

Children

1950s	
<p>The young: a massive potential exists</p> <p>And they stick to you like glue</p>	<p>1950:</p> <p>An article in the US <i>Tobacco Journal</i> notes that: “A massive potential market still exists among women and young adults, cigarette industry leaders agreed, acknowledging that recruitment of these millions of prospective smokers comprises the major objective for the immediate future and on a long term basis as well” A Philip Morris executive was quoted as saying that :”Students are tremendously loyal. If you catch them, they’ll stick with you like glue”.¹</p>
<p>More efficient</p>	<p>1957:</p> <p>A Philip Morris Executive writes that “hitting the youth can be more efficient even though the cost to reach them is higher, because they are willing to experiment, they have more influence over others in their age group than they will later in life, and they are far more loyal to their starting brand “².</p>
<p>The cowboy – out to capture youth’s fantasy</p> <p>And he makes them go crazy</p>	<p>Late 50’s:</p> <p>Philip Morris starts using the Cowboy image on its commercials, because the image “would turn the rookie smokers on to Marlboro .. the right image to capture the youth market’s fancy ..a perfect symbol of independence and individualistic rebellion” As one executive who worked on Marlboro recalled “When you see teenage boys- people the cigarette companies aren’t supposed to be targeting in the first place – going crazy for this guy, you know they’re hitting their target³.</p>

1960s	
<p>Its illegal</p>	<p>1962:</p> <p>7 March: Tobacco Advisory Council: “It is illegal to sell tobacco to children under 16 whether for their own or anothers' consumption. It is possible that this is not generally appreciated, and the manufacturers would be glad to assist in any measures to make the law more widely known⁴.”</p>
<p>We will still advertise to young ... oops but not to children</p>	<p>12 March: John Partridge, the Chairman of the Tobacco Manufacturers Standing Committee, who works for Imperial, appears on the BBC’s Panorama Programme. On the programme, Partridge is asked “would you agree that we must stop young people smoking?” To which he replies “No, I would not”. He later says “We are prepared to go on advertising our products”, to which</p>

even though its not harmful	he is asked “To young people? and he replies “Yes indeed ... but not to children ... I happen to think that neither tobacco, nor alcohol are harmful, in moderation ⁵ .”
We support Government concern	5 April: Carreras Rothmans respond to the RCP report in a letter to the President of the Board of Trade: “We support the Government’s concern to prevent the purchasing of cigarettes by children” ⁶ .
40% of revenue	1963: In the US, a survey shows that out of some 850 college newspapers, cigarette adverts accounted for 40 per cent of the papers’ entire advertising revenue.” ⁷ .
Cowboy appeals to kids - he’s the hottest symbol going	1965: 28 December: Robert Wald, Counsel for Lorillard’s complains that Marlboro’s campaign proceeds with a “great campaign with probably the greatest appeal to kids: the gnarled, weather beaten cowboys - the hottest virility, sexual symbol going ⁸ .”
Virginia slims slogan doubles teen smoking	1968: Philip Morris produces Virginia Slims, a cigarette targeted exclusively at women, running the slogan: “You Have Come Along Way Baby”. Within six years of the Slims launch, the percentage of teenage women who smoked had nearly doubled” ⁹ .
New product concepts: Direct appeal to youth	A B&W report is written examining “New Product Concepts”. One of which is the “Young Male Cigarette”. <u>“Strategy</u> : To improve B&W’s position in attracting young male smokers by making as direct an appeal as possible in product, packaging, and advertising to young males ... <u>Advertising</u> : Product (cigarette or cigaryl) will be positioned as the smoking product especially made for men. Copy and illustration will appeal directly to young men. <u>Market Potential</u> – Direct Target Group: 6.3 million 16-25 year old smokers of king-size and long-size plain filter cigarettes who consumed 35 billion cigarettes in 1967” ¹⁰ .
Youth share	1969: 23 May: A report for Philip Morris identifies that over 15 per cent of female smokers aged 15, and 23 per cent of male smokers aged 15, smoke Marlboro ¹¹ .
A cigarette means I am no longer my mother’s child	Autumn: A draft report to the Board of Directors of Philip Morris states: “a cigarette for the beginner is a symbolic act. I am no longer my mother's child, I'm tough, I am an adventurer, I'm not square ... As the force from the psychological symbolism subsides, the pharmacological effect takes over to sustain the habit” ¹²

1970s	
Lower age limit keep at 14	1971: 7 April: An internal RJR Reynolds document outlines that “the lower age limit for the profile of young smokers is to remain at 14” ¹³ .
Abandons electric shock study on teens	1972: Philip Morris abandons administrating electric shocks to college students as part of a study into stress and smoking behaviour because they had concluded “fear of shock is scaring away some of our more

	valuable subjects” ¹⁴ .
Add honey?	A B&W document notes that “It’s a well-known fact that teen-agers like sweet products. Honey might be considered.” ¹⁵ ”
Unfairly constrained from youth market Influence pre-smokers to smoke	1973: 2 February: Claude Teague, Assistant Chief in R&D at RJ Reynolds, writes a paper: “Some Thoughts About New Brands of Cigarettes for the Youth Market” ; “ At the outset it should be said that we are presently, and I believe unfairly, constrained from directly promoting cigarettes to the youth market ... if our company is to survive and prosper, over the long term we must get our share of the youth market; I believe it unrealistic to expect that existing brands identified with an over-thirty ‘establishment’ market can ever become the ‘in’ products with the young group. This we need new brands designed to be particularly attractive to the young smoker, while ideally at the same time appealing to all smokers ... Perhaps these questions may be best approached by consideration of factors influencing pre-smokers to try smoking, learn to smoke and become confirmed smokers. ” [emphasis added]
Create the “in” brand to overcome: Stress, boredom, awkward situations Need to study youth jargon	Teague continues: “thus a new brand aimed at the young smoker must somehow become the ‘in’ brand and its promotion should emphasise togetherness, belonging and group acceptance, while at the same time emphasising individuality and ‘doing one’s own thing’. The teens and early twenties are periods of intense psychological stress, restlessness and boredom. Many social awkward situations are encountered. The minute or two required to stop and light a cigarette, ask for a light, find an ash tray, and the like provide something to do during periods of awkwardness and boredom ... The fragile, developing self-image of the young person needs all of the support and enhancement it can get ... This self-image enhancement effect has traditionally been a strong promotional theme for cigarette brands and should continue to be emphasised ... a careful study of the current youth jargon, together with a review of currently used high school American history books and like sources for valued things might be a good start at finding a good brand name and image theme. This is obvious a task for marketing people, not research people” ¹⁶ .
Need to counter programmes designed to stop young smoking	14 February: A Confidential Memo from B&W’s Assistant General Counsel, outlines “salient problems now facing the cigarette industry”, which includes “increased educational programmes to prevent young, non-smokers taking up the practice of smoking”. ¹⁷
Need to uncover the secret Create a fad Need to be more	8 March: A document prepared by the William Esty Company for RJ Reynolds states that: “ Marlboro’s share among the 14-15 segment is a phenomenal 51.0% ... Many manufacturers have 'studied' the 14-20 market in hopes of uncovering the ‘secret’ of the instant popularity some brands enjoy to the almost complete exclusion of others. Creating a ‘fad’ in this market can be a great bonanza ”. Under “Next Steps” the document states that “The Recent strategic reviews (undated 2/8) focus sharply on the real need to become more

aggressive against young	aggressive against young adult males in major metro markets ... While WINSTON's position among the young adult age group can certainly be improved, all the data we have in hand does not paint as black a picture versus Marlboro (or 45 other brands) as we may sometimes feel due to our current preoccupation with the 'youth' market". ¹⁸
Use comic strip	12 April: An RJ Reynolds document articulates that: "In view of the need to reverse the preference for Marlboros among younger smokers, I wonder whether comic strip type copy might get a much higher readership among younger people than any other type of copy. It would certainly seem worth testing a heavy dose of this type of copy in a test market to get a research reading on percentage of readership and copy recall". ¹⁹
Study as young as 12	18 May: The Philip Morris Marketing Research Department highlight how a "probability sample of 452 teen-agers ages 12-17" finds that 13 per cent smoke an average of 10.6 cigarettes per day and how "the data from the study are consonant with the findings of other such studies, both at Philip Morris and without". ²⁰
Go after the young, affluent male	November: A RJ Reynolds Marketing Plan, written by the William Esty Company states: "we believe the greatest potential for Winston lies not in expanding its sales among its current franchise, but rather by aggressively going after the much larger Marlboro Box franchise – the young, affluent, urban male". The report examines smokers as young as 14. ²¹
Develop a youth appeal brand	4 December: A RJ Reynolds Inter-Office on a "Cigarette Concept to Assure RJR A Larger Segment of the Youth Market" summarises that "It has been suggested to develop a new RJR youth-appeal brand based on the concept of going back – at least halfway – to the technological design of the Winston and other filter cigarettes of the 1950s ... These cigarettes had the following three main characteristics as distinguished from today's cigarettes:
More flavour, kicks and puff	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. They delivered more flavour (tar). 2. They delivered more 'enjoyment' or 'kicks' (nicotine). 3. They delivered more puffs – at least 20 per cent more".²²
Younger smokers more important	An internal B&W memo shows that "Kool has shown little or no growth in share of users in the 26 [plus] age group. . . Growth is from 16-25-year-olds. At the present rate, a smoker in the 16-25 year age group will soon be three times as important to Kool as a prospect in any other broad age category". ²³
Long experiment time if start at ten	~1973: An undated B&W report, but quoting other reports from 1973, states: "Those who start to smoke at a comparatively early age, at ten or twelve, go through a long period of experimenting with cigarettes before taking up smoking seriously". The document quotes a report which shows that "at the age of sixteen, 57 per of boys and 63 per cent of girls were smoking as many as one cigarette a day. It

