

**Tobacco Company Marketing: An Examination of Tobacco use in Pennsylvania from 1950-1965**

by

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Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, tobacco company marketers have utilized a wide array of advertising techniques to stimulate the public's fascination for cigarettes and other nicotine-related products. The unique strategies employed by tobacco companies have contributed to the massive demand and popularity for these products in an era of American consumerism. To determine the diverse marketing trends in our current period, it is essential to comprehend these corporations' widespread efforts to circulate alluring messages to specific groups and demographics, including colleges and universities. Tobacco corporations' influence has been extensive for decades throughout the United States; therefore, examining newspaper advertisements in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia newspapers may provide a practical and individualistic perspective of their work. By analyzing how this industry influenced the people and students of these two major cities' newspaper outlets from 1950 to 1965, one may understand the factors that may have incited a major increase in the public's use of tobacco products today.

This research project focuses on investigating the marketing techniques tobacco corporations utilized to build a coherent and stable consumer base within Pittsburgh and Philadelphia newspapers. Specifically, the advertisements present within the *Pitt News* and *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* newspaper outlets as well as the *Daily Pennsylvanian* and *Philadelphian Inquirer* serves as the basis of the data collection process. It would also be an enlightening approach to understand tobacco advertising in the context of archival data to reveal the historical

significance of these alluring advertising techniques on generations of Pennsylvanians. Comprehending the specific intentions of marketers in each of their advertisements may give us background into the internal workings of this industry throughout different historical events within the timeframe of study. Tobacco use remains to be one of the leading causes of pulmonary disease, cardiovascular disease, and some cancers today. These brutal advertising campaigns may indicate one of the reasons the effects of cigarettes and these products have remained to be notably commonplace in our era.

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## 1.0 Introduction

With approximately 34.2 million American adults smoking cigarettes in 2018, it is evident that the rate of college students who smoke and vape has been steadily increasing in recent years (CDC, 2019). Smoking and vaping constitute a major global public health crisis in our modern society and continues to burden the health of those who are exposed to first-hand and second-hand smoke. The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) claims that young age cohorts within the United States population are beginning to indulge in nicotine-related products for a variety of reasons every day, but one striking motive that the CDC proposes is that large tobacco companies spend billions of dollars each year on marketing for cigarettes (CDC, 2019). The advertising strategies utilized by tobacco companies to market to individuals across the United States, including college and high school students, present a distressing issue from a public health perspective. This conception is concerning because the CDC suggests there is a strong correlation between smoking cigarettes and an increased risk of obtaining heart disease, stroke, cancer, lung disease, or other adverse complications (CDC, 2020).

Through an examination of tobacco corporate documents in their study, researchers Cummings et al. (2002) suggest that tobacco companies do not market their products to youth populations for several reasons. However, one pertinent guideline that they recognize is that “[tobacco companies] keep product placements and advertising away from schools and other areas with a high volume of youth traffic” (Cummings et al., 2002). Although researchers like Cummings et al. provide a fascinating conceptualization of whether tobacco companies market their products to youth populations, it was not the reality throughout much of the 20th century as tobacco companies utilized media articles such as the *Pitt News* and *Daily Pennsylvanian* to market

their products to primarily college students. Therefore, this research may provide clarity into the specific methods that tobacco companies have utilized to convince youth populations to purchase these products. Nevertheless, other researchers such as Rigotti et al. investigated college students' exposure to tobacco promotions within the United States through an examination of whether bars, nightclubs, or campus social events provided college students free cigarettes in exchange for providing responses on questionnaires (Rigotti et al., 2005). These researchers concluded that attendance of college students at these events was associated with a higher proportion of smoking among this age group. Rigotti et al. also stress the danger of tobacco company marketing towards younger individuals who they indicate are especially vulnerable to the tactics of tobacco corporations. Their findings suggest that the "tobacco marketing strategy is reaching college students across the United States and may be encouraging them to use tobacco" (Rigotti et al., 2005). Through this research, it would be a valuable and unique approach to understand a different perspective of tobacco marketing through inspecting archival data to observe how these advertisements are approaching their target demographic from a historical perspective.

