from tobacco companies in California rose from less than \$800,000 in the 1985–1986 elections to more than \$7.6 million in the 1991–1992 elections (Begay et al. 1993). These politicians, some of whom are of racial/ethnic origins, once elected, control how the excise tax revenues are spent and what proportion of the revenues is spent on tobacco control and tobacco-education projects.

Other contributions have been made by the tobacco industry to civic leaders through such mechanisms as Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corporation's Kool Achiever Awards, which are designed to recognize a dozen or so urban achievers "working to create long-term benefits for urban communities" (Brown &

Williamson Tobacco Corporation 1993, back cover). Each recipient chooses a nonprofit organization to which Brown & Williamson donates \$5,000. In 1993, R.J. Reynolds began a similar campaign entitled Salem Freshside™ Salute, which recognizes African Americans working to improve the conditions usually found in center cities by giving these individuals donations of \$5,000. In addition, promotional campaigns directed at the nation as a whole can affect racial/ethnic minority communities. For example, in 1989, Philip Morris sponsored a touring exhibition of the Bill of Rights. Philip Morris placed advertisements celebrating the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights in dozens of magazines and newspapers, including a large number of African American and Hispanic publications. Photographs of admired celebrity members of racial/ethnic groups appeared in the tobacco company's advertisements. Such efforts engender good will and name recognition among various racial/ethnic groups. Just as some organizations, such as COSSMHO and, more recently, the Tet Festival in San Jose, California, and the Dia De Fiesta Latina Day of the Del Mar Fair in California, have refused to accept tobacco industry dollars (Fernandez 1996; Levin and Perry 1996; *San Diego Union-Tribune* 1996), individuals are also refusing to accept similar tributes. For example, a community activist was awarded but declined to accept the Kool Achiever Award because of the ethical dilemma he perceived related to the high number of African Americans whose diseases or deaths are caused by tobacco use (Rosenberg 1993).

Support for Cultural Activities

Tobacco companies have been creative in their efforts to reach all members of society via cultural events (Johnson 1992b). Tobacco companies sponsor large museum exhibitions, concerts, and performances for the full spectrum of society. Advertisements for cigarettes and, in some cases, for smokeless tobacco are often placed conspicuously at these events, although sometimes the tobacco industry's sponsorship is noted more subtly in catalogs and program notes. Some of the activities, however, are directed at racial/ethnic communities and are designed to support or enhance racial/ethnic pride and culture—such as Mexican rodeos; American Indian powwows; racial/ethnic minority dance companies; racial/ethnic parades and festivals; Tet festivals; Chinese New Year festivities; Cinco de Mayo festivities; and activities related to Black History Month, Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month, and Hispanic Heritage Month (Warner 1986; Maxwell and Jacobson 1989).

In some instances, tobacco products are associated with popular community events through sponsorships and store promotions. In 1989, for example, Skoal Bandit smokeless tobacco was tied to the promotion of Miami's Calle Ocho festival through live radio remotes from several 7-Eleven stores in the Miami area (Gross 1989). During that same year, the promotion of Skoal Bandit was associated with a Hispanic festival in Corpus Christi, Texas, and with the 10th anniversary car and truck show of *Lowrider* magazine (Gross 1989). Recently, the 1994 Little Saigon Tet Festival in Orange County, California, was sponsored by Marlboro and 555 State Express of London brands of cigarettes. Booths at the festival were used to promote the two brands of cigarettes through displays and the distribution of promotional items.

The sponsorship of artistic events has been one of the fastest growing segments of special events marketing, and tobacco companies have taken full advantage of this trend to expand and strengthen their linkages with various racial/ethnic communities (Bergin 1990). The tobacco industry's link with racial/ethnic music and art is not new; for example, in the 1950s, tobacco companies featured African American jazz artists in cigarette advertisements in *Ebony* magazine. However, these links are more complex today (Pollay et al. 1992; Robinson et al. 1992b). For example, in 1994, New York City art institutions that received funds from Philip Morris were placed in a difficult situation when the tobacco company asked them to inform city council members about the role that Philip Morris had played in sponsoring artistic events in New York City. At that time, the city council was considering a ban on cigarette smoking in most restaurants and public places, and Philip Morris was threatening to move the company headquarters away from New York City if such a ban was approved (Goldberger 1994). The headquarters did not move despite the city's passage of a 1995 law that banned smoking in workplaces (except for physically separated, separately ventilated smoking rooms and private offices), restaurants seating more than 35 patrons, day care centers, and playgrounds (Smith 1995).

Musical events have long been a primary outlet for targeting support among racial/ethnic groups. For example, jazz, rap, blues, rhythm and blues, salsa, gospel, and world music concerts are often heavily sponsored by tobacco companies and are identified with specific cigarette brands targeted toward African Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. Tobacco companies heavily promote these concerts on racial/ethnic minority radio stations, in the press, and through magazines that have large circulations (Robinson et al. 1992a,b). At these

concerts, companies often promote their cigarette brands by naming events after the brands, by placing promotional signs on and around stages, and by distributing free cigarettes and other promotional items featuring cigarette brand logos. These musical events have included the Parliament World Beat Concert Series, Brown & Williamson's Kool Jazz Festival, Benson & Hedges's blues and jazz concerts, and Philip Morris's Superband Series. The Superband Series was launched in 1985 by Philip Morris to support and publicize jazz as "America's unique contribution to the field of music" (*Jet* 1990, p. 36). The Superband, which featured African American musicians, performed throughout the world and the United States.

Racial/ethnic dance troupes and the visual arts have been strongly supported by tobacco companies. Philip Morris has contributed significantly to African American troupes, including the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater and the Dance Theatre of Harlem (Blum 1989; Rothstein 1990; Jackson 1992; Johnson 1992b). Philip Morris also has provided substantial funding to the Studio Museum in Harlem, one of the main repositories of African American paintings, sculptures, and crafts. In addition, tobacco companies have underwritten traveling art shows featuring African American and African artists and have displayed the artists' work in corporate settings (Jackson 1992; Robinson et al. 1992b). Traveling exhibits of Hispanic and Asian American artists have received significant support from tobacco companies as well.

One of the longest running cultural events in African American communities is the annual eight-month tour of the *Ebony* Fashion Fair. Founded in 1958 by the publisher of the leading African American magazine, this event is attended by more than 300,000 women in 190 cities. From the late 1970s to the early 1990s, R.J. Reynolds's More cigarettes supported the fair (Assael 1990). Proceeds from the tour have benefited African American churches, sororities, and other charitable and civic organizations whose antidrug campaigns, health fairs, and other projects are cited in the program. When the show was supported by More cigarettes, fashion models lit cigarettes during walks down the runway. In addition to reciting the names of clothing designers, the announcer noted that the

models smoked More cigarettes. Free samples of More cigarettes were distributed to members of the audience as they left the performance. At the Chicago performance of the 1984 *Ebony* Fashion Fair, R.J. Reynolds marked the UNCF's 40th anniversary by donating a \$250,000 ruby necklace to the fund as part of the tradition of giving rubies on 40th anniversaries (Joyner 1984; Blum 1985, 1986).

Estimating how much money is actually spent by the tobacco industry on the sponsorship of racial/ethnic cultural and social activities is difficult. Detailed financial records of tobacco manufacturers are not public record, and the financial information that is published in annual reports and similar company publications does not separate the amount of money spent on the promotion of cultural and artistic events among racial/ethnic groups from the amount spent on advertising and other forms of product promotion.

Support for Sports Events

Although the negative effect of tobacco on health has made direct links between tobacco companies and sports less tenable today than they were in the 1950s and 1960s, tobacco companies have increased their involvement in sports by sponsoring community-based softball, golf, soccer, and baseball (Blum 1989; Robinson et al. 1992b). One such example is U.S. Tobacco's Skoal Brand sponsorship of the Hispanic championship soccer tournament, Copa Nacional (*Brandweek* 1995). Tobacco companies have maintained a link to sports and racial/ethnic communities through such means as sponsoring the Jackie Robinson Foundation Awards Dinner. In 1995 alone, the six major cigarette-manufacturing companies in the United States spent \$83 million to sponsor, advertise, or promote sporting events; to support individual athletes or group teams; to advertise in sports venues; and to promote items connected with sporting events (FTC 1997). Tobacco industry support for sports is consequential, in part, because of the perception among some youth, particularly African Americans, that athletic ability provides an avenue of personal advancement.

Advertising and Promotion

Advertising is an important influence on tobacco use initiation and maintenance, as documented in *Preventing Tobacco Use Among Young People* (USDHHS 1994). Cigarette advertising and promotion may stimulate cigarette consumption by (1) encouraging children and adolescents to experiment with and initiate regular use of cigarettes, (2) deterring current smokers from quitting, (3) prompting former smokers to begin smoking again, and (4) increasing smokers' daily cigarette consumption by serving as an external cue to smoke (CDC 1990a). In addition, cigarette advertising appears to influence the perceptions of youths and adults about the pervasiveness of cigarette smoking and the images they hold of smokers (USDHHS 1989, 1994). Cigarette advertising also may contribute to the perception that smoking is a socially acceptable, safe behavior and may produce new perceptions about the functions of cigarette smoking in social situations. All of these perceptions have been shown to be risk factors for the initiation of cigarette smoking (Lynch and Bonnie 1994; USDHHS 1994; *Federal Register* 1996).

Unfortunately, the specific effect of advertising on youth in racial/ethnic minority communities is not well understood, to some extent because research is scarce on youth in racial/ethnic communities. Available data indicate that young people smoke the brands that are most heavily advertised. In 1993, the three most heavily advertised brands of cigarettes, Marlboro, Camel, and Newport, were the three most commonly purchased brands among adolescent smokers. More than 45 percent of Hispanic and 63 percent of white teenagers reported purchasing Marlboro. African American teenagers most often chose Newport, one of the mentholated cigarettes heavily marketed to the African American community (Cummings et al. 1987; CDC 1994a). Although combined sales of these three brands represented only 35 percent of the adult market share, they represented 86 percent of the adolescent market share. These data suggest that tobacco advertising influences brand preference among youths and that there are differences in preference among racial/ethnic groups (CDC 1994a).

Another reason that research to date has been unable to quantify the specific effect of tobacco advertising on racial/ethnic groups is that advertising for tobacco products is ubiquitous and uses images, such as glamour, independence, and attractiveness, that appeal to all segments of society. Overall, tobacco

products are among the most heavily advertised products in the United States. However, studies have documented that some tobacco products are advertised disproportionately to members of racial/ethnic groups, such as mentholated products to African Americans and brands named "Rio" and the earlier "Dorado" to Hispanics (Gloede 1985; Leviten 1985; Walters 1985).

In a study of adolescents who had never tried smoking, Evans and colleagues (1995) reported an association between a measure they constructed on receptivity to tobacco marketing and a measure of susceptibility to begin smoking. Higher scores on the receptivity index were associated with increasing likelihood of being susceptible to start smoking. The association persisted, even after statistical control for exposure to other smokers, race/ethnicity, and other socioeconomic status variables. Racial/ethnic minority-group specific analyses were not conducted. The findings in this study, though suggestive, require further validation.

Market segmentation is a well-developed strategy for crafting advertising campaigns that present particularly persuasive appeals to targeted audiences (Murphy 1984). It has been suggested that the tobacco industry strategically targets new consumer groups (e.g., women, racial/ethnic groups, and youths) by developing advertisements that exploit the psychological interests and needs of those targeted populations (e.g., Basil et al. 1991). A large and increasing portion of advertising and marketing is targeted to racial/ethnic groups, especially youth (Moore et al. 1996; Zbar 1996). The challenge for the audience is to distinguish the advertising that represents consumer goods with benefit or satisfaction from advertising that represents products that may harm the target community (Moore et al. 1996). Targeted tobacco advertising presents images of success, wealth, happiness, and sophistication, all of which are attractive to racial/ethnic groups, perhaps particularly in contrast with other, less flattering images of those communities presented by the news media. A recent article on the health of African American women discussed the attractive images used to target the African American community. "We have grown almost numb to negative images of ourselves in the media—Black teen girls surrounded by screaming babies or men in handcuffs. Except in cigarette or liquor advertisements. In these we are beautiful, confident, well-dressed, happy, wealthy, in love. . . ." (Villarosa 1994, p. 13).