Unlikely to smoke once 20	was during this period that the foundations of the smoking habit were laid. Four out of five young people who had smoked more than one cigarette subsequently became regular smokers. Conversely .. if a youngster were still a non-smoker at twenty, he would be unlikely to take up the habit” ²⁴ .
Young smokers “wear” cigarettes Image of brand related to people starting to smoke	1974: 3 July: An internal RJ Reynolds from the marketing research executive D Tredennick, notes “Over 50% of men smokers start smoking fairly regularly before the age of 18 and virtually all start by the age of 25 ... The user ‘image’ that has become associated with a particular brand. To some extent young smokers ‘wear’ their cigarette and it becomes an important part of the ‘I’ they wish to be, along with their clothing and the way they style their hair”. He concludes that: “The main causes of initial brand selection; i.e, the influence of friends, the user image a brand project and differentiated product characteristics are logically related to the reasons a young persons begins to smoke” ²⁵ .
Conformity a boost No lower age limit	July: “A Study of Smoking Habits Among Young Smokers” prepared for Philip Morris, finds that “Both Marlboro (among whites) and Kool (among both blacks and whites) have their largest share among very young smokers (18 and younger) – suggesting the propensity toward conformity in this age group gives both brands a boost in that group”. Internal Philip Morris documents show that “the Roper Organisation was commissioned to undertake the study ... with the intention of probing the dynamics of the market among smokers below the age of 24 ... no lower age limit was set ²⁶ .”
Increase share of young as they represent tomorrow’s cigarette business	30 September: A RJ Reynolds Marketing plan for 1975 outlines one of the four “Key Opportunity Areas” are to “Increase our young adult franchise ... in 1960, this young adult market, the 14-24 age group, represented 21% of the population ... they will represent 27 % of the population in 1975. They represent tomorrow's cigarette business. As this 14-24 age group matures, they will account for a key share of the total cigarette volume -- for at least the next 25 years ... Thus our advertising strategy becomes clear for our established brands: Direct advertising appeal to the younger smokers ... For Winston, we’ve followed this strategy in developing the new ‘candid’ advertising campaign .. it is especially designe [sic] to appeal to young adults ..”
	“We have also increased our media efforts toward young adults for our brands, these include:
Young Magazines	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased advertising insertions in traditional young adult magazines like Sports Illustrated, Playboy and Ms. • Have added new young adult special interest magazines like road and track and motorcycling.
Max. exposure to young	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expanded outdoor with selective locations for maximum young adult exposure..”

<p>Pinpointed sports car sponsorship to appeal to youth</p>	<p>.. “For Camel Filter, we have developed a new strategy. While Camel cannot match the media dollars spent by Marlboro, the brand will have pinpointed efforts against young adults through its sponsorship of sports car racing and motorcycling. Sports car racing reaches 300,000 spectators –85% under 35 years of age ... we use newspaper and programme advertising for image association ...you might logically ask ‘what does all of this means in sales?’ Our research indicates that among racing fans, Winston’s share of smokers is 67 per cent greater than among non-racing fans ...our research indicates a dramatic increase in purchase rate among fans attending.”²⁷</p>
<p>Young smokers are of pre-eminent importance</p> <p>Create a living laboratory</p>	<p>September: A B&W document, entitled “The New Smoker” outlines how the “The younger smoker is of pre-eminent importance: significant in numbers, ‘lead in’ to prime market, starts brand preference patterning, still volatile in habits ... But frustrating to reach: values and behaviour at variance with rest of the population, sceptical, intense peer pressure, public policy difficulties ... Study the Market and Customer, maintain a continuing dialogue with the ‘New’ Smoker ..behaviour patters – what they do; Attitudes- what they think; Directions – where they’re headed; ... Explore and Implement; Create a ‘Living Laboratory”²⁸.</p>
<p>Direct advertising to appeal to young</p>	<p>26 November: An internal RJ Reynolds document outlines its primary “Marketing goals” for 1975. These include “Increase our Young Adult Franchise: 14-24 age group in 1960 was 21% of the population; in 1975 will be 27%. As they mature, will account for key market share of cigarette volume for next 25 years ... We will direct advertising appeal to this young adult group without alienating the brand’s current franchise”²⁹.</p>
<p>Target 15 year olds</p>	<p>12 December: A B&W document highlights that the “Target audience for the sampling effort on KOOL King Size” includes both Men and Women in the 15-24 age group³⁰.</p>
<p>60,000 school kids tracked –</p> <p>Are hyperactive kids more likely to smoke?</p>	<p>Philip Morris researchers are said to have tracked 60,000 children in a Virginia school to study whether hyperactive children were more likely to become smokers. “We wonder whether such children may not eventually become cigarette smokers in their teenage years as they discover the advantage of self-stimulation of nicotine ...It would be good to show that smoking is an advantage to at least one sub-group of the population”³¹.</p>
<p>Can’t stop exodus</p> <p>Target whites</p>	<p>A Philip Morris documents outlines that: “We are not sure that anything can be done to halt a major exodus if one gets going among the young. This group follows the crowd, and we don’t pretend to know what gets them going for one thing or another . . . Certainly Philip Morris should continue efforts for Marlboro in the youth market, but perhaps as strongly as possible aimed at the white market rather than attempting to encompass blacks as well”³².</p>
<p>Young are</p>	<p>1975: 23 January: An internal RJR Reynolds memo, stimulates that “Our attached recommendation to expand nationally the successfully</p>

tomorrow's cigarette business	tested 'Meet the Turk' ad campaign and new Marlboro-type blend is another step to meet our marketing objective: To increase our young adult franchise. To ensure increased and longer-term growth for CAMEL FILTER, the brand must increase its share penetration among the 14-24 age group which have a new set of more liberal values and which represent tomorrow's cigarette business" ³³ .
Young adult smokers means young smokers	24 January: An internal B&W memo outlines that "when describing market categories and target audiences we use references such as 'young smokers', 'young market' 'youth market' etc ...in the future when describing the low-age end of the cigarette business please use the term 'young adult smoker' or 'young adult smoking market'" ³⁴ .
Never directed advertising at children	March: Sir John Partridge, Chairman of Imperial: "It has not, and it has never been, the company's wish or policy that our tobacco products should be smoked by children. Accordingly we have never directed our advertising or promotion towards them. We have no evidence that advertising has encouraged children to smoke." ³⁵
Cigarettes are an illicit pleasure like beer, sex, and smoking 'pot'	March: Marketing and Research Counsellors, undertakes research for B&W into marketing the company's "Viceroy" cigarette. One Chapter looks at how "young starters" can be introduced to Viceroy: "For the young smoker, the cigarette is not yet an integral part of life, of day-to-day life, in spite of the fact that that they try to project the image of a regular run-of-the-mill smoker. For them, a cigarette, and the whole smoking process, is part of the illicit pleasure category ...In the young smoker's mind a cigarette falls into the same category with wine, beer, shaving, wearing a bra (or purposely not wearing one), declaration of independence and striving for self-identity. For the young starter, a cigarette is associated with introduction to sex life, with courtship, with smoking 'pot' and keeping late studying hours" ³⁶ .
Adult initiation Illicit pleasure Relate to pot, beer and sex, Don't mention health	The document suggests how young starters can be attracted to Viceroy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> " -Present the cigarette as one of a few initiations into the adult world. - Present the cigarette as part of the illicit pleasure category of products and activities. - In your ads create a situation taken from the day-to-day life of the young smoker but in an elegant manner have this situation touch on the basic symbols of the growing-up, maturity process. - To the best of your ability (considering some legal constraints) relate the cigarette to 'pot', wine, beer, sex. -Don't communicate health or health related points"³⁷
It's a losing war	The documents refer to the health issue by advising: "Start out from the basic assumption that cigarette smoking is dangerous to your health - try to go around it in an elegant manner but don't try to fight it - it's a losing war" ³⁸

Marlboro's growth rate due to young smokers	A report by a Philip Morris researcher Myron E. Johnston to the head of Research at Philip Morris, Robert B. Seligman outlines that: "Marlboro's phenomenal growth rate in the past has been attributable in large part to our high market penetration among young smokers ... 15 to 19 years old . . . my own data, which includes younger teenagers, shows even higher Marlboro market penetration among 15-17-year-olds ... Marlboro smokers, being on the average considerably younger than the total smoking population, tend to have lower than average incomes .. the decline in the popularity of Marlboro Red among younger smokers will probably continue and , thus, further reduce its rate of growth" ³⁹ .
Rationalise smoking – repress health concern	1976: March: B&W's Advertising Objective for Viceroy is to "Communicate effectively that Viceroy is a satisfying, flavourful cigarette which young adult smokers enjoy, by providing them a rationalisation for smoking, or, a repression of the health concern they appear to need" ⁴⁰ .
Establish brand for 14-18 year olds to maintain position	15 March: An RJR Document outlining "Planning Assumptions and Forecast for the Period 1976-1986" outlines that: "Evidence is now available to indicate that the 14-18-year old group is an increasing segment of the smoking population. RJR-T must soon establish a successful new brand in this market if our position in the industry is to be maintained over the long term" ⁴¹ .
Children shouldn't smoke	23 March: Imperial: "It is not and it has never been, the company's wish or policy that our tobacco products should be smoked by children. Accordingly, we have never directed our advertising towards them" ⁴² .
Philip Morris increases 14 year olds	12 August: An internal RJ Reynolds memo entitled "Share of Smokers by Age Group", includes "Younger Smokers": "From a Corporate standpoint, Philip Morris posted a 4 point gain among 14-17 year old smokers (RJR and B&W each lost 2 points) ⁴³ .
Enriched nicotine for the young	30 November: A Lorillard memo outlines the "rightness" of "focusing Company effort against Smokers' health concerns". One company strategy is "enriched nicotine (a break through solution) for both taste and satisfaction and low numbers; especially for young adult smokers" ⁴⁴ .
Opportunities from young starters	1977: 7 March: A B&W document highlights how the "third major opportunities for KOOL Super Lights gains could come from full taste 85 smokers and from starters. Young (age 16-25) males account for a disproportionate amount of both these segments ... KOOL has the highest attraction rate (along with Marlboro) for new starters in the full taste menthol and non-menthol segments" ⁴⁵ .