By conducting this analysis, I will attempt to answer what strategies were presumed by tobacco marketers to be appealing to the citizens of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. The tobacco advertisements present in four newspaper outlets: *The Pitt News*, *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, *The Daily Pennsylvanian*, and *The Philadelphia Inquirer* may provide a pragmatic and individualistic approach when determining the strategies utilized by these corporations. Each sample is inspected, firstly, based on the denotation of the visual elements and words comprising the sample. Meaning, the direct and literal interpretation took the highest precedence when determining where the sample should be categorized. Barthes (1977) describes the denotation of an image as "a message without a code" or "the first degree of intelligibility" (Barthes, 1977:157-158). In other words, Barthes

depicts the denotation of an image to be the most pure and literal description of the objects, people, or background present in the picture. Then, the connotation of the visual elements and words comprising a sample were considered, secondarily. Barthes mentions the connotation of an image as a “discontinuous world of symbols plunges into the story of the denoted scene,” or the unstated elements present in an image (Barthes, 1977:162). The implied or indirect meaning of a particular phrase or image provides another level of detail into the intentions of tobacco corporations; therefore, these unstated ideas were also considered.

The primary research questions are as followed:

- 1.) What specific marketing strategies or subject themes did tobacco corporations employ to interest consumers in purchasing nicotine-related products within popular Pittsburgh and Philadelphia newspapers for the general population and student newspapers?
- 2.) Which subject themes comprised the highest proportion of the total advertisements present in each newspaper outlet? Which strategies were more influential based on the higher number or frequency of advertisements in student newspapers and in newspapers for the public?

The proportions of marketing strategies illuminate tobacco advertisers’ identification and interpretation of specific demographics, and consumers recognize their own demographics represented in tobacco advertisements. This data may reveal how advertisers modeled these accepted ideas in society, and how they translated this information into advertising and marketing messages. Through a mixed quantitative and qualitative analysis, specifically qualitative data analysis through visual methods, each advertisement is classified and sorted into a category based on the denoted and connoted elements present within the sample. Also, as advertisements accumulate into specific groupings, the criteria of each category would continue to be refined to

understand what features or components are similar or identical among the samples in a defined category, as outlined in the methodology. After, a pie chart was constructed to understand what proportions of strategies seemed to be highly prominent in each newspaper outlet during this period. Another inquiry of this project is to understand how the number of viable tobacco advertisements differed within the timeframe of study from one newspaper media outlet to the others. By plotting a line graph of the count of advertisements vs. year from 1950-1965, general trends within the university newspapers and urban environment newspapers may resemble legislative or corporate actions present within the United States during the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Also, these line graphs may contextualize how disinformation campaigns played a role in, generally, keeping the number of advertisements high despite increasing medical reports suggesting the correlation between smoking and lung cancer.

Together, these criteria dictated the methodological approach when categorizing each advertisement into one of the eleven categories: Masculinity/Femininity (M/F), Competition (COMP), Celebrity Endorsement (CEE), Health (HEA), College Involvement/Involvement (COI), Quality (QUA), Holiday/Seasonal (HOL), Editorial (EDT), Sophistication (SOPH), Popularity (POP), and Cartoon (CAR). Then, the calculation of category portions from the total number of advertisements provides detail into which types of samples were more influential and saturated in select newspaper outlets compared to others. This research also depicts how the frequency of advertisements varies within the timeframe of the study, providing context into administrative and legislative decisions throughout this period.

## **2.0 Historical Context**

The aftermath of World War II presented a new global age in the consumer industry. While some countries in the world struggled to rebuild their infrastructure after the war, the United States was left relatively untouched. The country would experience a profound change in the standard of living during the Eisenhower era or the start of the 1950s (Woods, 2005). The massive increase in consumer spending and consumption are the primary reasons that the timeframe of this study is from the beginning of 1950 to the end of 1965. Tobacco corporations capitalized on the predominant era of increased American purchasing power, spreading their influence among different demographic populations through their strident advertising campaigns. The introduction of the GI bill in 1944 contributed to the construction of hospitals, the establishment of low-interest mortgages, and the introduction of tuition aid for veterans who will be attending trade schools or colleges. The bill was considered one of the most significant education and social reforms that ‘democratized’ the collegiate population (Bound et al., 2002). Men from different socioeconomic backgrounds were now able to consider higher education as a possible option as investments into the education sector swelled. With the economy growing and the popularity of the urban and suburban lifestyles emerging, consumerism through advertising strategies became a normal part of day-to-day life. Americans valued comfort and pleasure as they purchased better, more, and newer products and services (Hume, 2016:1-3). With increased consumer power, a large proportion of the United States population in the mid-1950s smoked cigarettes. For example, 66% of men under the age of 40 years-old smoked, further entrenching this activity as a societal norm (Wipfli and Samet, 2016).