Concern about targeted tobacco advertising has been the subject of various congressional hearings (e.g., U.S. Congress 1987, 1990). Efforts have been made by communities to counteract such advertising. Indeed, tobacco companies' targeting of racial/ethnic communities appears in some cases to have created a reverse marketing effect, such as that seen with the African American community's negative and forceful response to Uptown and X brand cigarettes (see Targeted Products later in this chapter). Recent data show that African Americans' spending on tobacco decreased 5 percent between 1994 and 1995 (Schmeltzer 1996), perhaps due in part to an adverse reaction to the targeted marketing of a harmful product (McIntosh 1995). Counteradvertising has also been used; one poster distributed by Harlem Hospital in 1991 depicted the Marlboro man lighting a cigarette for an African American child. The caption read, "They used to make us pick it. Now they want us to smoke it." A television spot, "Rappers/Pick It," produced by the California Department of Health Services, conveys a similar theme (Kizer et al. 1990, p. 76).

Although many companies are sensitive about disclosing targeted marketing strategies, particularly efforts focused on racial/ethnic minority markets, recent analyses of marketing trends document tobacco companies' efforts to sell their products to racial/ethnic groups and to youths (Davis 1987; Altman et al. 1991; Johnson 1992a; Moore et al. 1996; Stoddard et al. 1997). At least one major tobacco company, Philip Morris, has argued that it does not exclusively target any particular group (Nelson and Lukas 1990). Questions also have been raised about the appropriateness of using targeted advertising and promotional techniques when the quantity and intensity of these efforts are well beyond the proportional purchasing power of the targeted group or when particular promotional techniques such as billboard placements are used in quantities that are out of proportion to the population size of the targeted groups. Examples of targeted advertising and promotion that may be inappropriate include the overly frequent placement of billboards that advertise tobacco products in racial/ethnic enclaves, the use of cultural values and symbols valued by members of racial/ethnic groups to promote tobacco products, and the use of certain promotional practices (e.g., coupons, discounts, tie-ins, and free gifts).

Magazine Advertisements

Certain tobacco products are advertised disproportionately to members of racial/ethnic groups. For example, menthol cigarettes are more frequently

advertised in magazines targeting African Americans than in magazines directed at the general public (Cummings et al. 1987). An analysis of one year of issues (June 1984 through May 1985) of three magazines primarily directed at African Americans—*Jet*, *Ebony*, and *Essence*—and of four magazines directed at the general population—*Newsweek*, *Time*, *People*, and *Mademoiselle*—found that 12 percent more advertisements for cigarettes appeared in the African American magazines. In addition, 65.9 percent of the cigarette advertisements in the African American magazines were for menthol cigarettes, compared with 15.4 percent of those in the general population magazines (Cummings et al. 1987). Indeed, Newport, a menthol brand, is the number one preferred cigarette among African American adults and youth (CDC 1990b, 1994a).

Outdoor Advertisements

Early research showed that marketing approaches such as billboards and point-of-sale displays have been particularly effective in reaching African Americans. In one early study, Bullock (1961) sampled 1,106 African Americans and 537 whites from Atlanta, Birmingham, Houston, Memphis, and New Orleans to assess a variety of consumer behaviors. Bullock found that billboards and point-of-sale materials were particularly effective in reaching a high proportion of African American consumers and that African American consumers were more likely than whites to trust advertising. In addition, a disproportionately high number of billboards and other outdoor advertisements promoting cigarettes and other tobacco products have been placed in racial/ethnic minority communities. A recent study in Los Angeles found that the density of cigarette advertisements on billboards was 4.6 times greater in the city proper than in the suburbs (Ewert and Alleyne 1992). In a study conducted in San Diego, Elder and colleagues (1993) found that the highest proportion of billboards featuring tobacco products was in Asian American (13.0 percent) neighborhoods, followed by African American (9.6 percent), Hispanic (4.7 percent), and white (1.1 percent) neighborhoods. The volume of outdoor advertising in Asian American neighborhoods was relatively low, although the proportion of that space devoted to tobacco products was high (Elder et al. 1993). In an earlier study, Mitchell and Greenberg (1991) found that most billboards in racial/ethnic communities in four New Jersey cities were predominantly dedicated to advertised alcoholic beverages and tobacco products. In several urban centers, the proportion of billboard

tobacco advertising has been found to be higher in African American neighborhoods than in white areas (Tuckson 1989; Mitchell and Greenberg 1991; Mayberry and Price 1993). Stoddard and colleagues (1997) documented tobacco billboard advertising in four neighborhoods (African American, Asian American and Pacific Islander, Hispanic, and white) in Los Angeles during 1993 and 1994. Tobacco billboard density (the number of billboards per mile) was highest in African American communities, intermediate in Hispanic and Asian communities, and lowest in white communities. The models in billboards in African American neighborhoods were more likely to appear younger than in the other neighborhoods. In addition, 91 percent of the billboards in African American neighborhoods featured an African American as the central character; in the other three neighborhoods, whites portrayed the central characters.

In-Store Promotions

In-store and over-the-counter promotions for tobacco products also seem to disproportionately target racial/ethnic communities. For example, in racial/ethnic neighborhoods in San Diego, Asian American retail outlets had the highest average number of tobacco promotion displays (6.4), compared with Hispanic (4.6) and African American (3.7) stores (Elder et al. 1993). In addition, low-cost or generic cigarettes that have begun to capture increasing market shares may be particularly effective as part of a targeted campaign directed at members of racial/ethnic groups with low-socioeconomic status and for whom price may be an important consideration in the purchase of cigarettes (Assael 1990).

Convenience store owners often are eager to promote tobacco products, which account for about 26.5 percent of their total sales (National Association of Convenience Stores 1993). In such stores, tobacco companies frequently promote their products through special displays and point-of-sale promotions that provide monetary or product allowances for the store owners (Cummings et al. 1991; Wildey et al. 1992; Davis 1993; USDHHS 1994). In a study of 23 supermarkets and convenience stores in San Diego, Wildey and colleagues (1992) found that 52 percent of store owners reported receiving payments from tobacco companies for displaying advertisements in their stores and that 69 percent of the stores displayed tobacco advertisements on the outside walls, windows, or parking lot signs. The researchers also found that stores in Asian American neighborhoods were more likely than stores in white communities to have

outside advertisements for tobacco products. A San Francisco study found that a large number of small stores in racial/ethnic minority neighborhoods display outside placards and small billboards for tobacco products (Gerardo Marín and colleagues, unpublished data). About 57.6 percent of small stores in predominantly African American neighborhoods displayed at least one advertisement for tobacco products, compared with 37.7 percent in predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods and 28.6 percent in predominantly Asian American and Pacific Islander neighborhoods.

Racial/Ethnic Symbols, Names, and Events

Another area of concern about targeted advertising and promotion is the use of clearly identifiable racial/ethnic models; group-specific messages, such as salutes to Latino community organizations during Hispanic Heritage Month, and group-relevant placements. Examples of group-relevant placements are cigarette advertisements appearing during Black History Month and featuring pictures or quotations of African American leaders and Philip Morris's salute to its Bill of Rights campaign during news coverage of Nelson Mandela's release from prison. These advertisements target racial/ethnic communities by making use of symbols and events that are held in high esteem by community members.

Individuals' psychosocial characteristics are commonly used in the design of targeted advertising and marketing campaigns (Basil et al. 1991). Consumers, particularly those who identify with an racial/ethnic group's culture, tend to prefer buying goods that are specifically advertised to their cultural group. Deshpande and colleagues (1986) found that Hispanics who strongly identified with their racial/ethnic culture preferred Spanish language advertising, were more likely than those with less cultural identification to maintain brand loyalty, and were more likely than those with less cultural identification to buy prestige brand goods and those advertised specifically to their racial/ethnic minority group. In addition, Lee and Barnes (1989–1990) found that advertisements targeting African Americans differ from those directed at the general population in that they feature certain bright colors.

Tobacco product promotions also feature symbols and names that have special meaning for racial/ethnic groups. Certain names have special significance for particular groups (Uptown among African Americans), the use of non-English names may appeal to certain linguistic groups (Rio and Dorado among Hispanics), and the use of certain words can conjure

symbols that are meaningful to a particular group (American Spirit among American Indians). The use of racial/ethnic events and symbols to market tobacco can present a complex issue that is difficult for communities to resolve. For instance, the American Spirit cigarette package portrays an American Indian smoking a pipe, and the product's literature features American Indian cultural themes, stating that the American Indian custom was to smoke tobacco leaves the "natural way" and that American Spirit cigarettes are "natural" cigarettes. In early 1997, the American Indian Tobacco Education Network criticized the Sante Fe Tobacco Company for exploiting sacred Indian traditions and imagery to sell its tobacco products. The Sante Fe Tobacco Company countered that it honors Indian traditions in its use of community symbols and even donates tobacco to tribes for ceremonial purposes (Guthrie 1997). The fact remains that American Spirit cigarettes contain tobacco with amounts of tar and nicotine similar to those of commercial brands and are thus dangerous to health, despite their lack of additives. Although targeted marketing of products may bring economic benefits to racial/ethnic communities, when such marketing is for a harmful product such as cigarettes, the target community is challenged to choose between potential economic gain and social recognition versus the inevitable long-term adverse health outcomes from use of the product (Moore et al. 1996).

Cigarette advertisements also have been accused of trivializing social causes and cultural values. For example, a Virginia Slims advertisement that appeared in the July 1994 issue of *Life* uses the concept of racial/ethnic equality to promote use of the product. In addition, certain tobacco product advertisements have used visual images, such as American Indians as warriors, that demean the culture and insult some individuals (Green 1993).

Another significant concern is the effect that targeted tobacco advertising may have on recent immigrants. For many immigrants, the advertising of cigarettes in their country of origin has helped mold their attitudes and perceptions of tobacco use. These perceptions in turn create expectations about the social effects of cigarette smoking as portrayed in advertisements, as well as brand recognition and brand loyalties toward the most frequently advertised brands. Targeted promotional and marketing practices also can affect the decisions of consumers who have recently migrated to the United States and who, in general, have not been exposed to marketing techniques and promotional approaches common in the United States. Immigrants not exposed to lifelong

learning from the commercial practices of a market economy may be less critical and overly trusting of the messages and implied promises presented in advertisements. Webster (1990–1991) found that highly acculturated Hispanics rated certain consumer products as defective and overpriced and claimed that advertising was problematic, whereas less acculturated Hispanics were more accepting of such defective products and saw advertising not only as informative but also as enjoyable. Immigrants also respond differently to promotional techniques with which they are unfamiliar. For example, Hispanics who have a low level of acculturation may not respond to certain novel promotional techniques such as the use of coupons (Donthu and Cherian 1992) but are more influenced by radio and billboard advertisements and point-of-sale displays (Webster 1992). Other studies have also found that promotional techniques have differential effects on various sectors of the Hispanic population. The more acculturated Hispanics report being primarily influenced by magazine advertisements, brochures, product labels, and consumer guides, such as *Consumer Reports* and the *Yellow Pages* (Webster 1992).

Targeted Products

Although a few cigarette brands have names that imply specific racial/ethnic minority targeting (e.g., Rio and Dorado for Hispanics), their promotion has been limited to a few states. The recent introduction of American Spirit seems to be directed at American Indians as well as youths and individuals preferring natural products. In addition, Japan Tobacco Inc. has begun to market its top-selling brand, Mild Seven, in the United States (Stebbins 1990; Sesser 1993). The brand is being promoted as a cigarette manufactured by Asians for Asians, and full-page advertisements appear in magazines primarily targeting Asian Americans (Koeppel 1990b). Mild Seven billboards also have appeared in Koreatown and Little Tokyo in Los Angeles as well as in other U.S. cities with large Asian American populations.