<p>Position brand to appeal to lifestyle – taste not important</p>	<p>25 March: A working paper prepared for Imperial Tobacco outlines: “Rationale</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. By younger smokers, we mean people ranging from starters of the smoking habit up to and through the seeking and setting of their independent adult lifestyle. Relevant lifestyle is the key to the brand’s positioning, and the youthful emphasis is a psychological not a chronological one. 2. At a younger age, taste requirements and satisfaction in a cigarette are thought to play a secondary role to the social requirements. Therefore, taste, until a certain nicotine dependence has been developed, is somewhat less important than other things”⁴⁶.
<p>Observational sessions on teens</p>	<p>18 October: Kwechansky Marketing Research undertakes “Project 16” for Imperial Tobacco (Canada). Although it is illegal to sell or cigarettes to under-18, and the industry’s code prohibited the companies from doing so, 16/17 year old students, who smoked five or more cigarettes a day are booked into a hotel for “observational sessions”, although “recruiting was carried out in such a manner that the respondents had no idea that the subject was to be smoking”⁴⁷.</p>
<p>Learn how smoking begins,</p>	<p>The purpose of Project 16 is outlined: “Since how the beginning smoker feels today has implications for the future of the industry, it follows that a study of this area would be of much interest. Project 16 was designed to do just that - to learn everything there was to learn about how smoking begins, how high school students feel about being smokers, and how they foresee their use of tobacco in the future.”</p>
<p>Peer pressure important</p> <p>Start at 11</p> <p>Want to stop by 16</p>	<p>The summary of the findings are that: “There is no doubt that peer group influence is the single most important factor in the decision by an adolescent to smoke ...Serious efforts to learn to smoke occur between ages 12 and 13 in most case [sic] ...However intriguing smoking was at 11, 12 , or 13, by the age of 16 or 17 many regretted their use of cigarettes for health reasons and because they feel unable to stop smoking when they want to. By the age of 16, peer pressure to initiate others to smoking is gone.”⁴⁸</p>
<p>Exploit aspirations and lifestyles</p>	<p>RJ Reynolds; Salem Annual Marketing Plan: “Through the association of Salem and its brand styles with emulatable personalities and situational elements that are compatible with the aspirations and lifestyles of contemporary young adults, this important target segment will be attracted to the brand”⁴⁹.</p>
<p>Advertising is not effective in altering teen behaviour</p>	<p>1977/78: The CEO’s of all the major US tobacco companies decline to give 10 per cent of their advertising budget to assist a special campaign to stop teenagers and children from smoking. George Weismann, Chairman of Philip Morris says he does not think “advertising is effective in altering the behaviour of teenagers in regard to the use of cigarettes”. The President of the Liggett group replies that “the mothers and fathers of this nation, whether smokers or non-smokers, should continue to have freedom of choice in the education and training of their children”⁵⁰</p>

Need an “in” menthol brand for youth	1978: 30 August: An internal Lorillard memo states that: “Our problem is the younger consumer that does not desire a menthol cigarette. If that person desires a non-menthol, but wants to part of the ‘In- group”, he goes to Marlboro ...Is Marlboro as strong with the early beginning consumers as the New port brands. Could we end the success story for Marlboro by furnishing the young adult consumers with a total category of “In” brands? I think the time is right to develop a NEWPORT NATURAL (non-menthol)(cigarette to attract the young adult consumer desiring a non-menthol product” ⁵¹ .
No more studying of youth	The Research Committee of the Tobacco Advisory Council (BAT, Carreras Rothmans, Gallaher, Imperial Tobacco, Philip Morris), recommends that “there was a consensus of opinion that further studies on smoking by young people should not be carried out as the results could be used against the industry” ⁵² .
Marlboro dominates youth	1979: A Philip Morris memo states that “Marlboro dominates in the 17 and younger age category, capturing over 50 percent of the market” ⁵³ .
Advertising will reflect lifestyle aspirations	~ 1979: “Creative Guidelines” for Imperial Tobacco (Canada) outline “When image advertising [for Player’s Filter] is used in response to specific strategies, creative will continue to reflect a lifestyle realisation of youthful self-expression, independence and freedom with subject matter that is particularly relevant to young males [emphasis in original]. ⁵⁴ ”

1980s	
Avoid advertising that is directed at young	1980: January: TAC: “The industry agrees voluntarily to co-operate with H.M.G” by “avoiding styles of brand advertising and promotion which self-evidently are directed to children or which might be thought to have the effect of positively encouraging the smoking habit itself ⁵⁵ ”.
Marlboro dominates youth market Need to correct these trends	22 July: R.J Reynolds inter office correspondence outlines that “Last January, a report was issued on this subject [Teenage Smokers (14-17)] that indicated that Philip Morris had a total share of 59 [%] among 14-17 year old smokers, and specifically, Marlboro had a 52 [%] share. This latest report indicates that Philip Morris’ corporate share has increased by about 4 points: however, Marlboro remains the same at 52. Importantly, the report indicates that RJR continues to gradually decline and between the spring and fall 1979 periods, RJR’s total share declined from 21.3 to 19.9 [%]. Hopefully, our various planned activities that will be implemented this fall will aid in some way in reducing or correcting these trends” ⁵⁶ .
Associate Marlboro with youthful	Jean-Pierre Paschoud, Philip Morris Marketing Director, “What we are trying to do is associate Marlboro with activities which are favoured by younger people. This means sports and music rock

activities	music et cetera” ⁵⁷
Today’s teen is tomorrow’s regular customer Teens make initial brand choice Marlboro red success due to youth	1981: 31 March: a Philip Morris researcher Myron E. Johnston sends a memo to Robert B. Seligman, then Vice President of research and development at Philip Morris in Richmond: “It is important to know as much as possible about teenage smoking patterns and attitudes. Today's teenager is tomorrow's potential regular customer, and the overwhelming majority of smokers first begin to smoke while in their teens ...it is during the teenage years that the initial brand choice is made: At least a part of the success of Marlboro Red during its most rapid growth period was because it became the brand of choice among teenagers who then stuck with it as they grew older ... We will no longer be able to rely on a rapidly increasing pool of teenagers from which to replace smokers through lost normal attrition. . . Because of our high share of the market among the youngest smokers, Philip Morris will suffer more than the other companies from the decline in the number of teenage smokers”. The report analyses data for smokers as young as 12 ⁵⁸ .
Advertising not directed at young	July: B&W deny acting on the Marketing advice for Viceroy cigarettes in the 70’s saying: “We stand firmly behind the integrity of our advertising ...B&W’s published advertising is not deceptive, nor misleading, nor is it geared towards young people ⁵⁹ ”.
Teens and tax	17 September: An internal Philip Morris memo on “Teenage Smoking and the Federal Excise Tax on Cigarettes” says “It is worth noting that government actions designed to reduce smoking in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s served to moderate an underlying upward trend in teenage smoking, while any government action taken now will accelerate its present downward trend. Given a price elasticity of –0.4 for total cigarette sales and –1.2 for teenage smoking participation, a 25 per cent increase in the excise tax could be expected to reduce industry sales to about 1.2 per cent below what would be expected in the absence of such an increase ...because of demographic trends and the improved economic outlook an increase at this time would probably be less harmful than it would have been at any other time in the past decade. ⁶⁰ ”
Joe Camel ads reach children as young as three	The <i>Journal of the American Medical Association</i> finds that adverts for Joe Camel are effective in reaching children. In one study more than half of the children aged three to six who were presented with a variety of products matched the Joe Camel logo with a photo of a cigarette. Six year olds were found to be nearly as familiar with Joe Camel as Mickey Mouse. The study finds that when children were shown Joe Camel adverts, 96 per cent correctly identified the brand, compared with only 67 per cent of adults ⁶¹ .
Young aspirations	“Player’s Filter 1981 Creative Guidelines Guidelines” recommend “the activity shown should be one which is practiced by young people 16 to 20 years old, or one that those people can reasonably aspire to in the near future” ⁶²

<p>Masculinity and rebellion</p> <p>Can't hold brand through maturing process</p>	<p>1982: 22 March: An internal report for the Canadian company RJR-Macdonald states: "it is hypothesised that very young starter smokers choose Export 'A' because it provides them with an instant badge of masculinity, appeals to their rebellious nature and establishes their position amongst their peers. As they mature, they gain more confidence through experience (move from the educational environment into the workforce), acquire other symbols of their masculinity (cars, clothing, etc) and strive for social and peer group acceptance. It is at this transition point (ages 18-24) that Export 'A' is declining in its ability to hold the young adult males, as they go through the maturing process, due to its outdated, irrelevant image⁶³."</p>
<p>Lights used to stop quitting</p>	<p>7 May: Kwechansky Marketing Research undertakes a further study for Imperial Tobacco into why young people smoke to examine whether light brands could be "potential substitutes for quitting", as well as to probe the area of quitting among both smokers and former smokers. The study found that:</p>
<p>Starters believe risks don't apply to them</p> <p>Desire to quit starting earlier</p> <p>Sports is a reason for quitting</p>	<p>"Starters no longer disbelieve the dangers of smoking, but they almost universally assume these risks will not apply to themselves because they will not become addicted. Once addiction does take place, it becomes necessary for the smoker to make peace with the accepted hazards. This is done by a wide range of rationalisations ... The desire to quit seems to come earlier now than before, even prior to the end of high school. In fact, it often seems to take hold as soon as the recent starter admits to himself that he is hooked on smoking. However the desire to quit, and actually carrying it out, are two different things, as the would-be quitter soon learns ... the single most commonly voiced reasons for quitting among those who had done so was ... sports⁶⁴"</p>
<p>Baseless charge</p>	<p>26 August: Earnest Pepples from B&W writes a letter to Senator Wendell Ford, stating "We do not try to entice kids to smoke. We never have ... Cigarette advertising is constantly libelled (sic) as being designed to appeal to teenagers, but any reasonable person looking at cigarette advertising in recent years could only conclude that the charge is baseless"⁶⁵.</p>
<p>Young are sensitive to price</p> <p>Lets market half-packs to appeal to young</p>	<p>27 September: A memo from Diane Burrows, of R.J.R Tobacco's marketing development department, discusses the findings of the National Bureau of Economic Research on relative price sensitivities. "A key finding is that younger adult males are highly sensitive to price. This suggests that the steep rise in prices expected in the coming months could threaten the long term viability of the industry, by drying up the supply of new/younger adult smokers entering the market. It could also undermine the long range growth potential of brands which rely on new /younger smokers, including Marlboro and Newport ... RJR has an opportunity to break this price barrier with a brand targeted to younger adult males</p>