But the progression of tobacco and cigarettes began over a century before this prominent period of consumerism. In their review, researchers Wipfli and Samet (2016) discuss that until the mid-1800s, tobacco consumption was primarily piped, snuffed, or chewed. The first cigarette created by James Bonsack in 1880 was a well-engineered device that dispensed nicotine to promote long-term addiction (Wipfli and Samet, 2016). For decades, constant refinements led to the rise of multinational companies that, essentially, fueled the global tobacco corporate empire and initiated the concept of mass-producing cigarettes. Therefore, tobacco companies turned to highly effective marketing strategies to build an accountable consumer base to advance their corporations and redefine their products. Wipfli and Samet mention that by 1923, the Camel cigarette corporation maintained 43% of the US market in tobacco products. By emphasizing images of “freedom, rebellion, health, fitness, stress relief, wealth, weight loss, and sex appeal,” Camel aimed to build a reality that emphasized the social attributes associated with cigarette smoking (Wipfli and Samet, 2016). However, by the mid-1950s, increasing scientific literature in the United Kingdom suggested a potential correlation between cancers and smoking, which tobacco industries in the United States found concerning.

As a result, these companies challenged the scientific credibility of firsthand and secondhand smoking associations with cancer. Oreskes and Conway, authors of *Merchants of doubt: How a handful of scientists obscured the truth on issues from tobacco smoke to global warming*, mention that tobacco companies were not questioning whether they would, financially, do well or poor each year, but rather will they have the traction to survive the year with the introduction of this threatening medical literature (Oreskes et al., 2019:136-138). As a result, the tobacco industry worked together to spread disinformation campaigns to salvage their cause and mere way of life. Tobacco lobbyists and workers like Fred Seitz and Fred Singer aimed to

dismantle credible scientific evidence as error-prone and unsound. They challenged the scientific viewpoint of the authorities and raised these concerns to the public, urging them to consider the downfalls of the United States Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) smoking report (Oreskes et al., 2019:143-144). Tobacco companies' well-known popularity throughout the early-20th century contributed to their objectives to counteract this "bad science," as the public already had predetermined, positive views of these corporations and their products. To combat forms of scientific evidence that disagreed or devalued the mission of tobacco corporations, this industry employed their own scientific committees to counter the EPA's scientific reports with their own (Michaels, 2008:81-82). David Michaels, author of *Doubt is Their Product* depicts that the tobacco corporation Phillip Morris, for example, would expect their group of researchers and scientists to produce results that would stimulate controversy and inconclusive evidence regarding the negative health effects of smoking. Also, this corporation relied on their lawyers to "eliminate areas of sensitivity," in order to assure that the results are consistent with the aim of promoting cigarette smoking or discouraging anti-smoking or anti-nicotine reports (Michaels, 2008:81). These components, in conjunction, continued to normalize smoking behavior for decades after the first initial medical reports were published.

For decades, this industry has utilized unique and innovative marketing and advertising campaigns despite the presence or absence of medical evidence. So, the ability of tobacco corporations to quickly pivot their advertising techniques to hinder these increasingly threatening medical reports was almost anticipated. Brandt (2012) reiterates this sense of panic tobacco companies experienced when the medical literature began to emerge, acknowledging that new strategies and tactics were underway to "erode, confuse and condemn" the science that threatened the popularity of cigarettes and other tobacco products (Brandt, 2012). The ability of this industry