One of the best examples of product targeting was the cigarette Uptown, designed by R.J. Reynolds in the 1980s to reach African American smokers (Dagnoli 1989; Simmons 1989; Koeppel 1990a; Robinson and Sutton, in press). The attempted introduction of this cigarette is a case study in racial/ethnic product targeting. The characteristics, packaging, and planned promotion of Uptown cigarettes allegedly were designed specifically for African Americans. The menthol formulation of this new brand was designed to compete directly with Lorillard's Newport

cigarette, which was one of only three full-price cigarettes to gain market shares in 1989 along with Philip Morris's Marlboro and Virginia Slims cigarettes (Dagnoli 1989). In 1986, Newport was the leading brand of cigarettes among African American smokers, ahead of Brown & Williamson's Kool cigarettes and R.J. Reynolds's Salem cigarettes (Simmons 1989; CDC 1990b). The mentholated Uptown cigarettes were to be packed with their filters down in the belief that African American blue-collar workers often open their cigarettes from the bottom to avoid crushing the filters or having to put unwashed hands on the part of the cigarette that goes into their mouth (Ramirez 1990). Furthermore, in its statement announcing Uptown cigarettes, the company defined African Americans as the primary market for the new brand. Unlike Newport cigarettes, which were purported to be aimed at all smokers rather than just African Americans, R.J. Reynolds was specific (Dagnoli 1989). "We expect Uptown to appeal most strongly to black smokers," said Lynn Beasley, vice president of strategic marketing for the company. "Our research led us to believe that Uptown's blend . . . will be an appealing alternative to smokers currently choosing a competitive brand. We have developed a product based on research that shows that a significant percentage of black smokers are currently choosing a brand that offers a lighter menthol flavor than our major menthol brand, Salem" (*Philadelphia News Observer* 1990, p. 7).

Uptown cigarettes were to yield 19 milligrams of tar per cigarette, which was the highest level of tar in all of R.J. Reynolds's cigarette brands, with the exception of unfiltered Camel cigarettes. The planned advertisements were to depict African American couples enjoying cigarettes in a sophisticated urban environment with the slogan "Uptown. The Place. The Taste" (Koeppel 1990a). The marketing plan for Uptown cigarettes was designed to take advantage of media that were particularly effective in reaching African Americans, including billboards, transit advertising, bus shelters, point-of-purchase signs, and advertisements in racial/ethnic newspapers and magazines.

The introduction of Uptown cigarettes was planned for the first week in February 1990 to coincide with Black History Month activities, including receptions, exhibits, festivals, award ceremonies, and other events highlighting the African American experience. Promoting Uptown cigarettes during this high level of activity—through the distribution of free

samples and the underwriting of events—would afford R.J. Reynolds a prime opportunity to promote the new brand (Simmons 1989).

R.J. Reynolds selected Philadelphia as the test market site because of its demographics. In 1990, the city's population was approximately 40 percent African American and was served by several African American newspapers. In addition, African Americans tended to live in distinct neighborhoods that could be reached effectively through billboards and transit advertising. Furthermore, unlike some communities that had mobilized against excessive billboard advertising of alcoholic beverages and tobacco products, Philadelphia's African American community had been quiet in this respect.

In the wake of a firestorm of negative national publicity (see Chapter 5), R.J. Reynolds withdrew its plans to test-market Uptown cigarettes in Philadelphia. The protest against this targeted product involved community members, civic and religious leaders, health professionals, and then-Secretary of Health and Human Services Dr. Louis W. Sullivan. Ultimately, R.J. Reynolds decided to withdraw Uptown cigarettes from the market permanently.

The same leadership and strategy were used again in Boston in early 1995 and similarly resulted in the withdrawal of a new brand of cigarettes called "X," thought to be targeted to African Americans because of its red, green, and black packaging and the suggestion of the name of noted leader Malcolm X. In this instance, however, both the manufacturer and the distributor denied that the brand was targeted to African Americans or any other racial/ethnic market (Jackson 1995) (see *Efforts to Control Tobacco Advertising and Promotion* in Chapter 5).

In January 1997, R.J. Reynolds released a mentholated version of Camel cigarettes. R.J. Reynolds had last marketed a mentholated brand of Camels in 1966 (Tobacco Merchants Association of the United States 1978). Approximately three-fourths of African American smokers smoke mentholated cigarettes (USDHHS 1990) and Camel cigarettes are popular, so the African American community has been concerned that a new menthol brand may escalate smoking among African Americans. In an event similar to that precipitating the withdrawal of Uptown cigarettes, key religious leaders, led by the National Association of African Americans for Positive Imagery, launched a national crusade against the new brand extension of Camel Menthols (Rotzoll 1997).

Psychosocial Determinants

Psychosocial variables help explain why people start using tobacco (initiation), why some continue using it (maintenance), and why some stop using tobacco products (cessation). This section of the chapter provides a summary of research to date on the factors associated with initiation, maintenance, and cessation of tobacco use among ethnic groups. Unfortunately, the literature is sparse on individual and interpersonal factors that influence tobacco use among African Americans, American Indians, Alaska Natives, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics.

Research and etiologic theory on smoking and smokeless tobacco use have largely excluded members of racial/ethnic groups. In fact, few researchers have included persons other than whites as part of their studies. Although research findings based on samples of the majority white population may be applicable to racial/ethnic minority populations, such generalizability has not been sufficiently studied. Racial/ethnic groups may have different exposure levels and different reactions to risk factors or protective conditions than do whites. Furthermore, cultural differences in values, norms, expectancies, and attitudes may differ among members of various racial/ethnic groups. These differences, in turn, may influence the prevalence of cigarette smoking in a particular racial/ethnic group and the relationship between smoking behavior and associated risk factors (Marín et al. 1990a; Vander Martin et al. 1990). Certain experiences and values associated with tobacco use thus may be unique to some racial/ethnic groups and may not be relevant to others. Understanding group-specific and community-based factors is necessary to help shape the development of culturally appropriate interventions. (Interventions are detailed in Chapter 5. For a detailed discussion of the range of variables that prompt youths to start smoking and to use smokeless tobacco, see *Preventing Tobacco Use Among Young People*, USDHHS 1994.)

Initiation and Early Use of Tobacco

Much of the research on tobacco use among racial/ethnic minority groups has focused primarily on a constellation of risk factors that affect people's behaviors (Bry et al. 1982; Newcomb et al. 1986, 1987; Moncher et al. 1990; Scheier and Newcomb 1991; Felix-Ortiz and Newcomb 1992; Newcomb and Felix-Ortiz 1992; Vega et al. 1993). These studies have assessed environmental, behavioral, psychological, and societal

attributes proposed by the various theories of tobacco use initiation (Ajzen and Fishbein 1970; Jessor and Jessor 1977; Kandel 1980; Yamaguchi and Kandel 1985; Elder and Stern 1986; Newcomb and Bentler 1988; Chassin et al. 1990, 1992), considering these attributes as individual risk factors or as a set of variables that affect an individual's behavior (Hawkins et al. 1992). Some studies have proposed that the particular factors that increase an individual's vulnerability are not as important as the accumulation of such factors in a person's life and that tobacco use is but one of many responses people use to cope. Investigators have focused on some environmental and behavioral factors (such as parental and peer smoking or the availability of cigarettes) that may be useful in developing prevention strategies, but they have paid less attention to other equally important environmental conditions (such as price, access, exposure to advertising, economic history, customs and practices associated with tobacco in the native country, and tobacco industry influence on community organizations and leaders) that are differentially related to tobacco use and initiation.

Some investigators have studied the onset of adolescent smoking as a phenomenon of gradual passage through various cognitive and behavioral stages of change—for example, from abstaining to using tobacco regularly (Conrad et al. 1992). Following Prochaska and DiClemente's (1983) paradigm for studying smoking cessation, Stern and colleagues (1987) found that a predominantly white sixth-grade population progressed through stages, such as *precontemplation* (when the youth would not even consider smoking), to *decision making* (thinking about taking up the behavior and experimenting with cigarettes), to *maintenance* (regular smoking). Similar results were found in a study of California high school students, about one-third of whom were Hispanic (Elder et al. 1990), but potential differences between white and Hispanic students were not fully explained.

More recently, Pierce and colleagues (1996) found that baseline susceptibility to smoking (defined as the absence of a firm decision not to smoke) was a stronger independent predictor of experimentation than the presence of smokers among either family or best friends. In this study, African American, Asian American, and Pacific Islander adolescents were significantly less likely to experiment than whites or Hispanics. However, exposure to smokers was more important than susceptibility to smoking in distinguishing

adolescents who progressed to established smoking from those who remained experimenters. African American, Asian American, and Hispanic adolescents appeared less likely than whites to become established smokers (Pierce et al. 1996).

African Americans

A few studies have tried to identify variables that predict cigarette smoking among African Americans. Brunswick and Messeri (1983) examined five domains of variables to assess their effects on the onset and continuation of cigarette smoking among 379 African Americans aged 18–23 years who resided in the Harlem area of New York City. In this eight-year prospective study, multiple regression analyses showed that variables in each of five domains—personal background, school achievement, family and peer orientations, emotional conflict, and health attitudes and behaviors—were significant predictors of smoking initiation, although the patterns of influence differed by gender. In further analyses, Brunswick and Messeri (1984) found that poor school achievement predicted the onset of cigarette smoking among the young men and women. In addition, young women who reported higher cigarette use had low self-efficacy and were worried more about school.

Among white youths, the presence of a best friend who smokes is a significant predictor of smoking, but the data on African American youths are contradictory. Some studies have shown that having peers who smoke is a poor predictor of cigarette smoking among African American youths (Headen et al. 1991), whereas others have found the opposite (Botvin et al. 1992, 1993). Botvin and colleagues (1993) found that the most powerful predictor of cigarette smoking among those students initially sampled was having friends who smoke, together with personal factors such as lack of assertiveness in refusing cigarettes. A study of 757 African American and Hispanic seventh graders in six New York City public schools yielded similar results (Botvin et al. 1994).

A few studies have analyzed retrospectively the predictive power of various sets of variables. Benson and Donahue (1989), for example, studied cigarette use among African Americans and whites by analyzing data from the 1976, 1979, 1982, and 1985 National High School Senior Surveys that were part of the University of Michigan's Monitoring the Future (MTF) Project. The researchers analyzed 10 predictors of cigarette use: personal importance of religion, region of the country where respondents resided, gender, school type, community size, college plans, hours worked, a

father present, level of parental education, and maternal employment. For each year examined, the researchers found that the association between these 10 variables and cigarette use was substantially lower for African American high school seniors than for white high school seniors. Among both African Americans and whites, cigarette smoking was associated with the frequency with which the respondents went out at night, low levels of religiousness, and lack of concrete plans for college. In another study, Wallace and Bachman (1991) analyzed data from the MTF surveys for the years 1985–1989. They found that among African American high school seniors, four variables were significantly associated with cigarette smoking in the 30 days preceding the survey: living in a nonurban area, being truant, frequently attending rock concerts, and having peers who used cigarettes. Among white high school seniors, 10 variables were significantly associated with cigarette use: being female, living in a single-parent family, having low attachment to school, being truant, going to parties, going to rock concerts, doing poorly in school, not being committed to future education, spending evenings out for fun and recreation, and having peers who used cigarettes (these last 4 variables were also associated with cigarette use among African Americans, but the association was stronger among whites).

Weinrich and colleagues (1996) examined the relationship among three factors—adolescent smoking under stress, psychological distress, and social support—among 1,168 sophomore and junior high school students. They found that race was strongly associated with smoking to cope with stress, as measured by indices of anger/anger control, depression, somatization (expression of anxiety in physical symptoms), anxiety, obsessive/compulsive behavior, and social support. In each case, white students were more likely than African American students to engage in stress-related smoking.

Also using a risk factor approach, Farrell and colleagues (1992) found that among 1,352 African American adolescents from the Southeastern United States, the following risk factors were associated with cigarette use: being home alone after school, having friends who approved of and used drugs, knowing adults who used drugs, feeling pressured to use drugs, expecting to use drugs in the future, being highly involved in delinquent behavior, having a history of trouble with the police, and having used cigarettes and alcohol previously. As noted, comparison of these studies is hampered by the noncomparability of the variables assessed.

American Indians and Alaska Natives

Among American Indians and Alaska Natives, tobacco use has a long and unique history that includes its use in rituals and spiritual ceremonies (Weibel-Orlando 1985; Siegel 1989). Despite this important history, little is known about current predictors of the initiation of cigarette smoking and smokeless tobacco use among young American Indians and Alaska Natives. Schinke and colleagues (1989) have reviewed the scant literature and theories regarding tobacco use and believe that because of the historical association of tobacco with spiritual rites (Weibel-Orlando 1985), its contemporary daily use is also imbued with positive cultural attributes. But more behavioral explanations for tobacco use among American Indian and Alaska Native youths include peer pressure and expected pharmacologic effects (Schinke et al. 1990).