	the most sensitive group ... I recommend marketing 'half-packs because ...younger smokers seem more sensitive to cost outlay than cost per cigarette'' ⁶⁶ .
Teens and price Teens needed to replace older smokers	Another memo from Diane Burrows, of R.J.R Tobacco's marketing development department, outlines research on price sensitivity for tobacco consumers -- including teen-agers --“ In terms of immediate impact, the effect of price on males 35+ is most important. Half (50%) of the total drop in industry volume is attributable to males 35+, compared to 24% from younger adult males, and 7% from teenagers ... But, the loss of younger adult males and teenagers is more important to the long term, drying up the supply of new smokers to replace the old. This is not a fixed loss to the industry; its importance increases with time. In ten years, increased rate per day would have been expected to raise this group's consumption by more than 50%'' ⁶⁷ .
Kids can recognise cigarette advertising	A study undertaken by the Advertising Research Unit at the University of Strathclyde in Scotland, finds that the majority of children aged between 6 and 11 years can recognise cigarette advertisements from highly prominent, long-running campaigns, and that many can correctly identify cigarette brands in cryptic advertisements which do not show brand names. ⁶⁸
11 year olds remember most publicised brands	1983: January: Dr Frank Ledwith, a Research Fellow at the Department of Community Medicine at Edinburgh University finds that, in a survey of eleven year olds, the three most widely publicised tobacco brands on television (Embassy Regal, Benson and Hedges and John Player) are the three most commonly remembered cigarette brands ⁶⁹ .
Encouraging news: teen smoking increased	18 February: A Philip Morris interoffice memo states that: “I have just received data on the graduating class of 1982 and the results are much more encouraging and corroborate the Roper data [a survey that tracked smoking trends] . . . These data show that smoking prevalence among these 18-year-old high school seniors has increased from 1981 to 1982”. ⁷⁰
Teen consumption linked to sports sponsorship	An Australian study of teenagers finds that the four most popular brands, accounting for 80 per cent of consumption, are also the four most commonly linked with TV sports sponsorship. They are not the most popular brands amongst adults ⁷¹ .
Young are critical factor	1984: 29 February: A RJR report, entitled “Young Adult Smokers: Strategies and Opportunities” states that "Younger adult smokers have been the critical factor in the growth and decline of every major brand and company over the last 50 years. They will continue to be just as important to brands/companies in the future for two simple reasons: The renewal of the market stems almost entirely from 18-year-old smokers. No more than 5 percent of smokers start after age 24. The brand loyalty of 18-year-old smokers far outweighs any tendency to switch with age. . . . Once a brand becomes well

<p>Young only source of replacement smokers</p>	<p>developed among younger adult smokers, ageing and brand loyalty will eventually transmit that strength to older age brackets ... Brands/companies which fail to attract their fair share of younger adult smokers face an uphill battle. They must achieve net switching gains every year to merely hold share... Younger adult smokers are the only source of replacement smokers... If younger adults turn away from smoking, the industry must decline, just as a population which does not give birth will eventually dwindle.”</p>
<p>Young are critical to our long term performance</p>	<p>“Younger adult smokers are critical to RJR’s long term performance and profitability ...because of the sensitivity of the younger adult smoker market, brand development / management should encompass all aspects of marketing mix and maintain a long-term, single minded focus to all elements – product, advertising, name, packaging, media, promotion and distribution ...Marlboro’s key imagery was not masculinity, it was younger adult identity/ belonging –the brand for average younger adults, popular and acceptable among younger adult friends, not ‘too different’ .⁷²</p>
<p>Need to know why people smoke and why continue to smoke</p>	<p>1984: July: a Smoking Behaviour-Marketing Conference is held in Canada, attended by Imperial Tobacco Limited (Canada, a subsidiary of BAT). The conference report, concludes that “since our future business depends on the size of this starter population set, it was considered important that we know why people start to smoke and this may be more important than why they continue to smoke”.⁷³</p>
<p>16 year olds are target</p>	<p>14 September: B&W outlines its “media target audience for BELAIR”, one of its brands, includes Males and Females aged “16-29”⁷⁴.</p>
<p>Motor racing is a fast, trendy sport for the young</p>	<p>November: Gordon Watson, General Manger of BAT in Hong Kong on sponsorship of the Macau Grand Prix “We’re not handing out money for nothing. We have gone into this very thoroughly and the entire JPS publicity is built around motor racing, seen as a fast, exiting, trendy sport for the young and, if you like, the young at heart. That’s who we are aiming at in the local market and early indications are that we’re on target”⁷⁵.</p>
<p>We don’t advertise to children</p>	<p>RJ Reynolds runs a series of adverts “We don’t advertise to children ..First of all, we don’t want young people to smoke. And we’re running ads aimed specifically at young people advising them that we think smoking is strictly for adults ..Kids just don’t pay attention to cigarette ads, and that’s how it should be.”⁷⁶</p>
<p>Children most aware of brands with greatest sports sponsorship</p>	<p>A Study published in the <i>Health Education Journal</i> finds that “children were most aware of the cigarette brands which are most frequently associated with sponsored sporting events on TV ...This demonstrates that the TV sports sponsorship by tobacco manufacturers acts as cigarette advertising to children and therefore circumvents the law banning cigarette advertisements on TV”⁷⁷.</p>

Due to importance of young we need to advertise to youth	1985: 1 February: A RJR Marketing Research Report into the “Camel Younger Adult Smoker Focus Groups” stresses how: “Due to the importance of younger adult smokers, CAMEL has developed a new advertising campaign which is directed solely towards this group” ⁷⁸ .
Need brands to appeal to young	17 July: Minutes from a meeting of BAT’s Tobacco Strategy Review Team reveal that under “Competition with Marlboro/ Brand Strategies”: “Marlboro is particularly strong in attracting young smokers and it was important to have brands which appealed to this group ..It was agreed that, in competing against Marlboro, the market segment at which a particular Group brand was being directed should be carefully defined and all aspects of the promotion and marketing should be clearly targeted on the chosen customer group” ⁷⁹ .
Get out of this unscathed	The Tobacco Institute responds to efforts by the state of Minnesota to reduce teenage smoking: “Since Minnesota has seen fit to designate itself, as Surgeon General Koop stated, 'a model for the country' with regard to anti-smoking legislation, our only choice in this matter is a complete victory. Anything less could be used against us in other states....Every possible legislative, political, social and theoretical angle is being utilised in our efforts to get out of this session unscathed”. ⁸⁰
Younger teens find cigarette advertising attractive	A Survey into “Children’s perceptions of Advertisements for Cigarettes” by the Advertising Research Unit, Department of Marketing at the University of Strathclyde finds that “some 12 years olds and most 14 to 16 year olds perceive cigarette advertisements much in the way that young adults do; therefore advertising campaigns targeted at older teenagers and young adults are likely to present qualities which younger teenagers find attractive” ⁸¹ .
	1986: 12 March: A secret internal RJR memo “Re: New Advertising Campaign Development” outlines that:
Appealing advertising	1. “Target Audience: It is recommended that creative efforts reflect a primary focus on developing advertising which is highly relevant, appealing and motivational to 18-24 male smokers”...
Use peer pressure /acceptance to make people smoke CAMEL	2. “Advertising Objective: Overall, CAMEL advertising will be directed toward using peer acceptance / influence to provide the motivation for target smokers to select CAMEL. Specifically advertising will be developed with the objective of convincing target smokers that by selecting CAMEL as their usual brand they will project an image that will enhance their acceptance among their peers” [emphasis added].
Masculine, self-confident full	3. “Strategic Approach. The underlying strategic approach guiding advertising development will be to leverage positive and distinctive aspects of CAMEL’s product / user heritage including: 1) delivery

smoking satisfaction	of full /authentic smoking satisfaction, 2) masculinity and 3) non-conformist, self-confident user perceptions. Creative will present these brand assets in a relevant, appealing manner to address image wants to target smokers”.
Aspirational appeals	4. <u>“General Creative Guidelines</u> ... Advertising will rely on clearly aspiration appeals (the me I want to be rather than the me I am) to provide the motivation for target smokers to select CAMEL ..
Self-confident cool attitude	5. <u>“Copy Strategy</u> ... “The objective of the advertising is to leverage the non-conformist, self-confident mindset historically attribute to CAMEL users so that the brand becomes a relevant, appealing choice for today’s younger smokers ... to create this objective, the advertising will create the perception that CAMEL smokers are non-conformist, self-confident cool attitude which is admired by their peers” ⁸² .
Sponsorship does not make kids smoke	April: Clive Turner: Tobacco Advisory Council: “Sports sponsorship by tobacco interests has existed for 25 years and has absolutely no bearing whatsoever on persuading children to smoke. It never has done and there is no substantive evidence to the contrary ⁸³ ”.
Children name cigarette brands and sports	August: A survey into “Children’s awareness of cigarette brand sponsorship of sports and games in the UK” by the Advertising Research Unit, Department of Marketing at the University of Strathclyde finds that “about a third of the 10- and 11-year-olds and more than half of the secondary school children were able to name cigarette brands and sponsored sports. This shows the power if sports sponsorship in putting cigarette brand names and associated sports imagery into children’s memories. Thus sponsorship of sports by tobacco companies works in direct opposition to the spirit of the British Code of Advertising Practice (1983) which forbids cigarette advertisements that have a special appeal to the young ... it is likely that children learn about connections between cigarette brands and sports by watching television. Thus it seems that television sports sponsorship by cigarette manufacturers acts as advertising and therefore circumvents the law banning cigarette advertising on television”.
Sponsorship circumventing the law	
Fast cars	The study finds that, although only nine per cent of the primary school children named Marlboro or John Player Special as sponsoring motor racing, 47 per cent pointed to adverts for these brands, which did not mention motor racing, as being liked by “someone who likes excitement and fast racing cars”. ⁸⁴
Kids watch sponsored sport	October: According to the Health Education Council, over the pervious year, forty-four per cent of 10-15 year-olds in the UK watched the Benson and Hedges snooker, and 56 per cent watched Embassy snooker, and 39 per cent of the audience for the final for the Embassy darts was under 18 ⁸⁵ .