to disrupt the normal production and distribution of scientific evidence expresses how influential this market is to its customers. Advertising campaigns in the realms of “media, law and public opinion” continued to strengthen public confidence in an organization that was generally well-liked and reputable within almost every major city in the United States (Brandt, 2012). People within the United States, generally, believed that the consequences of smoking cigarettes did not pose a threat on their health. Eventually, when the truth about smoking and the negative health consequences became widely accepted, disparities between different populations and demographics became apparent. Fertig (2010) states that mothers who have a high economic status are expected to be the least likely to smoke or to smoke intensively in each cohort (Fertig, 2010). Smoking was not equally popular throughout different socioeconomic classes. Rather, some tobacco companies heavily marketed towards poorer people through strategies like keeping their prices low, exposing these people to free cigarette promotions, and continuing to spread campaigns to devalue medical literature (Fertig, 2010). Building scientific controversy allowed this industry to avoid personal liabilities in litigation and incited a massive public push in distrusting the science of medical authorities.

Tobacco corporations also released direct statements denying these associations with negative health consequences, and they manipulated their advertisements to focus on quality and health. In fact, the proportion of cigarettes with filters increased from 2% in 1950 to more than 50% in 1960. These strategies were clearly effective as the number of cigarettes sold grew substantially (Wipfli and Samet, 2016). But a growing consensus among the United Kingdom and United States’ medical professionals regarding the detrimental effects of smoking led to significant legislative actions. For instance, the connection between lung cancer and smoking was cited in the

1962 Royal College of Surgeons Report in the United Kingdom and the first Surgeon General's Report in the United States in 1964 (Wipfli and Samet, 2016).

The first effective counter to these advertisements began within the early 1960s, as anti-smoker campaigners attempted to shift a positive social perspective related to smoking to be viewed as unfavorable and socially objectionable (Lawrence, 2022). These activists within the sociohistorical contexts of consumer- and civil-rights movements in the 1960s and 1970s attempted to challenge tobacco corporations and the legality of their impact on youth populations. This idea is observable as the general frequency of advertisements decreased in the mid-1960s, suggesting that these campaigns were growing in number and influence with the overarching idea that tobacco products adversely affect one's health (Wipfli and Samet, 2022). With an unbelievably large number of college students and youth engaging in smoking-related behavior, tobacco corporations decided to retract all advertisements from college and university newspapers in mid-1963 as public scrutiny grew. This retraction is illustrated in the Cigarette Advertising Code of 1964, which was a response by tobacco corporations to address public complaints about advertising cigarettes and other tobacco products to young people (Richards et al., 1996:297). Increasing criticism for advertising directed at cohorts of youth populations and deceiving the public into believing that smoking does not have negative health consequences were some of the primary reasons the tobacco industry pulled back their advertisements (Richards et al, 1996:297). With the tobacco industry unable to advertise to its college base, cigarette marketers pivoted and heavily targeted Black communities to regain sales (Limbong, 2022). Tobacco marketers utilized diverse marketing techniques like hiring influencers in Black communities to give out free samples and providing discounted menthol products in Black neighborhoods (Limbong, 2022). Eventually, the FDA and NAACP sought to support these communities and reduce their exposure to nicotine-

related products like cigarettes. However, the question then becomes how difficult is it to reverse a trend that has intensely influenced people for decades in American society?

### 3.0 Methodology

In an age when marketing techniques promote a corporation's product or service through research on a customer's interests, major tobacco companies have increased the public's fascination for nicotine-related products with convincing advertisements. This project employs a mixed qualitative and quantitative methodology, using qualitative data analysis through visual methods to identify and categorize each advertisement based on its thematic elements. Also, this project employs quantitative methods to collect and categorize elements based on the qualitative analysis of salient content. These messages were designed to potentially increase the public's engagement through appealing towards "disciplining and controlling both the subjects of knowledge but also the modes of knowing" (DeLyser, 2009:211). DeLyser et al. mention that the notion of visuality stresses how diverse visual stimuli become 'seeable' and visible to the consumer, but the message may allude towards a deeper, more significant interpretation (DeLyser, 2009:211). Tobacco marketers utilize a similar approach to elicit a specific emotion through newspaper advertisements. Mays et al. add to this discussion through their examination of how tobacco advertising exacerbates the risks of adolescents being more likely to smoke. The researchers express there is a dire "need to understand the potential mediating role of emotional reactions to different types of tobacco ads for influencing smoking behavior" (Mays et al., 2014). Contemporary marketing techniques have progressed decades within the United States and tobacco marketers strategically place convincing and enduring advertisements in areas that are most likely to consume nicotine-related products. In fact, Pierce et al. (2016) in their study of over 10,000 non-smoking adolescents, 41% of 12 and 13-year-olds were receptive to at least one tobacco-related advertisement that they have observed. There appears to be a prominent association between these