In a study of cigarette smoking initiation among North American Indians, Pickering and colleagues (1989) surveyed a sample of 689 Cree schoolchildren aged 9–18 years in Canada's James Bay Region. Factors associated with being a smoker included being older, being female, having a mother who smoked, and having a best friend who smoked. In a larger study, conducted in the northwestern United States, Moncher and colleagues (1990) examined tobacco use in a cross-sectional sample of 1,147 fourth and fifth graders of American Indian and Alaska Native descent. The researchers assessed 16 possible risk factors related to peer and family use of various drugs, school adjustment, intentions to use various drugs, quality of family relationships, nondrug-related deviant behavior, cultural identity, and religiousness. All of the 16 risk factors correlated with the prevalence of any current or ever use of cigarettes or smokeless tobacco by these children.

In an earlier study, also in the northwestern United States, Hall and Dexter (1988) studied smokeless tobacco use in a sample of 1,180 adolescents that included 257 American Indians. Multiple regression analyses revealed that among male adolescents, smokeless tobacco use was significantly associated with having friends who used smokeless tobacco; with cigarette smoking; and with tobacco use by the youths' siblings, father, and other relatives. Among female adolescents, a similar pattern was observed, except that age also was positively associated with more smokeless tobacco use. Other explanations of tobacco use may include the relatively weak tobacco control infrastructure within American Indian communities and the presence of other environmental factors, such as advertising, that promote the use of tobacco products (Hodge 1995; Robinson et al. 1995).

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders

Research on the factors that influence initiation of tobacco use among Asian Americans is sparse, and there is no such information about Pacific Islanders. Zane and Sasao (1992) reviewed the literature to identify possible explanations for the use of substances (including tobacco) among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. They mention several influences observed in other populations that may be relevant for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders: (1) multiple stressful life events related to cultural adjustment; (2) culture-specific social skills needed in the United States, particularly direct self-expression, assertiveness, and individualism, which are often the opposite of traditional Asian and Pacific Island values and role expectations; and (3) family cohesion, which may reduce the role of peer influences that are central among members of other racial/ethnic groups.

Wiecha (1996) studied 226 Vietnamese adolescents in two public middle schools and two public high schools in Worcester, Massachusetts, to examine the correlates and patterns of tobacco use. Four factors were independently and significantly associated with smoking among Vietnamese adolescents: male gender, older age, smoking by friends, and reporting carrying a weapon in the last month. Other factors that suggested associations but did not reach statistical significance included performing poorly in school, ever using marijuana, and fighting. Acculturation was inversely associated with current cigarette smoking, i.e., study participants who were more acculturated, as indicated by longer time in the United States, better spoken English, or no use of Vietnamese translation on the survey, were less likely to be current smokers. Findings also suggest that the adolescents in this study knew less about the health consequences of cigarette smoking and might share a lower-than-average perceived susceptibility to cancer (Wiecha 1996).

Data from adults may be of use in identifying factors related to initiation among youths. Chen (1993), for example, found that the influence of friends or peers was the most frequent reason for smoking initiation reported by 13 adult Cambodian immigrant men. Data collected in 1991 indicate that among 296 adult Chinese Americans in Oakland, California, 40 percent of those who smoked reported that they began smoking "to be sociable" (Rod Lew and Art Chen, unpublished data). Other factors mentioned frequently were peer pressure (25 percent) and boredom (16 percent).

Hispanics

Research on why Hispanics begin to smoke often is narrowly focused on subgroups, such as those from a specific city or with a particular national background. Smith and colleagues (1991), using a cross-sectional design, examined numerous potential factors affecting cigarette smoking and intentions to smoke among Puerto Rican teenagers in Boston, Massachusetts, and Hartford, Connecticut. Few statistically significant associations were found. Among Puerto Rican male adolescents, current cigarette smoking was associated with greater acculturation, more close friends who smoked, older age, and greater exposure to smoking at recreational activities. Among female Puerto Rican teenagers, the only factor associated with smoking was having close friends who smoked. In this study, the smoking status of parents had no effect on teenagers' smoking behavior.

Three studies have analyzed possible factors associated with tobacco use among Hispanic youths in the New York City area. Among Puerto Rican and Dominican seventh graders (Bettes et al. 1990), the researchers found that tobacco use was unrelated to language use (a possible proxy variable for acculturation) but was significantly associated with negative self-esteem, lower psychological well-being, higher psychological distress, and risk-taking. In a subsequent study, Dusenbury and colleagues (1992) examined possible factors associated with smoking experimentation and current cigarette use among New York City Hispanic youths aged 10–18 years. The researchers found an almost identical set of significant factors for both experimental and current use of cigarettes. These predictors included being older; having poor academic performance; having friends, parents, and siblings who smoked; believing that smoking was highly normative; and having parents with neutral or favorable attitudes toward cigarette smoking. More recently, Dusenbury and colleagues (1994) found that among Hispanic sixth- and seventh-grade students in New York City, those who smoked cigarettes tended to be older and to have a greater proportion of friends and relatives who smoked. They also found that speaking both English and Spanish at home and with friends (a behavior related to biculturalism) increased these students' probability of smoking cigarettes. Separate analyses for boys and for girls showed that boys from bilingual homes were more likely to smoke; however, this was not true among girls. Data from two Southwestern cities indicate that a low level of maternal education and low grades obtained in school were associated with cigarette smoking among Hispanic youths (Schinke et al. 1992).

Cowdery and colleagues (1997) analyzed cohort data collected in the 1989 and 1993 Teenage Attitudes and Practices Survey (TAPS) from a nationally representative sample of Hispanic adolescents aged 15–22 years in 1993. They found that among Hispanic adolescents, the most strongly associated risk factor for smoking initiation was peer smoking. Additionally, not reporting a dislike for being around smokers and believing that smoking helps people relax and reduces stress were associated with an increased risk of smoking among males and females. The belief that smoking helps keep weight down was significantly associated with smoking among females. Among males, believing that there was no harm in an occasional cigarette, that smoking reduces boredom, and that smoking helps ease nervousness at social events were all associated with an increased risk of smoking.

School participation may be an important predictor of tobacco use among Hispanics because they have the highest high school dropout rates of the major racial/ethnic groups in the United States (Kaufman and Frase 1990; Tomás Rivera Center 1993). Among white youths, dropping out of high school is a distinct correlate of cigarette use (Weng et al. 1988), but the results are not as clear for Hispanics. Chavez and colleagues (1989) studied three groups of Mexican American respondents—a group of youths who had dropped out of school, a group of youths at serious academic risk of dropping out of school, and a control group—from three Southwestern U.S. locations that varied in population size. Among Mexican American male youths, those at risk of dropping out of school and those who had dropped out of school had a higher prevalence of cigarette use but a lower prevalence of smokeless tobacco use than the control group. No significant differences in tobacco use were found among the three groups of Mexican American female youths. Watts and Wright (1990) compared Mexican American adolescents in Texas who were incarcerated with those who were attending high school and found that both minor delinquency and violent delinquency were significantly associated with tobacco use.

The results from a recent study by Felix-Ortiz and Newcomb (1992) provide additional insights into the variables related to smoking among Hispanic adolescents. The researchers assessed risk factors and protective factors as predictors of both the frequency of cigarette smoking and the quantity of cigarettes smoked. Multiple regression analyses showed that among Hispanic boys (but not among girls), risk factors such as low academic achievement, low law abidance, low religiousness, and high level of depression significantly predicted both the quantity of

cigarettes smoked and the frequency of smoking. In a more recent study, Felix-Ortiz and Newcomb (1995) found that neither familiarity with Hispanic culture nor familiarity with the larger U.S. culture was directly associated with tobacco use among boys and girls. Among Hispanic boys, cigarette use was associated with less *respeto*—a cultural value that grants prerogatives to adults and others with social power and that refers to a sense of personal self-worth. Among Hispanic girls, cigarette use was related to more involvement in Hispanic groups and political activities. A significant interaction was found between English- and Spanish-language proficiency (usually considered a proxy measure of acculturation) and frequency of cigarette smoking among both boys and girls. For example, Hispanic youths with poor English- and Spanish-language skills had the highest frequency of cigarette use, whereas those with poor English-language skills but strong Spanish-language skills reported the lowest frequency of cigarette use. Hispanic youths with strong English-language skills had moderate levels of cigarette smoking frequency, regardless of their degree of Spanish-language proficiency.

Another study of 1,411 females of Latino origin (Latinas) found differences in knowledge and perceptions about cigarette smoking between Spanish-language and English-language/bilingual young women (Campbell and Kaplan 1997). In this study, Latinas who either spoke English or were bilingual were less likely than their counterparts who spoke only Spanish to acknowledge the danger associated with smoking an occasional cigarette or to recognize the difficulty in quitting smoking, were more likely to identify beneficial aspects of smoking, and were more likely to consider smoking socially.

For many Hispanic youths, adaptation to life in the United States may produce psychological stress and anxiety. Whether these factors are directly associated with smoking among Hispanic youth is not known. In a recent study of migrant adolescents in the San Diego, California, area, Lovato and colleagues (1994) reported that respondents' level of acculturation was not related to cigarette smoking or alcohol use, even though the more acculturated adolescents were more likely to engage in binge drinking. Acculturation remains a strong theoretical consideration in smoking initiation, but current findings are limited by the methodological issues previously cited. In addition, a variety of acculturation measures have been used, and these have intrinsic limitations for assessing the cultural learning process (Marin 1992). Interpretation is particularly problematic when researchers use proxy measures such as language proficiency to measure complex psycho-

social processes like acculturation. The existence of multiple cultures within Hispanic communities adds to the complexity of this issue, as is also the case in Asian American communities.

Multiple Group Studies

Several studies have examined initiation and early use of tobacco among more than one racial/ethnic group and have compared data within and among these groups. Some of these studies have concentrated on analyzing the prevalence of perceived risk factors commonly associated with tobacco use, and other studies have addressed the question of what differentiates smokers from nonsmokers.

CDC and 13 universities conducted research in a collaborative partnership that involved a series of focus groups and in-depth interviews among African American, American Indian, Asian American and Pacific Islander, Hispanic, and white teenagers. The purpose of the research was to assess differences in the functional value of smoking, the images associated with and social norms that surround smoking, and the messages that youths report receiving about smoking. The universities used common methodologies, protocols, definitions, and coding schemes for transcripts of focus groups and interviews. Preliminary findings of this research are that (1) young smokers know about the addictive nature of nicotine; (2) smoking is viewed as "cool" and "grown up"; (3) smoking derives functional value from group belonging and stress management; (4) among girls, notions of "respect" and "reputation" are influential for nonsmoking in some groups; and (5) parental messages about smoking vary by race/ethnicity, but African American and Hispanic parents give clearer messages about not smoking than parents in other groups. Other emerging issues noted in this analysis are that (1) smoking is not seen as image enhancing among African American girls; (2) African Americans were more likely to pair cigarette smoking with marijuana to maintain a "high"; (3) parental smoking is a negative influence, particularly among American Indian families; and (4) variation exists among the racial/ethnic groups with regard to the media channels through which messages are received (Mermelstein et al. 1996).

Prevalence of Risk Factors for Cigarette Use

Several studies have analyzed how possible risk factors for tobacco use differ among youths in various racial/ethnic groups. For instance, in a study of Los Angeles County students in grades seven through

nine, Maddahian and colleagues (1986) found that African American adolescents reported having the highest number of friends who provided cigarettes, followed by white, Hispanic, and Asian American adolescents. Perceived ease in acquiring cigarettes was highest among white adolescents and lowest among Asian American adolescents; Hispanic and African American adolescents reported moderate ease in acquiring cigarettes. In assessing how earned income vs. allowance income related to cigarette use, the researchers found that Asian American and white adolescents reported having a higher earned income than adolescents in the other two racial/ethnic groups; in comparison, Hispanic and African American adoles-

cents reported receiving more allowance income than Asian American or white adolescents. Maddahian and colleagues (1988) subsequently found that African American and Hispanic youths reported greater intention to use cigarettes than white and Asian American youths. In a more recent study, involving northeastern U.S. youths in grades six through eight, Vanderschmidt and colleagues (1993) found that physical violence and sexual activity were the risk behaviors most highly associated with smoking among African American, Hispanic, and white students.