Share concern over kids smoking	November: Clive Turner, Tobacco Advisory Council: “The tobacco industry shares everybody else’s concern that the under 16s have been able to obtain cigarettes all too easily - we have no brief for under-age smoking - son in April we launched a new campaign, costing £1m. a year for three and a half years, to help reduce the incidence of illegal sales” ⁸⁶ .
If you are young and play sports, drink beer, listen to music, wear jeans – its OK to smoke	6 November: An advertising Report by McCann-Erickson Advertising of Canada for RJR-Macdonald states: “Advertising Implications. Export should continue to appeal to younger [sic] males who <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are sports orientated • Drink beer • Enjoy popular music • Are most comfortable in blue jeans and T-shirts ...Export’s masculine, rugged image needs to be placed in a more social/socially acceptable context communicating that it’s alright to smoke, especially Export ⁸⁷ ”
Nine year olds get positive message	A study published in <i>the Health Education Journal</i> concludes that “children are receiving the positive message from cigarette advertisements even as young as the impressionable age of nine years when they are most likely to try their first cigarette, although the advertisements are supposedly not for them. They may see these messages as generic to smoking and the positive impressions they gain from them could be one of the important influences in their decision to smoke” ⁸⁸ .
Cigarette adverts appear in teen magazines Emphasise vigour, sex and independence	1987: 19 March: A study published in the New England Journal of Medicine finds that: “cigarette advertisements continue to appear in publications with large teenage readerships. In <i>Glamour</i> , one fourth of whose readers are girls under 18 years of age, cigarette advertisements were \$6.3 million in 1985. In <i>Sports Illustrated</i> , one third of whose readers are boys under 18 years of age, cigarette advertising expenditures were \$29.9 million in 1985 ...TV Guide, which receives more cigarette advertising revenue than any other magazine (\$36 million in 1985), informs its advertising clients that each issue reaches 8.8 million teenagers 12 to 17 years old. Themes in cigarette advertising that emphasise youthful vigour, sexual attraction, and independence are likely to be especially appealing to teenagers and young adults grappling with these issues ⁸⁹ .”
Target 13 year olds	15 October: An internal RJ Reynolds memo examines “Project LF Potential Year 1 Marketing Strategy”, “Project LF is a wider circumference non-menthol cigarette targeted at younger adult male smoker (primarily 13-24 year old Marlboro smokers) ⁹⁰ .”
What else can I do?	December: Dutch Cigar executive on falling demand: “I don’t know what else to do except try and make products that younger smokers will buy” ⁹¹ .

60% start smoking by 13 years - 90% before they are 20	Kenneth Warner and Stanton Glantz remarks that:” Approximately 60 per cent of smokers start by the age of 13 and fully 90 per cent before the age of 20. These statistics translate in to the need for more than 5,000 children and teenagers to begin smoking every day to maintain the current size of the smoking population. ⁹² ”
90 % start with Marlboro	An estimated 90 per cent of American children who start smoking, start smoking Marlboro ⁹³ .
Industry dominated by companies who respond to young – need to re-establish image	~1987/ 88: Imperial Tobacco’s (Canada) marketing plan states: “If the last ten years have taught us anything, it is that the industry is dominated by the companies who respond most to the needs of younger smokers . Our efforts on these brands will remain on maintaining their relevance to smokers in these younger groups in spite of the share performance they may develop among older smokers Re-establish clear distinct images for ITL brands with particular emphasis on relevance to younger smokers. Shift resources substantially in favour of avenues that allow for the expression and reinforcement of these image characteristics”. The document defines “target groups” for various brands as “men 12-17” and “men and women 12-34.” ⁹⁴
Welcome Joe Camel	1988: February: RJ Reynolds introduce Joe Camel, a new cartoon character. A survey, commissioned by the US Centre For Disease Control finds that the highest increase in youth smoking between 1980-1988 is the year that Joe Camel is introduced ⁹⁵ .
Cigarettes are an adult choice	April: Philip Morris: “We have stated frequently that cigarette smoking is an adult choice and we strive to avoid identifying our company and brands with events that might encourage an association between young people and smoking. Nevertheless, and when children in our communities are in need, our concern for people is more important than our concern for our critics” ⁹⁶ .
Children sensitive to advertising	A survey by the Advertising Research Unit, Department of Marketing at the University of Strathclyde finds that “children are highly sensitive to the advertising of cigarette brands, and provide further support for recent research indicating that cigarette advertising promotes and reinforces smoking among the young.” ⁹⁷
No one’s immortal	Ron Bremen, from the Tobacco Institute of Australia: “I think, irrespective of how many children take up smoking in a year, no one’s immortal - everyone dies sooner or later” ⁹⁸ ”.
Surgeon-General: Cigarette advertising is deceptive	1989: September: Dr. Everett Koop, Surgeon General of the US Public Health Service: In my opinion, much of today’s advertising for tobacco products is deceptive ... An advertisement for Kool cigarettes for Kool cigarettes clearly targets young people; it shows a young-looking couple in teenage attire, with macho anti-establishment facial expressions, standing next to a motorcycle ...Cigarette promotions placed in movies such as <i>Superman 11</i> expose large numbers of children and adolescents to these

	messages ⁹⁹ ”.
Doomsday scenario: no young adult smokers	A memo from RJ Reynolds raises the question of how to attract young smokers, a critical element amid accusations about marketing to teens. Worried that their Winston brand was losing market share to industry leader Marlboro, Reynolds planners write: “It’s what we’ve been calling the ‘doomsday scenario’: an acute deficiency of young adult smokers, apparently implying Marlboro’s final domination and our utter demise within a generation” ¹⁰⁰ .
Sports sponsorship is bypassing agreement and influencing young	A study by the Department of Community Medicine United Medical and Dental School at St. Thomas’s Hospital in London concludes “By sponsoring major sporting championships which are then televised to millions of young viewers, tobacco companies are bypassing the codes of the voluntary agreement and are advertising their products to the young ... cigarette advertisements and promotional activities do indeed have an impact on the young, and probably influence their smoking behaviour” ¹⁰¹ .

1990s	
Not a pandemic	1990: 10 January: Clive Turner, Tobacco Advisory Council: “Its not a pandemic. Figures show that the number of child smokers are steadily falling ¹⁰² ”.
Put in stores near young adults	10 January: A Memo written by a RJ Reynolds division manager, to sales representatives says: “I need all of you to study the attached ... list of monthly accounts in your [area] that are currently doing more than 100 Cartons Per Week, for purposes of denoting stores that are heavily frequented by young adult shoppers. These stores can be in close proximity to colleges, high schools or areas where there are a large number of young adults frequent the store [sic]”. ¹⁰³
Advertising works	5 February: A study published in the <i>Medical Journal of Australia</i> finds that “Children’s perceived responses to cigarette advertising showed the strongest and most consistent evidence of an effect on the uptake of smoking by children who initially were non-smokers” ¹⁰⁴ .
Young Lucky Strike	9 February: Minutes from a meeting of BAT’s Tobacco Strategy Review Team, show that “Lucky Strike [a BAT brand] appealed to younger smokers and was making encouraging progress in most markets”. ¹⁰⁵ .
Children know what’s good for them	19 February: Clive Turner, Tobacco Advisory Council: “Children do indeed see and remember advertisements of all kinds, for all product categories, but they exercise a highly efficient filter, possibly unwittingly. I repeat that youngsters instinctively know what is and isn’t aimed at them ¹⁰⁶ ”.
	A confidential 1990 R.J.R promotions memo outlines: “ Camel Brand Promotion Opportunities” including “ Attitudinal and lifestyle considerations ... Target smokers are approaching

<p>Target smokers are approaching adulthood – sensitive to peer pressure – want more for their money</p>	<p>adulthood, hence they are sensitive to peer group perceptions regarding their maturity and masculinity. Incentives which reinforce the perception that they are ‘smart shoppers’ who ‘spend their money wisely’ are more effective than those which connote frivolity. Given their age and environmental/economic conditions, target young adult smokers have limited disposable incomes. Therefore, they try to get as much as they can for their dollar spent. Quality, known brand names and high perceived value considerably influence their purchase decisions. Buying something ‘low in quality’, not needed, or contrary to desired perceptions is seen as wasteful and undesirable”.</p>
<p>Accommodate attitudes and lifestyles</p>	<p>“Young adult target smokers are active, sociable and fun-loving in nature. Their key interests include girls, cars, music, sports and dancing -- all of which can include family and friends and can be accomplished on a limited budget. Therefore, Total Marketing's tactical recommendations are organised to accommodate those attitudinal and lifestyle consideration. Major sections herein focus on entertainment and fun-oriented incentives and utilitarian items. High quality standards are a ‘given’ throughout”¹⁰⁷.</p>
<p>Under-age effect</p>	<p>A Survey by the Advertising Research Unit, Department of Marketing at the University of Strathclyde finds that “promotional devices which help determine and reinforce adult cigarette brand preferences have an even greater effect on under—age smokers”¹⁰⁸</p>
<p>Joe Camel appeals more to kids than adults</p>	<p>1991: 11 December: A study in <i>The Journal of the American Medical Association</i> finds that Joe Camel appeals far more to children than adults. Thirty per cent of three year olds and 91 per cent of six year olds knew that Joe Camel was connected with cigarettes . The researchers found that “Old Joe, the cartoon character promoting Camel cigarettes had the highest recognition rate among the tested cigarette logos ...Market researchers believe that brand awareness created in childhood can be the basis for product preference later in life. It has been shown that children prefer the brands they see advertised ...The children in this study demonstrated high recognition rates of brand logos for products that are targeted to both children and adults ...cigarette advertising no longer appears on television and very young children cannot read. Yet by the age of 6 years, Old Joe is as well recognised as Mickey Mouse”¹⁰⁹.</p>
<p>Joe Camel influences children’s smoking behaviour Sponsorship is designed to stop</p>	<p>11 December: Another study published in <i>The Journal of the American Medical Association</i>, finds that “in just three years Camel’s Old Joe cartoon character has had an astounding influence on children’s smoking behaviour. The proportion of smokers under 18 who choose Camels has risen from 0.5% to 32.8%. ...children are much more familiar with Camel’s Old Joe cartoon character than are adults ...The tobacco industry’s sponsorship of sporting events, such as the Camel Superiors motorcycle race, should be seen in</p>

teens quitting A ban is based on sound science	relation to its need to discourage teenagers from quitting ...Our study provides further evidence that tobacco advertising promotes and maintains nicotine addiction among children and adolescents. A total ban of tobacco advertising and promotions, as part of an effort to protect children from the dangers of tobacco, can be based on sound scientific reasoning” ¹¹⁰ .
Perception of advertising highest in 12-13 year olds Advertising causally related to addiction	11 December: A further study published in <i>JAMA</i> finds that “not only was the perception of Camel advertising highest among 12 to 13 year olds, but it was also particularly high among those adolescents who were at considerable risk of starting to smoke ...We conclude that tobacco advertising, particularly of Camel cigarette has been effective in targeting adolescents in the US ...Our results suggest that tobacco advertising is causally related to young people becoming addicted to cigarettes” ¹¹¹ .
Old Joe must go	In response, The Journal <i>Advertising Age</i> , publishes an editorial saying that “Old Joe must go” ¹¹² . RJ Reynolds James Johnston responds that “advertising is irrelevant to a young person’s decision to smoke” ¹¹³
We do not advertise to youth	December: The Confederation of European Community Cigarette Manufacturers Limited: “The reality is that the industry does not advertise to youth” ¹¹⁴ .
Advertising predisposes and reinforces	A further survey by the Advertising Research Unit, Department of Marketing at the University of Strathclyde finds “cigarette advertising has predisposing as well as reinforcing effects on children’s attitudes and behaviour with respect to smoking”. ¹¹⁵
Advertising increases the likelihood young will smoke	A survey by the Pacific Institute for Research and Evaluation, in Berkeley, California finds that “Exposure to smoking advertisements does affect the likelihood that young people will smoke ... young people who retain more brand-related information from cigarette advertisements are most at risk of smoking experimentation” ¹¹⁶ .
Promote where the young congregate	1992: 26 February: Minutes from a meeting of BAT’s Tobacco Strategy Review Team, reveal that “it was noted that the average age of Lucky Strike smokers was generally thought to be lower than for Marlboro. However, Brazil was an exception and the Chairman suggested that action should be taken to rectify this situation with promotions at places where young adults congregated” ¹¹⁷ .
Motor racing is designed to update the cowboy	March: A document entitled “The Viability of the Marlboro Man Among the 18-24 Segment” prepared for Philip Morris, concludes: “The ‘Racing’ advertising was perceived to be consistent with the cowboy image, but with a more modern and younger focus. It complimented the Marlboro campaign within a narrow audience. It seemed best used tactically in specific markets where racing is prominent and in magazines targeted to this audience. The Marlboro ‘Motorcycle’ advertising presented even a more modern Marlboro