advertising strategies and the initiation of smoking in youth populations (Pierce et al., 2016). The ability for tobacco marketers to tailor their ads to a certain demographic or population presents a concerning reality for millions of citizens.

In archival research, Banks (2001) describes how archival researchers often place more emphasis on recording the date, photographer, location, and content of the graphic (Banks 2001:101). These elements aim to illustrate a certain point expressed by visual stimuli, and the period to assemble a more coherent understanding of what the advertiser aimed to convey and what techniques they utilized to appeal towards a consumer's interests. By conducting a content analysis, researchers can quantify content through predetermined categories through an objective and systematic method. Bryman (2012) suggests that it is not only significant to uncover the apparent details of the item, but also reveal the 'latent content,' or meanings that lie beneath the surface of the item. Content analyses of mass media outlets such as newspaper organizations are common, as the researcher often questions "what (gets reported); where (does it get reported); how much (gets reported); and why (it gets reported)" (Bryman, 2012:291). Tobacco and cigarette advertisers, similarly, circulate specific advertisements in diverse populations at different frequencies to tailor characteristics that the public may find appealing and to target specific demographics more effectively.

Bryman (2012) continues to mention that units of analysis will depend on the nature of the research questions; however, there are distinctive characteristics that will apply in the context of mass-media reporting and advertising that are significant items to code.

1. *Significant actors*: The main individuals that are the focus of the item such as a government official, politician, physician, celebrity, expert, or representative of the organization may provide a sense of credibility and authority in each profession's respective field of study.

His or her image may ignite a sense of envy or trust within the public and aims to build brand loyalty and recognition.

2. *Author of item*: Details of the author, and his or her reputation and affiliation with the corporation may illuminate key information behind the scenes of the company's inner workings. The type of article circulated, the context of the item, and the cause that prompted the item all share details that may be applicable to a corporation's long-term endeavors and intentions.
3. *Words*: The type of word utilized in an advertisement, for example, may reveal the 'predilection for sensationalizing certain events.' The style of the wording and language utilized may create a certain emotional response when viewing a message or advertisement (Bryman, 2012:295).

Bryman (2012) mentions that researchers will commonly code items in terms of specific subjects and themes. Typically, the process of coding appeals towards a more interpretative approach. Categories of advertisements, for example, must be grouped into larger areas depending on the content of the collection (Bryman, 2012:297). Krippendorff (2004) continues this discussion by depicting that categorical distinction can define items by their common reference. These distinctions rely on taxonomies, citing theory-driven classifications to group units into similar and distinct sections (Krippendorff, 2004:105-106). Tobacco companies have utilized numerous techniques to convince the public with a wide array of interests and passions that make them more susceptible to purchase nicotine-related products. Therefore, these different ideas can be grouped together based on the content and feelings elicited by the consumer.

The subtle mechanisms and themes embedded in these advertisements are attempts to sway the mind to associate tobacco products with favorable ideas, interactions, or realities. As a result,