Smoking-related perceptions and risk factors also differ among older youths of different racial/ethnic backgrounds. In a study of high school seniors

Table 1. High school seniors' perceptions about the risks associated with cigarette smoking, Monitoring the Future surveys, United States, 1980-1989

Perceived risks	Gender	African Americans		American Indians	
		%	N*	%	N*
Percentage who believe that people take a great risk of harming themselves if they smoke one or more packs of cigarettes per day	Male	68.4	1,586	52.5	221
	Female	71.0	1,901	63.5	181
Percentage who believe that people disapprove or strongly disapprove of people aged 18 years and older smoking one or more packs of cigarettes per day	Male	77.6	1,717	64.1	220
	Female	80.4	2,076	63.1	210
Percentage who think their close friends disapprove or strongly disapprove of their smoking one or more packs of cigarettes per day	Male	75.4	1,193	65.2	179
	Female	80.5	1,610	69.1	155
Percentage who report that none vs. most or all of their friends smoke cigarettes	None				
	Male	17.1	1,340	12.8	200
	Female	19.9	1,807	11.0	184
Most or all	Male	19.0	1,340	30.0	200
	Female	18.7	1,807	36.8	184

*The number of respondents (N) varied for each question. Each of the numbers (N) reported represents the total number of students who were asked a particular question, not the number of students who responded affirmatively.

participating in the MTF between 1980 and 1989, Wallace and Bachman (1993) found that American Indians, both males and females, were less likely than students in other racial/ethnic groups to perceive that smoking one or more packs of cigarettes per day posed a great risk to their health (Table 1). The perception that friends and people in general disapproved of smoking one or more packs of cigarettes per day was least prevalent among male and female American Indian high school seniors and most prevalent among female Asian American seniors. Finally, the percentage of students who reported that most or all of their friends smoked cigarettes was highest among American Indian seniors and lowest among Asian American seniors.

Factors Associated with Initiation of Cigarette Use

Numerous researchers have assessed patterns of cigarette use initiation among young people of various races/ethnicities. For example, Botvin and colleagues (1994) studied potential predictors of cigarette smoking onset among seventh graders in six New York schools within low-socioeconomic communities. Approximately 50 percent of the children were African American, and 36 percent were Hispanic. Statistically significant predictors for ever smoking included the absence of one or both parents, low grades in school, high prevalence of smoking among friends, and a sense of hopelessness. The data were not analyzed separately by race/ethnicity.

Asian Americans		Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans and Latin Americans		Whites	
%	N*	%	N*	%	N*	%	N*
67.6	309	69.7	456	66.2	228	64.0	11,266
71.8	307	67.1	477	64.2	241	66.6	11,764
80.4	350	77.3	486	82.7	280	77.1	11,970
85.6	311	81.2	477	82.2	258	70.0	12,459
77.0	277	76.3	335	77.1	163	73.1	10,346
81.7	270	80.2	414	79.0	165	73.6	11,163
19.1	298	14.3	429	10.9	185	11.6	11,226
29.6	274	17.2	439	12.4	213	9.9	11,760
12.8	298	16.9	429	19.5	185	19.3	11,226
11.4	274	17.4	439	21.9	213	25.4	11,760

Source: Adapted from Wallace and Bachman 1993.

In assessing differences among racial/ethnic groups, Koepke and colleagues (1990) compared 14 potential predictors of cigarette smoking onset among seventh- through ninth-grade African Americans, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, Hispanics, and whites from Los Angeles and San Diego, California. The researchers found that most variables were not related to smoking onset among any of the racial/ethnic groups, and no single factor was a statistically significant predictor among all four groups. Greater anger increased the likelihood of smoking onset for African American and Hispanic youths but was unrelated to smoking onset for Asian American, Pacific Islander, and white youths. The number of close friends who had tried cigarettes was a significant predictor of smoking onset for Hispanic, Asian American, and Pacific Islander youths but not for African American or white youths. These studies underscore the variability of predictors among groups.

Peer influences also were identified in a study of sixth and seventh graders in San Diego. Elder and colleagues (1988) found that white girls, African American boys, and Asian American boys who believed that a large number of their peers smoked cigarettes were more likely to experiment with smoking. When actual continued use of cigarettes was considered, the normative belief (that a large proportion of their peers smoked) predicted cigarette smoking for Hispanic boys and for white boys and girls. These normative perceptions were most strongly associated with experimenting with chewing tobacco among white boys and girls and Asian American boys. Other studies also have found that peer smoking had a significant effect on cigarette smoking initiation. Sussman and colleagues (1987), for example, examined predictors of cigarette smoking among Southern California adolescents in Los Angeles and Orange Counties and found that peer pressure to smoke was not a predictor of smoking, although peer cigarette use was a critical predictor for Asian Americans, Hispanics, and whites (but not for African Americans). In this same study, parental pressure to smoke and knowledge of the health consequences of smoking were not associated with smoking for any group. On the other hand, three variables were statistically significant predictors for all four groups—general availability of cigarettes, difficulty in refusing offers to smoke, and intent to start smoking. The strongest predictors of cigarette smoking were different for each racial/ethnic group: for white youths, adult and peer models of smoking were the strongest predictors; for Hispanic youths, self-image as a smoker and adult or peer approval of smoking were the strongest predictors; for African

American youths, preference for risk-taking was the strongest predictor; and for Asian American youths, low self-esteem and poor achievement in school were the strongest predictors.

Castro and colleagues (1987) also found that peer smoking behaviors were significantly correlated with cigarette smoking among African American, Asian American, Pacific Islander, Hispanic, and white teenagers in Los Angeles County. Disruptive family events (e.g., number of relocations) were significantly correlated with cigarette smoking among Asian American, Pacific Islander, and white youths but not among African American and Hispanic youths. In addition, law abidance, liberalism, and religiousness were significantly associated with less frequent cigarette smoking among African American, Asian American, Pacific Islander, and white youths but were associated with more frequent cigarette smoking among Hispanics. A more recent study (Landrine et al. 1994) has found that although cigarette smoking among peers is a good predictor of cigarette smoking among white adolescents, it is a less powerful predictor of cigarette smoking among African Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanics.

The role of personal psychological characteristics in predicting cigarette smoking has also been studied in a multiracial/multiethnic setting. Among seventh graders in New York City, Bettes and colleagues (1990) found that certain psychosocial variables—negative self-esteem, positive self-esteem, psychological distress, psychological well-being, and risk-taking—had no differential effect on tobacco use, except that psychological well-being and high risk-taking were found to be particularly protective for African American seventh graders.

Factors Associated with Initiation of Smokeless Tobacco Use

Riley and colleagues (1991) found that among African Americans, American Indians, and whites, self-reported use of smokeless tobacco was associated with the perceived consequences of use, the use of alcoholic beverages and cigarettes, peers' use of smokeless tobacco, beliefs about the health consequences of smokeless tobacco use, and level of perceived control over one's own health. The strongest predictors for all groups were previous use of alcoholic beverages and tobacco and peers' use of smokeless tobacco. Perceived negative consequences were considered most important among American Indians and whites. For African Americans and American Indians, the strongest predictor of the amount of smokeless tobacco used was previous use of alcoholic beverages and cigarettes. For

whites, the strongest predictor of the amount of smokeless tobacco used was peers' use of smokeless tobacco.

Summary, Initiation and Early Use of Tobacco

The limited number of studies renders the results fragmentary, but some general findings emerge. Certain categories of variables—sociodemographic, environmental, behavioral, personal, and psychological—may be related to tobacco use initiation and continued use among youths of various racial/ethnic minority groups. Some of these categories of variables may predict initiation of tobacco use for all people, regardless of their race/ethnicity (USDHHS 1994), but the predictive strength of these variables likely differs across racial/ethnic groups. Because of the methodological problems previously mentioned, the summarized findings are not comparable across racial/ethnic groups; these findings are meant to suggest a pattern rather than to convey a body of evidence. Future research must establish the strength of various predictors by using comparable and culturally appropriate measurements. In addition, several important predictors of tobacco use among racial/ethnic youth and the environmental factors surrounding it have not been thoroughly researched. One such example is the role of tobacco advertising, which has been shown to affect a number of risk factors related to smoking initiation, such as perceptions about the pervasiveness of cigarette smoking, its social acceptability, its danger, and its function in social situations (USDHHS 1994). Finally, the relative strength of a community's tobacco control infrastructure may influence behaviors and policies about tobacco and the tobacco industry. Robinson and colleagues (1995) suggested that this fact should be considered in assessments of initiation and early use of tobacco products.

Tobacco Use Among Adults

The factors associated with tobacco use among adult members of racial/ethnic groups have been studied even less than those among young people. Few studies have analyzed tobacco use among adult American Indians, Alaska Natives, Asian Americans, or Pacific Islanders, and only limited information is available on predictors of continued tobacco use among African Americans and Hispanics.

African Americans

Romano and colleagues (1991) examined the association between cigarette smoking, social support,

and stress in a sample of adult African Americans in the San Francisco and Oakland areas of California. African American men and women who reported high levels of stress were more likely to smoke than those reporting fewer stressful conditions. The role of stress in cigarette smoking among adult African Americans also has been supported by the findings of Feigelman and Gorman (1989) and Ahijevych and Wewers (1993). In a national sample of adults interviewed for the 1987 General Social Survey, Feigelman and Gorman (1989) found that the highest proportion of smokers were African Americans who were exposed to high levels of stress and who had a low level of occupational prestige. In comparison, whites with low stress and high occupational prestige had the lowest proportion of smokers. African American women with underdeveloped social networks were also more likely to smoke than those with strong social support. The role of social support was not statistically significant for African American men. In fact, African American men who appeared to have little emotional support from friends or family were less likely to smoke than African American men who had such support.

American Indians and Alaska Natives

Hodge and colleagues (1996) studied adult American Indian patients in Northern California. The sample included members of the Hupa, Maidu, Pit River, Pomo, and Yurok Tribes of California as well as a number of Sioux Indians. The researchers found few differences in the type and amount of social support experienced by American Indian smokers and non-smokers. In the urban areas of San Francisco and San Jose, American Indians who reported high levels of stress were more likely to be current smokers than those who reported lower levels of stress. American Indians living in urban areas also reported being more motivated to quit than those in rural areas.

In a study of 614 American Indian women (Eastern Band Cherokee) in western North Carolina, Spangler and colleagues (1997) found several correlates with higher prevalence of current smoking, including younger age, alcohol use, no yearly physical examination, marital status of separated or divorced, lack of friends, and lack of church participation. Having a lower level of education and having consulted an Indian healer were correlated with higher smokeless tobacco use.

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders

In a study of adult male Vietnamese refugees living in the San Francisco area, Jenkins and colleagues (1990) found that cigarette smoking was significantly related to having immigrated to the United States within the previous nine years, not knowing that smoking causes cancer, having an income below the federal poverty level, and having limited proficiency in English. No significant associations were found between men's cigarette smoking and education, alcohol use, marital or employment status, health condition, or age. In another study, conducted between 1989 and 1991 (CDC 1992), cigarette smoking among Chinese, Vietnamese, and Hispanics in California was associated with an annual income of less than \$25,000, a high school education or less, recent immigration to the United States, and limited proficiency in English.

In a survey of Southeast Asian men—primarily Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese—Chen and colleagues (1993) found that compared with former smokers and persons who had never smoked, smokers were more likely to have limited proficiency in English, to be more traditional (less acculturated), and to report that almost all of their five best friends were smokers. Only about one-third of the men surveyed had heard that cigarette smoking may cause heart disease. In addition, Chen and colleagues observed no statistically significant differences in the knowledge of smoking danger reported by smokers, former smokers, or persons who had never smoked.

In a survey of 832 Cambodian, Vietnamese, and Laotian men in Ohio, Moeschberger and colleagues (1997) found that the odds of never smoking and of being a former smoker were significantly higher among men who were employed than among those unemployed. In addition, current smokers were more likely than nonsmokers to be traditional or bicultural, whereas men who had assimilated into U.S. culture were four times as likely to have quit.

Hispanics

The literature on correlates of cigarette smoking among Hispanic adults is more substantive than that for the other racial/ethnic minority groups. These studies permit exploration of the interaction of cultural pride and acculturation with other correlates of cigarette smoking (Marin et al. 1989a; Castro et al. 1991) and drug use among Hispanics (see Chapter 2).