	Man. It had the same limitations as the racing ads (i.e., being a sponsorship), however, it took the spirit of adventure and going to the edge further.”
Racing makes Marlboro younger Sexual prowess	Under the heading “Race Car”: the document outlines how “Racing advertising was created to compliment the core campaign; it is an extension of the Marlboro ...Made the Marlboro attitude younger and more up to date ... Make the Marlboro promotions more leisure oriented. <u>Sexual prowess</u> is of much concern. The Marlboro man can have whomever he wants because he is at the top of the dominance hierarchy ¹¹⁸ .”
Revitalise brand for young Lucky Strike appeal to young through motorcycling	May: Barry Bramley from BAT gives a talk entitled “The World Cigarette Market and BAT”, stating that: “Benson and Hedges is one of the top selling UK International Brands in the world. It has appealed to generation after generation of smokers, who are looking for great taste, superior quality and a prestige brand ...we plan to revitalise the brand and make it more attractive to younger adults ...Lucky Strike is demonstrating some of the best potential of our US International brands, mainly because of its appeal to younger adult smokers ... the brand enjoys a high international profile through its sponsorship of the Lucky Strike Suzuki 250 and 500cc Grand Prix motorcycle racing teams” ¹¹⁹ .
We do not encourage kids to smoke	December: The Tobacco Advisory Council gives evidence to the UK House of Commons Select Committee on Health: “we do not encourage a young person to make that initial decision [to start smoking]”. ¹²⁰
So much evidence that sponsorship is advertising that affects kids	A review of “Direct Tobacco Advertising and its Impact on Children” in <i>the Journal of Smoking Related Diseases</i> concludes that “There is now so much evidence that children identify sports sponsorship and brand-stretching as cigarette advertisements, and that advertisements aimed at adults have an even greater effect on under-age children, that statements from the tobacco industry that it does not advertise to children are irrelevant. ¹²¹ ”
I was a scam – selling an image to young boys	Dave Goerlitz, lead model for RJ Reynolds for seven years, says his marketing brief was to “attract young smokers to replace the older ones who were dying or quitting ...I was part of a scam, selling an image to young boys. My job was to get half a million kids to smoke by 1995” ¹²² .
Candy cigarettes	Polish customs stop lorries carrying “Marlboro candy cigarettes”, intended for East European children ¹²³ .
Ads make kids smoke	A study published in the <i>Health Education Journal</i> states: “Research continues to show that cigarette advertisements can influence non-smoking children to smoke and reinforce their decisions to do so” ¹²⁴ .
	1993:
	September; The Health Education Authority releases the results of a

<p>“Reg” appeals more to kids than adults</p>	<p>survey into the Embassy Regal “Reg” campaign, concluding “Young teenagers find the Embassy Regal ‘Reg’ campaign more appealing than the general adult population. Young smokers particularly like the campaign, identify with the humour, and say it gives them a reason to continue smoking. More boys as young as 9 and 10 like the campaign than adults. Most adults do not identify with the campaign, and say they believe the campaign will appeal to young people. Latest smoking prevalence amongst teenagers in the North of England (where the campaign was being shown) is significantly higher than in 1992, whilst smoking prevalence in the non-campaign areas has remained stable across the same time scale, The biggest differences are amongst 14-15 year-old boys”¹²⁵.</p>
<p>Reg getting through to kids</p>	<p>October: A survey undertaken by the Centre for Social Marketing, University of Strathclyde, and published in <i>the BMJ</i> finds that Embassy’s Regal Reg campaign “was getting through to children more effectively than it was to adults and held most appeal for teenagers, particularly 14-15 years old smokers. It clearly contravened the code governing tobacco advertising, which states that advertising must not appeal to children more than it does to adults, and it may have had a direct impact on teenage smoking”¹²⁶.</p>
<p>Reg dropped</p>	<p>Imperial Tobacco drops the Embassy Regal “Reg” campaign¹²⁷.</p>
<p>Adults only</p>	<p>December: BAT adopts a Statement of Business Principles, stating: “BAT Group companies will adhere to the principle that smoking is an adult custom and will direct marketing and sales efforts to adult customers. Programmes directed to those under 18 are strictly forbidden”¹²⁸.</p>
<p>Peer pressure and family not advertising are why people smoke</p>	<p>Chris Bullock, Tobacco Advisory Council: “it is generally accepted that peer pressure and the influence of the family are the main reasons why children smoke, It therefore follows that the responsibility to ensure they do not smoke is one for society as a whole - parents, teachers and others in authority. Removing the tobacco industry’s marketing freedoms will not make a blind bit of difference.”¹²⁹</p>
<p>Joe is attractive to kids</p>	<p>Ex Philip Morris executive: “You don’t have to be a brain surgeon to work out what’s going on. Just look at the ads. Its ludicrous for them to deny that a cartoon character like Joe Camel is attractive to kids”¹³⁰.</p>
<p>\$170 million for a customer for life</p>	<p>Joe Tyre, <i>Tobacco Free Youth Reporter</i>, “American tobacco companies spend more than £170 million every year giving away cigarettes, many of which are smoked by children and teenagers. If they can get a youngster to smoke a few packets, chances are he’ll be a customer for life”¹³¹.</p>
<p>Ads exploit vulnerable</p>	<p>1994: 12 October: A paper given at the 9th World Conference on Tobacco and Health, by Joseph DiFranza, from the University of Massachusetts Medical Centre states: “Tobacco advertising exploits</p>

<p>Ads effect attitudes</p> <p>Evidence of dose- response relationship</p>	<p>the vulnerabilities of youths by offering tobacco as the key to the desired self-image, as a badge of independence, and as the key to acceptance by their peers. Research demonstrates that children’s attitudes and behaviour regarding tobacco are influenced by advertising. In addition to promoting brand switching, tobacco advertising increases the number of youths who smoke ... a dose-response relationship is also evident in that the more familiar and comfortable children are with tobacco advertisements the more likely they are to smoke¹³² ”.</p>
<p>One too many</p>	<p>23 October: Walter Merryman, US Tobacco Industry Spokesperson: “As far as I am concerned, if one child is smoking, that is one too many .. we have done more than any other industry to try and discourage the sale and use of its products by a potential audience or potential group of consumers”¹³³ .</p>
<p>Average age start smoking is 14</p> <p>Heavily advertised brands are the most smoked</p>	<p>An article published by the US Department of Health and Human Services <i>Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report</i> states “Approximately three million US adolescents are smokers, and they smoke nearly one billion packs of cigarettes each year. The average age at which smokers try their first cigarette is 14 _ years, and approximately 70% of smokers become regular smokers by age 18 years ...Of the 1031 current smokers aged 12-18 years interviewed in 1993, 70% reported they usually brought their own cigarettes ..Marlboro, Camel and New port were the most frequently purchased brands for 86 % of the adolescents ... The three most commonly purchased brands among the adolescent smokers were the three most heavily advertised brands in 1993. In 1993, Marlboro, Camel and Newport ranked first, second, and third, respectively, in advertising expenditures ...legislation may be needed to restrict cigarette advertising to which young persons are likely to be exposed”¹³⁴ .</p>
<p>We don’t want kids to smoke</p>	<p>RJ Reynolds runs an advert called “Smoking in a Free Society” in the USA; “We do not under any circumstances want kids to smoke and we actively sponsor programmes to enforce age restrictions”¹³⁵ .</p>
<p>It’s a community problem</p>	<p>1995: 30 May -1 June: An internal Training Manual for Philip Morris outlines key issues on targeting of children. “Juvenile smoking is a community problem. As part of the community Philip Morris and the tobacco industry is doing its part to combat the problem ...</p>
<p>Don’t market to minors</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Over the years, Philip Morris has established strict standards to ensure that marketing efforts are directed solely towards adults who choose to smoke. We don't market cigarettes to minors and we are committed to discouraging minors from using tobacco products
<p>18 age limit</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Philip Morris believes that 18 ought to be the legal age to purchase cigarettes and supports strict laws to prohibit the purchase of cigarettes by people under this age and penalties for retailers who knowingly break the law