The possible relationship between symptoms of depression and cigarette smoking was investigated by Pérez-Stable and colleagues (1990), who examined the association between smoking status (i.e., current smok-

ers, former smokers, and those who had never smoked) and depressive symptoms in a random sample of 551 Hispanics in San Francisco. After controlling for gender, acculturation, age, education, and employment status, significant differences in depression (as measured by the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression [CES-D] Scale) remained between current smokers and nonsmokers (both former smokers and lifetime abstainers). Current smokers had a 70 percent greater risk for having depressive symptoms than persons who had never smoked. A recent study that used data from the HHANES identified an association between patterns of smoking initiation and depressed mood, a history of major depression, or both (Escobedo et al. 1996). The belief that cigarette smoking reduces tension has been identified as a potent reason for smoking, according to researchers studying Hispanics from South America and the Caribbean who live in the New York City area (Larino et al. 1993), as well as Mexican Americans in San Francisco (Marin et al. 1989a).

To identify additional correlates of tobacco use among adult Hispanics, Lee and Markides (1991) compared three age groups of adults in a sample of Mexican Americans in the Southwestern United States who were interviewed between 1982 and 1984 as part of the HHANES. Among Mexican Americans aged 20–39 years, being a smoker was associated with the increased consumption of alcohol for both men and women, with poorer health for men, and with more depressive symptoms for women. Among Mexican American men aged 40–59 years, those who smoked cigarettes also consumed more alcohol than those who did not smoke. Among Mexican American women aged 40–59 years, those who smoked cigarettes also consumed more alcohol and had lower diastolic blood pressure, lower body mass, and more depressive symptoms than those who did not smoke. Among Mexican Americans aged 60–74 years, men who smoked were more likely to consume alcohol and coffee and to have lower body mass than men who did not smoke; women who smoked were also more likely to consume coffee and alcohol than those who did not smoke. A Mexican American subsample of the HHANES showed that cigarette smoking was associated with the presence of other smokers at home or at the workplace and with the respondent's level of acculturation (Coreil et al. 1991). These data also showed that cigarette smoking status was not related to educational level or to employment status but that age was positively associated with the number of cigarettes smoked per day among younger men and women aged 20–39 years. A study of Hispanic adults in New Mexico (Samet et al. 1992) found a relationship between low levels of formal education and

prevalence of cigarette smoking. Low socioeconomic status, often indicated by education, was also related to cigarette smoking in that study.

A number of studies conducted in San Francisco have compared the psychosocial characteristics of Hispanic smokers with those of white smokers. These studies provided an understanding of culture-specific differences in attitudes, norms, and expectancies of smokers and served as the basis for developing a culturally appropriate smoking cessation intervention—Programa Latino Para Dejar de Fumar (Hispanic Program to Quit Smoking) (see Chapter 5). In one such study (Marín et al. 1990a), Hispanic smokers were significantly more concerned than white smokers about harming their children's health. White smokers, on the other hand, were significantly more concerned than Hispanic smokers about burning holes in their clothes and feeling controlled by the need to smoke. White smokers were more likely than Hispanic smokers to view other smokers as friendlier and more sociable, aggressive, attractive, and feminine than non-smokers (Marín et al. 1989b). More acculturated Hispanics provided responses that more closely resembled the responses of whites than the responses of less acculturated Hispanics (Marín et al. 1989b). Acculturation also was found to affect an individual's willingness to quit smoking on the basis of advice from his or her parents and physicians. Similarly, in a New York City area survey of 88 Hispanics who expressed interest in quitting cigarette smoking, Mahony and colleagues (1993) found that their reasons for smoking differed by their level of acculturation.

Summary, Tobacco Use Among Adults

A few variables have been associated with the continued use of cigarettes among adults from racial/ethnic groups. Cigarette smoking among members of the four racial/ethnic groups seems to be associated with depression, psychological stress, and environmental factors such as tobacco advertising and promotion and the influence of peers who smoke. The high levels of stress among members of the four racial/ethnic groups may be the product of such factors as low-prestige jobs; poverty; difficulties associated with living in a new environment or culture; limited proficiency in English; prejudice and discrimination; pressures to acculturate; limited free time; and multiple demands on time related to jobs, substandard housing, and the care of small children. Smoking cessation programs directed at members of these racial/ethnic groups should address stress reduction in the same way that tobacco prevention and control strat-

egies should consider the historical context of tobacco and the tobacco industry in the community and cultural differences among racial/ethnic minority communities.

These data also indicate that Hispanic smokers have expectations and attitudes related to cigarette smoking that differ from those of white smokers—a finding that supports the need for culturally appropriate cessation interventions. Future studies should determine if similar differences in expectancies and attitudes exist among smokers of the other three racial/ethnic groups considered in this report. The limited data available support the need for more and better designed studies of tobacco use among members of the various racial/ethnic groups.

Smoking Cessation

Little is known about the psychosocial factors that influence cigarette smoking cessation among members of racial/ethnic groups. Although people's level of addiction is an important determinant of whether they will successfully stop smoking, limited information is available on patterns of addiction among members of various racial/ethnic groups. (For more information on patterns of addiction, see Chapter 3. For details about other variables that affect smoking cessation, such as smoking patterns and access to culturally appropriate cessation services, see Chapters 2 and 5.)

African Americans

Knowledge about the damaging effects of smoking can be an important motivator of smoking cessation (Orleans et al. 1989; Jepson et al. 1991; also see Chapter 5). Studies of African Americans' knowledge about the health consequences of tobacco smoking have produced contradictory findings. Klesges and colleagues (1988), for example, interviewed African American and white adults in Fargo, North Dakota, and Memphis, Tennessee, and found that proportionately more whites than African Americans knew that cigarette smoking was related to heart attacks, emphysema, premature births, and skin wrinkles. Similarly, Vander Martin and colleagues (1990) found that African Americans from the San Francisco Bay area who smoked cigarettes were less concerned about the health effects of cigarette smoking than were whites who smoked. African Americans also were less likely to believe that cigarettes were addictive, produced harmful health effects, or caused heart attacks.

Conversely, in a 1990 study in St. Louis and Kansas City, Missouri, Brownson and colleagues (1992) found that about the same percentage of African Americans and whites believed that smoking was harmful to people's health. Although African Americans recognized the harmful effects of environmental tobacco smoke (ETS), they tended to minimize some of the health effects of smoking, particularly its link with heart disease. Similarly, an ABC News/*The Washington Post* survey conducted in February 1993 found that a large proportion of African American and white adults perceived ETS to be a health risk (Roper Center for Public Opinion Research 1993). In that poll, however, a greater proportion of African Americans than whites reported that they worried a great deal about ETS. In studies limited to African Americans, researchers have reported differences based on smoking status. Warnecke and colleagues (1978) interviewed African American women in Buffalo, New York, and found that current smokers were less likely to say they believed that cigarette smoking was related to a variety of conditions, including cancer and heart disease, than were former smokers or persons who had never smoked.

Most African American smokers want to quit, and many have tried. In a 1986 study of African American smokers who were policyholders of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Orleans and colleagues (1989) found that 79.3 percent of respondents had tried to quit smoking at least once in their lifetime. Hoffman and colleagues (1989) found that most of the patients in a general community hospital in Chicago who smoked reported previous attempts to quit on their own, and 65 percent wanted to stop smoking immediately. More than two-thirds of these African American smokers indicated that they would like a formal program to help them quit smoking. In a more recent survey, Ahluwalia and McNagny (1993) found that among all African American patients visiting a county-operated health facility in Atlanta, Georgia during a three-week period, 86 percent of the smokers wished to quit. Ninety-nine percent of those who wanted to quit smoking indicated they would participate in a smoking cessation program even if it involved visits to the hospital. According to data from the 1993 NHIS (CDC 1994b), 71.4 percent of African Americans aged 18 years or older who currently smoked were interested in quitting.

Royce and colleagues (1993) used a sample drawn from metropolitan communities in California, New Jersey, New York, and North Carolina as part of the Community Intervention Trial for Smoking Cessation (COMMIT) project and found that more African Americans than whites reported a strong desire to

quit smoking and more attempts to quit in the past year. These researchers also observed that a larger percentage of African Americans than whites reported a need to smoke within 10 minutes of awakening (a behavioral symptom of nicotine dependence), even after the analysis controlled for age, education, and gender. In the San Francisco Bay area study by Vander Martin and colleagues (1990), African American adult smokers were more interested in quitting smoking than were white adult smokers and were also more confident that they could successfully quit.

When smoking cessation trends are compared, a different pattern emerges by gender. Hahn and colleagues (1990) found a slightly higher proportion of white women in Minneapolis and St. Paul (33 percent) than of African American women (29 percent) who reported trying cigarettes with lower levels of tar and nicotine in the previous year, and a higher proportion of white men (63 percent) than African American men (52 percent) reporting that they had tried to quit smoking.

In their study of African American women in Buffalo, New York, Warnecke and colleagues (1978) found that many women who had quit smoking attributed their quitting to the fact that cigarette smoking causes cancer (44 percent) or other diseases (45 percent); to physical side effects such as coughing or headaches (36 percent); or to negative cosmetic effects such as bad breath, stained teeth, or bad smell (34 percent). More recently, in a series of eight focus group discussions with African American women smokers residing in Chicago public housing developments, respondents said that quitting was difficult for them because they lived in a highly stressful environment that made it difficult to manage their personal lives (Lacey et al. 1993). Cigarette smoking was one of the few pleasures available to them in such an environment, and the women had few if any sources of information on how to quit smoking. In addition, these women tended to believe that cigarette smoking posed minimal health risks, that the behavior was quite common among other adults, and that all that was needed to quit was the willingness to do it. In a study of urban pregnant women, O'Campo and colleagues (1992) found that the only predictor of quitting smoking during pregnancy for African American women was intention to breast-feed, whereas among white women, the best predictors were educational level, age, and parity. About 46 percent of African American women who quit smoking during pregnancy relapsed within 6–12 weeks after delivery. Formula feeding of the infant was the best predictor of postpartum smoking relapse for both African American and white mothers.

American Indians and Alaska Natives

Few studies have focused on smoking cessation among American Indians, and no studies have addressed smoking cessation trends among Alaska Natives. In a survey of American Indians in Northern California, respondents were found to have fairly high levels of information regarding the health effects of cigarette smoking (Hodge et al. 1994). For example, a similar proportion of urban (94 percent) and rural (91 percent) American Indian smokers knew that smoking during pregnancy would harm the fetus. Although American Indian smokers were as knowledgeable as nonsmokers regarding the health effects of cigarette smoking, attitudes about smoking differed between the two groups. American Indian smokers were more likely than nonsmokers to think that it is acceptable to smoke and chew tobacco, to permit the advertising of tobacco products, to let visitors smoke in one's home, and to allow smoking in restaurants. In addition, American Indian women who smoked reported a greater number of depressive symptoms (as measured by the CES-D) than nonsmoking women. However, researchers observed no differences in the number of depressive symptoms among men who smoked compared with men who did not smoke. A fairly large number of American Indians reported that they were not interested in quitting (45 percent of residents in urban areas and 55 percent of residents in rural areas). In the 1993 NHIS, however, 65.0 percent of American Indian or Alaska Native smokers aged 18 years or over reported that they wanted to quit smoking cigarettes completely (CDC 1994b). In another study of current smokers who were patients at Indian health clinics, Lando and colleagues (1992) found that the most commonly mentioned reasons for relapse were cravings, stress, nervousness, and the pressure to smoke in social situations.

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders

Little has been published about smoking cessation among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. In one study that addressed this issue, Jenkins and colleagues (1990) found that among adult Vietnamese refugees living in the San Francisco area, 82 percent of smokers wanted to quit, but 71 percent of them felt that quitting would be difficult. About 69 percent of the Vietnamese smokers had been advised by their physicians to reduce or quit smoking. Lack of information about the health consequences of cigarette smoking is a problem among some Asian American groups. In a study of Chinese Americans in Oakland,

California, Lew (1992) found that 53 percent of the respondents did not know that heart disease was associated with cigarette smoking, and 26 percent of them said they did not know that lung cancer was related to cigarette smoking. Of current Asian American or Pacific Islander smokers aged 18 years or more in the 1993 NHIS, 60.2 percent reported being interested in quitting smoking completely (CDC 1994b).

Hispanics

Several studies have examined what motivates adult Hispanic smokers to quit. Marín and colleagues (1990b) found that family-related consequences and concerns (e.g., to set a good example for one's children) contributed more to Hispanics' desire to quit smoking than to whites' desire to quit. Hispanic smokers who intended to quit believed that by doing so they would improve family relations, breathe more easily, and have a better taste in their mouths. They also believed that they would gain weight. In an earlier study, Hispanic smokers who subjectively considered themselves to be highly addicted to tobacco had the lowest levels of perceived self-efficacy to avoid cigarette smoking (Sabogal et al. 1989). The level of perceived self-efficacy to avoid smoking also declined as the reported number of cigarettes smoked per day increased. In the 1993 NHIS, 68.7 percent of Hispanic smokers aged 18 years or over said they wanted to quit smoking cigarettes entirely (CDC 1994b). Research with Hispanic adults has shown that their expectancies for quitting and for continued cigarette smoking differ in terms of their level of acculturation so that those Hispanics who have acculturated more tend to resemble whites in their expectations (Marín et al. 1989a, 1990b).

Summary, Smoking Cessation

Although the literature on predictors or correlates of smoking cessation among members of these four racial/ethnic minority groups is limited, an important theme emerges from the studies reviewed in this section. Some studies, primarily those of African Americans (see also Chapter 5), have shown that smokers tend to report having little knowledge of the health effects of smoking or techniques to quit smoking. Smokers' lack of information about cessation techniques available in the community is consistent with underdeveloped tobacco control infrastructures and the low levels of resources for research and program delivery (Robinson et al. 1995; Shelton et al. 1995). Information alone is not enough to produce a

behavior change as complex as quitting, but information on the health consequences of smoking is still perceived by some researchers as necessary to develop the motivation to quit. Information on resources and techniques for quitting may also be essential for the success of a smoking cessation program. The lack of information may appear surprising in view of the decades-long smoking education campaigns conducted by federal and state agencies and voluntary associations, but it is consistent with the thesis that resources allocated for tobacco control research and programs have been proportionately lower in racial/ethnic communities than in white communities (Robinson et al. 1995). Equally important, information may not have been presented through appropriate channels, and the motivational messages may not have been culturally appropriate (see Chapter 5).

This literature review has identified several areas for which more appropriate approaches are needed. First, the effects of stress and depression on attempts to quit smoking are particularly important among members of racial/ethnic groups. Culturally appropriate cessation interventions need to identify the sources of stress and then present stress-reduction techniques that are perceived as appropriate and effective by members of racial/ethnic groups. Second, group-specific motivations and attitudes predict a person's interest in and success at quitting smoking. Future research should focus on group-specific attitudes and expectancies as well as those that are shared by racial/ethnic groups. The effects of acculturation and group identification also need to be addressed, particularly because research involving Hispanics has shown that acculturation plays an important role in shaping the attitudes and expectancies held by Hispanic smokers (Marín et al. 1989a; 1990a,b).

In summary, the distinctive psychosocial environment of disparate racial/ethnic minority groups requires that additional tailored intervention materials be designed. Existing smoking cessation programs and strategies currently designed for the general population cannot simply be adapted or translated for use with a particular racial/ethnic group (see Chapter 5 for more discussion of cessation).

Methodological Limitations of the Literature

The content of the literature must be interpreted in light of its methodological limitations. The weaknesses of the studies demand caution, but on a more positive note, they suggest appropriate directions for

future research. These limitations fall into four main categories: (1) nongeneralizability, (2) noncomparability, (3) sample size and aggregation problems, and (4) nonreporting.

Nongeneralizability. Most studies of psychosocial factors in racial/ethnic groups have been conducted in big cities such as Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, and San Francisco. Some of the findings may not apply to persons residing in smaller cities or rural areas where the psychosocial environment that influences tobacco use may differ from that in large urban areas or racial/ethnic enclaves in large cities.

Similarly, primary prevention research in this field has relied heavily on urban school populations. Most studies have excluded school dropouts; students attending alternative, parochial, or private schools; those housed in detention facilities; those living and working in rural environments; and other at-risk youths, and therefore may have limited generalizability.

Noncomparability. Many studies have used different variables to measure the same phenomenon, or they have measured the same variables differently. Differential instrumentation (Cook and Campbell 1979) is a problem because a construct may not only differ in meaning from one culture to another, but its appropriate measurement (operationalization) may also differ (Berry 1969; Triandis and Marin 1983; Marin and Marín 1991). For example, if a risk factor survey initially developed for a white population is administered unchanged to African Americans or Hispanics, it may prove to be culturally inappropriate and invalid. Instead, researchers should consider what meanings the survey terms or constructs have for the group members (Brislin et al. 1973). Few researchers have conducted the basic ethnographic and psychosocial research needed to identify these culture-specific constructs. With the exception of some investigators who have studied smoking cessation among Hispanics (discussed earlier in this chapter), most researchers have ignored a central assumption of cross-cultural research—that equivalent and culturally appropriate instrumentation must first be developed and used.

Another difficulty in analyzing and comparing studies of tobacco use among young respondents is that the studies rarely measure comparable behaviors. For example, some researchers attempt to predict the first instance when a person uses a tobacco product. Other researchers, primarily in cross-sectional studies, use their data to predict current reported tobacco use and assume that those variables may help explain initiation of tobacco use.

Aggregation problems. A common problem with some of the studies reviewed in this chapter is that racial/ethnic populations have not been assessed separately from larger populations. For example, some studies of African Americans and whites have failed to separate these groups when reporting the results. Other studies, particularly those with small sample sizes, have not separated subgroups within racial/ethnic minority groups—for example, distinguishing Chinese from Vietnamese—even when such separation is essential to properly understanding the results. Such results would be difficult to reproduce without knowledge of the population mix.

Nonreporting. The data summarized in this chapter are further limited by a bias in the reporting of results. Some researchers report only significant results and fail to indicate the equally important obser-

vation that some associations are not significant. This limitation can negatively affect the design of culturally appropriate prevention strategies. In addition, few of the studies reviewed in this chapter adequately describe the procedures followed or the data collected. Properly understanding the meaning and measurement of many of the variables included in these research reports is difficult because of the paucity of detail. Finally, few of these studies have reported on issues of statistical power in their designs, which frequently are characterized by a small sample and a large number of variables.

Despite such limitations in the quality and comparability of data, these studies identify the variables that should be the focus of future research and variables that need to be considered in culturally appropriate prevention programs (see Chapter 5).

Chapter Summary

Tobacco use patterns are influenced by many factors. In addition, the factors themselves and their importance in influencing tobacco use vary among racial and racial/ethnic groups. Some common experiences and themes, however, emerge: the targeted advertising and promotions through racial/ethnic-specific media channels, the influence of peers who smoke on initiation of tobacco use, the association of depression and stress with cigarette smoking and cessation among adults from different racial/ethnic groups, and the influence of acculturation. Psychosocial variables help explain individual tobacco use behavior. Tobacco advertising and promotion are

influential because they appear to affect the perceived sense of pervasiveness, function, and image of tobacco use, which in turn affect these psychosocial variables. Another possible influence is the historical relationship between racial/ethnic minority communities and the tobacco industry. Most likely, it is not any one single factor but the interplay or convergence of these factors that significantly influences both a person's decision to use tobacco and the resulting tobacco use patterns. The effects of each factor have so far eluded quantification by researchers based on available evidence; more research is needed to better understand the etiology, exposure, and effects of these factors.

Conclusions

1. The close association of tobacco with significant events and rituals in the history of many racial/ethnic communities and the tobacco industry's long history of providing economic support to some racial/ethnic groups—including employment opportunities and contributions to community groups and leaders—may undermine prevention and control efforts.
2. The tobacco industry's targeted advertising and promotion of tobacco products among members of these four U.S. racial/ethnic groups may undermine prevention and control efforts and thus lead to serious health consequences.
3. The high level of tobacco product advertising in racial/ethnic publications is problematic because the editors and publishers of these publications may omit stories dealing with the damaging effects of tobacco or limit the level of tobacco-use prevention and health promotion information included in their publications.
4. Although much of the original research on psychosocial factors that influence tobacco use reflects general processes that may apply to racial/ethnic populations, documenting such generalizability requires further research.
5. The initiation of tobacco use and early tobacco use among members of the various racial/ethnic minority groups seem to be related to numerous categories of variables—such as sociodemographic, environmental, historical, behavioral, personal, and psychological—although the predictive power of these categories or of specific risk factors is not known with certainty because of the paucity of research.
6. Cigarette smoking among members of the four racial/ethnic groups is associated with depression, psychological stress, and environmental factors such as advertising and promotion and peers who smoke, as is also the case in the general population. The role of these factors in tobacco use among members of these racial/ethnic groups deserves attention by researchers and persons who develop smoking prevention and cessation programs.

Appendix. A Brief History of Tobacco Advertising Targeting African Americans

A previous report of the Surgeon General (USDHHS 1994) presented a brief historical perspective of cigarette advertising in the United States focusing on advertising strategies targeting youths. Because targeted marketing to other racial/ethnic groups is a more recent phenomenon and because information about this practice with African Americans is more available, this appendix focuses on advertising to African Americans. This appendix updates the review in the 1994 Surgeon General's report, particularly as it relates to African Americans.

Early Assumptions

A significant proportion of cigarette advertising targeting African Americans was based on the belief

that consumer behavior among African Americans differs from that of whites. In the 1950s, a primary belief of advertising agencies working on cigarette advertising was that status-seeking was a central motivator of African Americans. A survey of *Ebony* readers, published in *Advertising Age* (1950), showed that “prestige and quality—not cost—are the most important factors to stress when appealing to colored buyers. Because of the psychological considerations involved, Negroes are extremely desirous of being identified as customers who recognize and demand quality merchandise” (p. 17).

Another early assumption of advertising agencies targeting African Americans was that advertisements featuring African American models were more effective—or at least more appealing to African

Americans—than advertisements portraying whites. In a 1950 survey of the buying habits and motivations of African Americans, Starch and colleagues found that the majority of *Ebony* readers preferred advertisements featuring African American models, although about one-third of the African American respondents said that it did not matter whether African American models were used (*Advertising Age* 1950). In a later study of consumer reactions to the use of white or African American models, 93 white and 88 African American college freshmen in Houston were asked to react to four cigarette advertisements, indicating whether the models were ugly or beautiful, low class or high class, and friendly or unfriendly (22 bipolar scales were presented) (Barban and Cundiff 1964). In general, the cigarette advertisement with white models and the same advertisement with African American models drew similar reactions from whites and African Americans. In a more recent study, however, African Americans who strongly identified with their culture were more likely to prefer African American models (Whittler 1989). Another recent study has shown that African American college students preferred television commercials for consumer products that included African American models (Pitts et al. 1989). These findings were replicated recently among African American Chicago youths aged 12–14 years who perceived African American models in cigarette advertisements as more appealing (Huang et al. 1992).

A central belief related to targeted advertising and marketing is the assumption that members of racial/ethnic groups, particularly African Americans and Hispanics, are brand-conscious and brand-loyal consumers. This approach to purchasing is believed to motivate consumers to spend extra money to purchase a product with a recognized brand name or a product that has been used by family members and neighbors for a relatively long period of time. Large multinational brand names often are associated with quality in the immigrants' countries of origin, and purchasing of those brands in the United States may serve as an example of having "arrived" or achieved a sought-after economic status. Other researchers hypothesize that previous consumer experiences and an increase in disposable income produce brand consciousness. For example, Dallaire (1955) argued that "the Negro's desire to improve his lot, his increasing income and the fact that he's been burned so badly and so often in the past with shoddy merchandise makes him a highly brand-conscious consumer" (p. 58). Whether brand loyalty is indeed a characteristic of certain racial/ethnic minority groups continues to be debated (Deshpande et al. 1986; Donthu and Cherian 1992);

however, this assumption often has been invoked in the design of advertising directed at members of racial/ethnic groups.

Promotional campaigns directed at African Americans and members of other racial/ethnic groups also operate under the assumption that these individuals are more likely than whites to trust advertising, although most of the studies on which this perception is based have been limited by methodological flaws such as nonrandom sampling and a small sample size. In a 1961 study of 1,106 African Americans and 537 whites, about twice as many whites as African Americans had unfavorable attitudes toward all types of advertising (Bullock 1961). In a 1968 study of 1,846 persons, the 77 African Americans interviewed had the highest proportion (53 percent) of favorable responses to the open-ended question "How do you yourself feel about advertising?" compared with 1,707 whites (40 percent) (Bauer and Greyser 1968). Eleven years later, Durand and colleagues (1979) interviewed 80 persons and found that African Americans were consistently more trusting of television and newspapers than whites were, and they relied less on magazine advertisements. Soley and Reid (1983) interviewed a random sample of 185 Atlantans and found that African Americans were more satisfied with the informational value of magazine and television advertising than whites were and that high-income respondents were the least satisfied with advertising.