Don't sponsor sports or arts aimed at youth	Numerous studies, Australian and overseas indicate that the primary determinants of smoking for young people are parents, peers and older siblings. Peer identity , self-image and acquiring powers are also primary motivators. Tobacco advertising does not play a role ... Cigarette manufacturers do not sponsor sporting or cultural events directed at youth [emphasis added] ¹³⁶ .
Action against access	27 June: Philip Morris announces the "Action Against Access", a campaign to stop children from smoking. "The best way to keep kids from cigarettes is to keep cigarettes away from kids", says James Morgan, company's president ¹³⁷ .
Minors shouldn't smoke	Philip Morris runs further adverts: "No one should be allowed to sell cigarettes to minors. Minors should not smoke. Period. That is why Philip Morris developed a comprehensive programme to prevent sales of cigarettes to minors". ¹³⁸
Clinton's FDA package to free kids from addiction	10 August: In the US President Clinton announces that nicotine is an addictive drug and gives his support to the FDA to regulate the promotion, sales and distribution of cigarettes. The set of measures are intended to "free our teenagers from addiction and dependency ..Children are especially susceptible to the deadly temptations of tobacco and its skilful marketing". The proposals include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Banning cigarette vending machines and only allowing cigarettes to be sold from behind a counter; • Only allowing sales to over 18s, with proof of age required; • Banning sales of individual cigarette and packs with fewer than 20 cigarettes; Forbidding brand name advertising at sports events and on T-shirts and hats; • Requiring tobacco companies to pay for a \$150 million campaign to discourage young people from smoking. • Forbidding outdoor tobacco ads within 1,000 feet of schools and playgrounds • Restricting advertising in publications with a significant readership among children and teenagers • Making manufacturers, distributors and retailers responsible for halting underage sales¹³⁹
Ronnie versus Joe	One of the studies cited by the FDA for an advertising ban, was the December <i>JAMA</i> study which found that 30 per cent of three year olds and 91 per cent of six-year olds could identify Joe Camel as a symbol of smoking, even though cigarette adverts were banned. In contrast, 62 per cent of six-year olds could identify Ronald McDonald, a character advertised freely on television ¹⁴⁰ .
Suing to stop	RJ Reynolds, Philip Morris, Brooke Group, Lorillard, B&W and Liggett announce they are suing the FDA to stop the measures ¹⁴¹ .
No kids - no problem	17 August: Steve Parrish, Vice President, Philip Morris, "As we have said in the past, though, we believe that if every person underage stopped smoking, it would not have a material impact on our business" ¹⁴²

<p>Advertising greater factor in encouraging kids to smoke than peer pressure</p>	<p>October: A study carried out by the University of California finds that tobacco advertising is a stronger factor than peer pressure in encouraging under 18 children to smoke. One of the authors, Dr. Pearce, says: “It is not that children see an ad and start smoking, but seeing the ads and handling the cigarette packets and the promotional gifts lessens their <i>resistance</i>, weakens their resolve, so later on they will be somewhat more willing to accept a cigarette from a peer when it is offered”¹⁴³.</p>
<p>Peer pressure versus advertising</p>	<p>30 October: Rance Crain, Editor-in-Chief, <i>Advertising Age</i>, “Cigarette people maintain peer pressure is the culprit in getting kids to start smoking and advertising has little effect. That’s like saying cosmetic ads have no effect on girls too young to put on lipstick. Don’t brand preferences start forming early on?”¹⁴⁴</p>
<p>Who should be responsible for your kids</p>	<p>In the Autumn, The US industry launches a counter-attack against the proposed FDA regulations. Adverts asked: “Who should be Responsible for your Children, a Bureaucrat, or You?” “Can we Really Make the Underage Smoking Problem Smaller by Making the Federal Bureaucracy Bigger? We all agree we must do something to keep cigarettes out of the hands of children under the age of eighteen. A proven solution is to teach young people how to resist peer pressure and to enforce existing laws”¹⁴⁵.</p>
<p>Marketing increases smoking Especially in the young</p>	<p>An “Historical Analysis of Tobacco Marketing and the Uptake of Smoking by Youth in the United States from 1980-1977” finds that “Throughout the history of the cigarette industry we have distinguished four distinct periods in which we could relate the impact of marketing strategies to the uptake of smoking ...marked increases in the rate of smoking uptake in the particular gender group targeted by these campaigns were coincident with the beginning of each. Such an effect was not observed among the non-targeted gender ... it would appear that the effectiveness of tobacco marketing practices in encouraging non-smokers to start smoking may now be limited to the adolescent population”¹⁴⁶.</p>
<p>Ads recruit new smokers</p>	<p>A survey undertaken into Tobacco advertisements and adolescents by the Department of Preventative Medicine and Institute for Prevention Research, University of Southern California, concludes “that tobacco advertisements ostensibly targeted to adult smokers may have the effect of recruiting new adolescent smokers”¹⁴⁷.</p>
<p></p>	<p>1996:</p>
<p>Ads increase – teen smoking increases Teens responsive to eye-catching ads</p>	<p>3 April: A study into twenty years of cigarette advertising by Professor Richard Pollay of the University of British Columbia, published in <i>the Journal of Marketing</i> examined nine cigarette brands and found that whenever a brand’s advertising increased, teenage smoking of that brand was three times more likely than adult smoking to increase. Teenagers were more responsive to eye-catching adverts – Marlboro, with the Marlboro Man, with 12.7 per cent of industry advertising, accounted for 50.5 percent of</p>

Its easy to tempt the teen	advertising. Camel with 4.9 per cent of advertising won 8.7 per cent of the teenage market. “Its quite easy to tempt the teen”, concludes Pollay ¹⁴⁸ .
Vending deal	16 May: Philip Morris proposes a deal by which all vending machines would be banned in the US to reduce teenage smoking in return for continued exemption from the FDA. Steven Parrish, Philip Morris’s Senior Vice President for Corporate Affairs: “Everyone agrees that kids shouldn’t use tobacco” ¹⁴⁹ .
Clinton’s plan to cut teen smoking by 50% in 7 years	23 August: President Clinton declares nicotine addictive and announces measures designed to cut teenage smoking by 50 per cent in 7 years. Although the measures fall short of the 1995 proposals, Clinton’s plan includes banning: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tobacco company sponsorship of sports events • Cigarette sales from vending machines accessible to minors • Tobacco billboards within 1000 feet of schools • Pictures on any tobacco billboards • Colour picture advertisements in youth publications • Tobacco brand-names on publicity trinkets¹⁵⁰.
Total ban?	August: Philip Morris responds to the FDA by arguing that the measures are not designed to reduce teenage smoking, rather “We believe the FDA’s real goal is to restrict and regulate the sale of cigarettes to adults, possibly including a total ban of the product” ¹⁵¹ .
Wee have never marketed our products to kids	A Philip Morris Position Statement On A Wide Range of Issues, produced, it is believed in 1996 for employees states about children: “ Q: why is the tobacco industry so concerned about young people smoking all of a sudden? It isn't ‘all of a sudden.’ We have observed a stringent product advertising code for decades. It has never been Philip Morris's policy to market its tobacco products to minors. We were ahead of our time. The American public and the tobacco industry at large are just beginning to catch up to Philip Morris. ANALOGY: When it comes to the youth issue, our critics are running to the front of the parade, where we've been marching for years ... We've never marketed our products to children, and we will never do so reports of us trying to sell cigarettes to minors have simply been fabricated. [emphasis added]” ¹⁵² .
£100,000 gift	BAT gives £100,000 to a school in south-west London to turn it into a Technology College ¹⁵³ .
They got lips, we want them	Terence Sullivan a sales rep in Florida for RJ Reynolds: “We were targeting kids, and I said at the time it was unethical and maybe illegal, but I was told it was just company policy”. Sullivan remembers someone asking who exactly were the young people were that RJR were targeting, junior high school kids or even younger. The reply was “They got lips? We want them”. ¹⁵⁴

We don't want kids to smoke	1997: 7 March: Jan Smith, Spokeswoman for RJ Reynolds Company: "We don't want kids to smoke and with five and a half trillion cigarettes sold around the world every year, there is a large enough market for us without going after kids. But we also don't think that advertising makes people smoke". ¹⁵⁵
We don't want kids to smoke	9 March: Richard Williams, RJ Reynolds, "We do not want children of any race to smoke. While target marketing is an option for some companies it is not an option for cigarette companies". ¹⁵⁶ .
Ads give kids positive image about smoking	23 March: Researchers from Strathclyde University find that children are able to recognise as many as five different cigarette advertisements. "It is now beyond doubt that, whatever the intentions of the tobacco industry, children are very familiar with cigarette advertisements and that they take positive messages about smoking from them". ¹⁵⁷ .
Of course, we market to youth	25 March: US tobacco company, Liggett, becomes the first company to acknowledge that the tobacco industry markets to 'youth', which means "those under 18 years of age, and not just those 18-24 years of age." Liggett also promises to "scrupulously avoid any and all advertising and marketing that would appeal to children and adolescents". ¹⁵⁸
Kids aware of cigarette adverts	8 April: A survey undertaken by MVA Consultants concludes that children are keenly aware of cigarette advertisements in magazines (81 per cent) around shops (84 per cent) and on posters and billboards (70 per cent). Two thirds believed that they had seen adverts on TV. The most commonly cited brands are Benson and Hedges, Silk Cut and Marlboro, which are also the most heavily advertised. ¹⁵⁹ .
US FTC: Joe Camel is unfair advertising	29 May: The US Federal Trade Commission charges RJ Reynolds with unfair advertising practices, alleging that its Joe Camel campaign targets children. As part of its evidence, the FTC cites an RJR survey which shows that 86 per cent of children aged 10 to 17 recognise Joe Camel, with 95 per cent knowing that he is selling cigarettes. In response RJR says "There is no factual basis on which to found this suit. Joe Camel has become the government's scapegoat for issues our society has been unable to resolve". ¹⁶⁰ .
30% reduction in five years	23 June: As part of the landmark deal in the US, the tobacco industry agrees conduct a \$500 million campaign to reduce under-age smoking. Target reductions are 30 per cent in five years, 50 per cent in seven years, and 60 per cent in 10 years. Also included in the settlement is a ban on all vending machines, and the placement of cigarettes behind shop counters in order to reduce under-age smoking. ¹⁶¹ .

<p>Break the rules – shock their parents</p> <p>New standards of rebellion</p> <p>An alternative to drugs</p> <p>Need a kick</p> <p>Rebellion, glamour of danger</p> <p>Anything goes that will abhor Mr Average</p>	<p>15 August: Florida lawyers claim that a two-page BAT memo, believed to have been written in the late seventies shows that the company considered unusual marketing techniques to attract young smokers. The document, called Project Kestrel, outlined its objective to “To develop a brand which "breaks the rules", to appeal to a new Generation and shock their parents, to make conventional brands look bland and weary .. It was felt that the literate youth of today, being very image-oriented, would require a brand of cigarettes which was not an attempt to match any other brands, like Marlboro for instance, but which was completely unconventional, which set new standards encouraging their rebellion, not necessarily just against parents certainly against the market norm. It would respond to the person's individuality with the possibility of being an alternative to drugs”.</p> <p>“It was felt that the cigarette should incorporate some sort of "kick" of a similar nature to the Coca-Cola "kick", giving the cigarette a physiological effect. A possible route for this would be to incorporate the AMTECH technology, using ammonia to generate nicotine enhancement during pH distortion to liberate nicotine.</p> <p>“The cigarette should have a totally new brand name so that no preconceived ideas could be formed, and should reflect the durable youth values discussed (rebellion, glamour of danger, etc.). The type of packaging was also discussed and it was felt that the pack should be in some way distinctive without being over-sensational. It was felt that the youth of today tend to associate with the colour black, so it would be important to distinguish the black pack from other brands such as JPS, Raffles, etc.</p> <p>“In short then, anything goes. The cigarettes should not be judged in any way by the normal smoker but purely by the literate youth. A trial and error basis should be incorporated so this may involve many different flavours, most of which would probably be abhorrent to ‘Mr. Average Smoker’”. In response BAT maintains that the company “has never and will never target under-age smokers”¹⁶².</p>
<p>Adults only</p>	<p>20 September: BAT “We firmly believe that smoking is for adults only. We do nothing to encourage adults who have chosen not to smoke to begin smoking, and we actively assist governments in efforts to eliminate under-age smoking”¹⁶³.</p>
<p>Campaign aimed at youth rebellion</p>	<p>14 November: <i>Campaign</i> magazine highlights how the magazine has come “across some Brazilian tobacco ads for BAT’s Free brand last week, aimed directly at getting young people to smoke. ‘It’s always worth taking risks’ was the gist of one; ‘first we go crazy, then we see what happens’. was another. They unashamedly try to make</p>

	smoking an act of teenage rebellion” ¹⁶⁴ .
Boys twice as likely to smoke if racing fans	14 November: The Cancer Research Campaign reveals that boys are twice as likely to become regular smokers if they are motor racing fans. “This is damning evidence that tobacco sponsorship encourages young boys to take up smoking and that sponsorship encourages brand recognition.” ¹⁶⁵
Cigarette clothing leads to smoking	16 December: A US Study of children in Vermont and New Hampshire finds that school children who wear sports clothing and other items with cigarette names and logos on them are four times more likely to smoke than other children. 32 per cent of the children owned promotional material, with Marlboro and Camel the most popular brands. 22 per cent said that they had acquired the merchandise from stores or directly from cigarette companies. Each cigarette item taken to school was seen by at least ten other children, forcing the researchers to conclude that the findings “raised the possibility that children were becoming the means through which cigarettes were being promoted to other children” ¹⁶⁶ .
Children should not smoke Peer pressure, parental influence not advertising reason kids smoke	1998: 29 January: Nick Brookes, Chairman and CEO of B&W testifies before the House Commerce Committee: “I think that we can all agree on our primary goals: to reduce youth smoking while protecting the rights of adults who choose to smoke ...The cigarette companies still have a right to market their products to adults. But today we are drawing the line on children, fulfilling our obligation as adults to protect them from influences that too often are stronger than they are ... B&W emphatically agrees that smoking should be an adult choice. Children should not smoke. They should not have access to tobacco products. For many years, we were content simply to assert that position. In retrospect, I believe that it was a mistake not to fight youth smoking more aggressively. We should have come out swinging at the problem years ago ... common sense-and an increasing body of research - indicate that a minor’s decision to smoke is driven by peer group pressure, parental influence, and other factors that are completely outside the control of the tobacco companies ” [emphasis added] ¹⁶⁷ .
Not ethical	29 January: . Also appearing before the House Commerce Committee, the Chairman of RJR, Steven Gladstone says: “ It is simply not acceptable under any circumstance to review, much less commission, marketing research on minors. It has never been acceptable, or in my view ethical, to target underage smokers” ¹⁶⁸ .
Marketing is causally related to smoking	18 February: A US study published in the <i>Journal of the American Medical Association</i> provides “the first longitudinal evidence to our knowledge that tobacco promotional activities are causally related to the onset of smoking” ¹⁶⁹ . According to the authors it “provides clear evidence that tobacco industry advertising and promotional activities can influence non-susceptible never smokers to start the

34% experimentation due to promotional activities	process of becoming addicted to cigarettes ... our data establish that the influence of tobacco promotional activities was present before adolescents showed any susceptibility to become smokers ... we estimate that 34 per cent of all experimentation in California between 1993 and 1996 can be attributed to tobacco promotional activities” ¹⁷⁰ .
Young magazines	18 February: Another study published in the <i>JAMA</i> concludes that cigarette brands popular among young adolescents are more likely than adult brands to advertise in magazines with high youth readerships ¹⁷¹ .
We don't track 14 year olds today	6 March: Andrew J. Schindler, President and CEO of R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company testified at the Minnesota trial. Shown RJR documents that had targeted children, he said: “I'm embarrassed for the company. We don't track 14-to 17-year-olds today. I think it is wrong, frankly stupid and unnecessary. It certainly doesn't happen today. We shouldn't be discussing 14-year-olds in any way, shape or form” ¹⁷² .
Starting behaviour as young as five	8 March: In the Minnesota trial, Ramsey County District Judge Kenneth Fitzpatrick cites a document by BAT's Canadian subsidiary as a reason to order 39,000 industry documents to be released. The document, a report on youth marketing studies conducted for the company, states that “the studies reported on youngsters' motivation for starting, their brand preferences, etc. as well as the starting behaviour of children as young as five years old”. In addition, the studies, the document states, examine “young smokers' attitudes toward 'addiction' and contain multiple references to how many young smokers believe that they cannot become addicted, only to later discover, to their regret, that they are” ¹⁷³ .

¹ P. J. Hilts, *Smokescreen - The Truth Behind the Tobacco Industry Cover-Up*, 1996, Addison Wesley, p66,76-77

² P. J. Hilts, *Smokescreen - The Truth Behind the Tobacco Industry Cover-Up*, 1996, Addison Wesley, p77

³ P. J. Hilts, *Smokescreen - The Truth Behind the Tobacco Industry Cover-Up*, 1996, Addison Wesley, p67

⁴ Tobacco Advisory Committee, Smoking and Health, Comments on the Report of a Committee of the RCP, 1962, 7 March [L&D UK Ind 19]

⁵ Panorama, BBC TV, 1962, 12 March [L&D Pro/Gov 39]

⁶ R.W.S. Plumley, Managing Director of the Carreras Rothmans UK Group of Companies, Statement in Relation to Smoking and Health, 1962, 5 April [L&D Gov/Pro 33]

⁷ P. J. Hilts, *Smokescreen - The Truth Behind the Tobacco Industry Cover-Up*, 1996, Addison Wesley, p68

⁸ R. Wald, Memo, 1965, 28 December; quoted in R. Kluger, *Ashes to Ashes - America's Hundred-Year Cigarette War, the Public Health, and the Unabashed Triumph of Philip Morris*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1996, p300

⁹ R. Kluger, *Ashes to Ashes - America's Hundred-Year Cigarette War, the Public Health, and the Unabashed Triumph of Philip Morris*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1996, p316-7

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¹¹ M.E. Johnston, Confidential Note Re Marlboro Market Penetration by Age and Sex, 1969, 23 May {Minn Trial Exhibit 2555}

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- ¹² Philip Morris Vice President for Research and Development, Why One Smokes, First Draft, 1969, Autumn {Minn. Trial Exhibit 3681}
- ¹³ RJ Reynolds, Summary of Decisions Made in MRD-ESTY Meeting, 1971, 7 April {Minn. Trial Exhibit 12,258}
- ¹⁴ I. Katz, US Firm in 'Shock' Smoking Tests, *The Guardian*, 1995, 26 July, p2
- ¹⁵ {Minn. www.tobacco.org}
- ¹⁶ C. Teague Jnr, Research Planning Memorandum on Some Thoughts About New Brands of Cigarettes for the Youth Market, 1973, 2 February [L&D RJR/BAT 2]
- ¹⁷ E. Pepples, Memo to J. Blalock, 1973, 14 February {1814.01}
- ¹⁸ William Esty Company, NFO Preference Share Data "Youth Market," For RJ Reynolds, 1973, 8 March {Minn. Trial Exhibit 13105}
- ¹⁹ RJ Reynolds, No Title, 1973, 12 April {Minn. Trial Exhibit 24,144}
- ²⁰ Philip Morris Marketing Research Department, Incidence of Smoking Cigarettes, 1973, 18 May {Minn. Trial Exhibit 11,801}
- ²¹ William Esty Company, Winston Box Marketing Plan, for RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company, 1973, November {Minn. Trial Exhibit 12,355}
- ²² F. G. Colby, Re: Cigarette Concept to Assure RJR A Larger Segment of the Youth Market, 1973, 4 December {Minn Trial Exhibit 12,464}
- ²³ B&W, Internal Memo, 1973 [Minn. Att.Gen]
- ²⁴ B&W, Secondary Source Digest, ~1973 {Minn. Trial Exhibit 13,809}
- ²⁵ D. W. Tredennick, Memo to F. H. Christopher Re: "What Causes Smokers to Select their First Brand of Cigarette, 1974, 3 July [L&D RJR/ BAT 10]
- ²⁶ Roper Organisation, A study of Smoking Habits Among Young Smokers, Prepared for Philip Morris, 1974, July (Minn. Trial Exhibit 10,497); Philip Morris, Highlights of Special Roper Study on Young Smokers, 1974, 25 July {Minn. Trial Exhibit 11,621}
- ²⁷ RJR, 1975 Marketing Plans Presentation, 1974, 30 September {Minn Trial Exhibit 12,493}
- ²⁸ B&W, New Ventures Project/The New Smoker/Stage 11, 1974, September {Minn. Trial Exhibit 13,996}
- ²⁹ R. J. Reynolds, Domestic Operating Goals, 1974, 26 November {Minn. Trial Exhibit 12,377}
- ³⁰ B&W, Target Audience Appendix, 1974, 12 December {Minn. Trial Exhibit 13,811}
- ³¹ I. Katz, US Firm in 'Shock' Smoking Tests, *The Guardian*, 1995, 26 July, p2
- ³² Quoted on www.tobacco.org
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- ³⁴ R.A. Pittman, Memo, 1975, 24 January {Minn. Trial Exhibit 13,724}
- ³⁵ Sir John Partridge, Chairman of Imperial, Answers Questions Put at the AGM by ASH, 1975[L&D Imp 23]
- ³⁶ Documents were placed in the record of the Hearings before the House Commerce Committee Subcommittee in Oversight and Investigations, on "Cigarette Advertising and the HHS[US Department of Health and Human Services] Anti-Smoking Campaign", 1981, 25 June, Serial Number: 97-66.
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