Early Targeted Advertising Efforts (1940s–1960s)

Turn-of-the-century advertisements for tobacco products tended to include women, to emphasize female sexuality, and to portray women as dangerous and delightful. Conversely, American Indians and African Americans often were pictured as childlike and unattractive (Mitchell 1992). Tobacco companies have depicted African Americans in their advertisements since the first Bull Durham advertisements appeared at the turn of the century, but only since the 1940s have they aggressively targeted African Americans as a distinct consumer market.

In the decades that have followed, tobacco companies have been described as "bold pioneers in both their use of new media and their targeting of other segments even when controversial" (Pollay et al. 1992, p. 49). In 1942, the advertising agency of the Lorillard Tobacco Company, J. Walter Thompson Company, began to monitor cigarette sales in African American neighborhoods as part of an Old Gold cigarette promotion (Pollay 1988). By 1948, Philip Morris was

running its “no cigaret hangover” campaign in the African American press and in daily newspapers published in languages other than English (*Tide* 1948, p. 18). By 1955, several cigarette companies, including Philip Morris, were producing advertising materials targeting African Americans and Hispanics (*Printers' Ink* 1955). Soon thereafter, Philip Morris began placing point-of-sale materials in English as well as Spanish for the newly repositioned Marlboro cigarettes (Ullman Gravure, Inc. 1957). A decade after tobacco firms first displayed an interest in African American consumers, the firms were described as “leaders among advertisers gunning for a bigger share of the Negro market” (Dallaire 1955, p. 58).

One of the earliest targeting efforts, conducted on behalf of Liggett & Myers's Chesterfield cigarettes, targeted African Americans via advertisements featuring athletes' testimonials and placed in racial/ethnic newspapers and magazines, such as *Ebony*, *Our World*, and *Tan*. The company also launched an extensive point-of-sale advertising campaign featuring African American sports figures (Dallaire 1955). The campaign included a series of six documentary films that presented African American achievements. Each film was viewed by about 3 million people in 500 primarily African American theaters. These films also were shown at more than 100 African American colleges, where free cigarette samples were distributed, reaching an estimated 900,000 additional people. The success of this effort led to the filming of 13 five-minute films featuring interviews with African American celebrities (Dallaire 1955).

The 1950s also marked the introduction of mentholated cigarettes. Although a greater proportion of African Americans now smoke mentholated cigarettes compared with members of other racial/ethnic groups (Chapter 2), no evidence exists that the menthol market was initially conceived as having any special appeal to African Americans or other racial/ethnic groups. Mentholated cigarettes are relative newcomers to the tobacco market, and they have been well received by smokers. In 1956, Brown & Williamson's mentholated and then unfiltered Kool cigarette enjoyed an increasing market share that attracted its competitors to introduce mentholated cigarettes with filters. These competitors and their entries included R.J. Reynolds's Salem, Philip Morris's Spud, Liggett & Myers's Oasis, and Lorillard's Newport cigarettes. By the end of 1957, 5 percent of all cigarettes consumed were mentholated, representing “a relatively sharp gain for a fledgling cigarette movement exploring a new taste” (Wooten 1957, p. 22).

By 1959, The American Tobacco Company, the only firm without a mentholated cigarette, was preparing to market a cigarette tentatively called Richmond. The campaign concept allegedly argued that the Richmond cigarette “gives you all of smoking's pleasure, with none of its penalties” (*Printers' Ink* 1959a, p. 12). Around the same time, Brown & Williamson was ready to test market a second menthol brand, Belair, and was introducing three other menthol brands into the market—Riviera, Spring, and Alpine (*Printers' Ink* 1959c). Tobacco companies also were beginning to use technical jargon to market their menthol products. For example, in 1959, advertising professionals described R.J. Reynolds's advertisements for Salem as “breathlessly reporting ‘an amazing new development’ in copy that was both opaque and studded with scientific jargon” to inform consumers about the highly porous paper that “air softens every puff. There are, obviously, just no limits to the company's tender regard for the smoker” (*Printers' Ink* 1959b, p. 8).

In a study of early cigarette advertisements targeting African Americans, investigators compared a complete set of cigarette advertisements from *Ebony* for the years 1950–1965 with a matched set of advertisements from *Life* (Pollay et al. 1992). The results, which follow, are important in promoting a better understanding of the principles followed in advertising targeted to African Americans.

By 1965, all six major U.S. cigarette firms had advertised in the pages of *Ebony* as well as *Life*. While the cigarette advertising in *Life* increased over the years, particularly between 1963 and 1965, the amount of such advertising in *Ebony* more than tripled during the same period. *Ebony* initially had fewer cigarette advertisements (16 in 1950) than *Life* (31 in 1950), but a dramatic increase in efforts targeting African Americans soon led *Ebony* to have more than twice the number of cigarette advertisements (57 in 1962) as *Life* (28 in 1962) (Pollay 1990; Pollay et al. 1992). An analysis of the page costs indicated that this pattern was not related to the relative costs of the two magazines nor was it likely related to cigarette firms' joining other firms to offer their products to African Americans through African American-owned media. Although this was a period of general growth for *Ebony*, “cigarette firms increased their spending and page acquisition even more than the average, keeping themselves out in front of the pack” and making cigarette firms the source of an estimated 6.5 percent of *Ebony*'s total advertising income in 1962 (Pollay et al. 1992, p. 54).

The investigators also found that the manifest race/ethnicity of the models portrayed in cigarette

advertisements increased between 1950 and 1965. Out of the 540 cigarette advertisements in *Ebony*, more than 84 percent featured identifiable human models, and more than 90 percent of those used African American models. In the early 1950s, the white endorsers who occasionally appeared in *Ebony* included physicians who claimed “more doctors smoke Camels” and television and movie stars (Pollay et al. 1992). Since 1958, virtually all models in *Ebony*’s cigarette advertisements have been African American. Yet none of the African American cigarette endorsers appearing in *Ebony* advertisements have appeared in *Life* advertisements, not even the widely popular sports stars and musicians.

During the early years of targeted advertising, professional athletes were most often featured in cigarette advertisements. Sports stars were used in advertisements even when the advertising copy was inconsistent with athletics. A Lucky Strike cigarette advertisement in *Ebony*, for example, referenced scientific tests in 1950 but showed a picture of an African American Olympic athlete. These advertisements sometimes differed from advertisements appearing in media targeting the general population. In 1960, Kent cigarettes illustrated its “scientist’s choice” campaign in *Ebony* with another Olympic champion, not with a scientist as was done in the advertisement placed in *Life*. Although athletes also appeared in cigarette appeals to the larger public, “cigarette ads aimed at black readers of *Ebony* were significantly more likely to use athletes than those aimed at white readers of *Life*. For 1950–1965, endorsements from athletes were about five times more common in *Ebony* than in *Life*” (Pollay et al. 1992, p. 51).

Although most tobacco-producing companies were targeting the African American market through *Ebony*, these companies advertised significantly fewer cigarette brands in *Ebony* than in *Life* (Pollay et al. 1992). Advertising of new products seems to have lagged in African American publications. Whereas advertisements for filtered tobacco products first appeared in *Life* in 1953 and made up one-half of all cigarette advertising in *Life* by 1955, advertisements for filtered tobacco products did not appear in *Ebony* until 1955 and did not represent one-half of its cigarette advertising until 1958, three years later than for *Life*.

Recent Targeted Advertising Efforts (Late 1960s–1980s)

By the late 1960s, with racial/ethnic pride enhanced by the success of the civil rights movement, the nature and appeal of advertising began to change

to better tailor the contents of the advertisements to targeted racial/ethnic groups. In an analysis of advertisements for all consumer products in selected issues of *Ebony* and *Life* in 1960, Berkman (1963) found that in about two-thirds of the advertisements featuring models, African American models were substituted for white models in advertisements placed in *Ebony*, although the content of the advertisements was basically identical. The African American models initially featured were predominantly light skinned, according to Berkman (1963), but subsequent studies of all *Ebony* advertisements between 1952 and 1968 showed that the use of male models with more African American features and hair texture became more common over time, whereas the advertisements continued to use female African American models with Caucasian features (Gitter et al. 1972; Weiss 1972).

Cigarette advertising has changed in similar ways. In the late 1960s, Lorillard’s advertisements for Kent cigarettes featured an African American model wearing an Afro hairstyle and saying “that’s where it’s at” (*Advertising Age* 1968, 1969). By 1971, Liggett & Myers employed an advertising agency that specialized in targeting the African American market. The agency’s campaign for L&M cigarettes featured a slogan that called the brand “super bad” (meaning excellent), and research indicated the advertisement had “great appeal among members of the black community” (*Advertising Age* 1971a, p. 20).

Not all cigarette advertisements aimed at African Americans have been successful at employing meaningful role models or at credibly using street or popular language. One African American marketing professional asserted that neither the Marlboro cowboy nor the Viceroy race car driver was meaningful to most African Americans and that Winston’s use of the phrase “How good it is!” in a racial/ethnic advertisement was a “white man’s cliché that retired with Jackie Gleason.” In contrast, Kool’s slogan, “Come all the way up to Kool, America’s #1 selling menthol,” was lauded for astutely positioning the leader as a sign of upward mobility (Wall 1973, p. 71).

In the 1970s, Liggett & Myers began targeting African American women with advertising for its “arty female oriented” Eve cigarettes by running advertisements with African American models in *Black America Magazine*, *Black Enterprise*, *Ebony*, *Essence*, *Jet*, *New Lady*, and *Tuesday Magazine* (*Advertising Age* 1971b, p. 24). The next year, Liggett & Myers began promoting L&M cigarettes to African American men and women via advertisements in African American magazines, including *Contact*, *National Scene*, and *Soul Illustrated*

(*Advertising Age* 1971a). In 1974, Kool cigarette advertisements in African American magazines featuring African American models used the copy “Nobody makes cool like Kool” (*Advertising Age* 1974, p. 76).

During the mid-1970s, products targeted to African Americans began to emerge. For example, R.J. Reynolds created an extra-strong menthol product, Salem Extra, which was advertised as offering “different smokes for different folks.” The cigarette was market-tested in Birmingham and New Orleans through outdoor advertisements as well as newspaper and regional magazine advertisements that were supported by sampling. These efforts indicated to the advertising trade that Salem Extra should be targeted to African Americans, along with another extra-strong menthol brand, Super M, which was being tested by The American Tobacco Company in Pittsburgh (O'Connor 1974).

In the late 1970s, tobacco companies began using billboards to advertise cigarettes in racial/ethnic minority communities. Over the past two decades, billboards have appeared more frequently in commercially zoned areas and in older, poorer, and otherwise less desirable residential neighborhoods that border major highways and mass transit systems. In surveys of six cities in the late 1980s, Scenic America, a national organization opposed to billboards, found far more billboards advertising tobacco products in minority neighborhoods than in other neighborhoods

(McMahon and Taylor 1990). For example, 76.7 percent of advertising messages on billboards in one impoverished African American community in Philadelphia were for alcoholic beverages and tobacco products. In San Francisco, 62 percent of the billboards in predominantly African American neighborhoods advertised cigarettes, compared with 36 percent of all billboards citywide (McMahon and Taylor 1990). According to the Outdoor Advertising Association of America Marketing Division, tobacco companies are the leading outdoor advertisers, accounting for approximately one-third of all billboards (McMahon and Taylor 1990). Furthermore, data for 1988 show that cigarettes are the most heavily advertised product in outdoor media (CDC 1990a). A study conducted in Columbia, South Carolina, confirmed that African American communities have 2.6 times as many billboards advertising cigarettes as white communities have (Mayberry and Price 1993).

In the late 1970s, cigarette producers and their advertising agencies were becoming very aware of the significance of the African American market, as exemplified by this quotation from a well-known advertising agency: “While Blacks represent only 10.3% of the total U.S. population, they account for 18% of all smokers and 31% of all menthol smokers” (Rosser Reeves Inc. 1979, p. 12). As a result, tobacco companies have heavily advertised and promoted cigarettes to racial/ethnic minorities, particularly African Americans.

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