the majority of advertisements analyzed do not necessarily actively convince consumers to purchase their products. Rather, the mere tendency of these advertisements to increase sales of tobacco products fuels these corporations' business model and contributes to the essence of corporate greed over health, for instance. Therefore, to determine the underlying strategy conveyed by these advertisements, conducting a selective content analysis is essential to identify and categorize the subject(s) of a particular sample. Krippendorff (2004) mentions that content analyses, in practice, are research techniques that make valid inferences from texts or meaningful matter to the purpose of its use (Krippendorff, 2004:18). Specifically, the technique of qualitative data analysis through visual methods is the most appropriate and methodical approach when examining the data set based on the characteristics of the archives and elements present within the samples. The purpose of these images or messages creates an indirect relationship between a business and a consumer, which presents a mutual association between the seller and buyer. He continues to mention that content would not be as clear as direct communications, so content analysts must be able to infer or predict phenomena that one would not be able to observe directly. Krippendorff demonstrates that rhetorical analysis focuses on how different messages are delivered and their intended and actual effects on consumers (Krippendorff, 2004:16). In context, this approach is dependent on numerous ideas like structural elements and tropes, for example, to obtain an overarching picture of what the marketer intended to incite. These ideas may include objects, places, people, or symbols that contribute to the overall theme or message of an advertisement. Tobacco marketers implemented a variety of elements that appealed towards the greater populations of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia.

In tobacco advertisements, specifically, thematic elements of popularity, gender and sophistication served to be some of the more influential components that drew consumers to

purchase cigarettes and other tobacco products, especially in college environments. Pierre Bourdieu, author of *The Forms of Capital*, mentions that social interchanges are not all individualistic, but rather are grounded in “capital and profit in all their forms” (Bourdieu, 1986:241). Meaning, social capital is derived from one entity’s social networks, which puts them in a social position of power and advantage. In fact, capital can be designated into one of three fundamental guises. Economic capital is “immediately and directly convertible into money” and “institutionalized into property rights;” cultural capital can be “converted into economic capital” and “institutionalized through educational qualifications;” social capital is comprised of “social obligations,” which is convertible into economic capital and “institutionalized into a title of nobility” (Bourdieu, 1986:241). Tobacco companies utilized this idea of ‘social supremacy’ through their advertisements to activate the public’s thoughts regarding how cigarettes may legitimize their social standing in society.

To examine the subject of these tobacco advertisements, the primary technique of qualitative data analysis using visual methods will dictate the categorization process in the scope of this project. First, the advertisement was inspected for its physical visual content, or the main overarching picture or point that constitutes the greatest space. Ronald Barthes depicts the denotation of an image or advertisement to be the “linguistic message,” or details that simply reveal the elements within a scene and the scene itself. He continues to mention at the level of the literal image, the text essentially answers the question: what is it (Barthes, 1977:155-156)? Meaning, the denotation of the image provides ideas on the advertiser’s bare intentions. After observing the denoted image, it is equally important to acknowledge the connoted characteristics as well. The literal elements play an important role in the structure of the linguistic message, which is also the underlying meaning of the advertisement. Barthes mentions that connotations do not necessarily

elicit the full intention of an advertiser, but rather pieces of the main point or idea that he or she wants to elicit to the public (Barthes, 1977:157). This technique allows the consumer to experience the image's rhetoric, the "signifying idea of ideology" or theme created from indirect characteristics in the advertisement (Barthes, 1977:157). The denoted and connoted messages are both considered when examining each advertisement. In his work, Barthes deconstructs a Panzani pasta advertisement based on his interpretations of linguistic message, which displays how a holistic message is conveyed towards a target audience. He explains the denoted message refers to the literal meaning, or the "Panzani packets of pasta, a tin, a sachet, some tomatoes, onions, peppers, a mushroom, all emerging from a half-open string bag, in yellows and greens on a red background" (Barthes, 1977:153). The connoted message refers to more intricate and personal associations derived from the objects and background. Specifically, Barthes mentions "Panzani gives not simply the name of the firm but also, by its assonance, an additional signified, that of Italianicity" (Barthes, 1977:153). In fact, the red, green, and white background resemble that of the Italian flag. Also, the food items presented closely together in a shopping bag gives an impression of freshness and authenticity. Similarly, tobacco advertisers relied both on the denoted and connoted messages present within an advertisement to relay the overarching relationship between the indirect messages and direct images in conjunction. Specifically, the objects, places, and people observable within an advertisement, tied with the essential or hidden code, produce a convincing and often sociocultural message to a target demographic. The specific criterion for each category is, therefore, iterative and derived over a period based on the recurring content present within the samples. However, this methodology is not completely error prone as there are slight uncertainties in the sample advertisements. Specifically, elements within a sample are

sometimes connoted and sometimes denoted to different degrees, which may create a slight margin of error in the analysis of coding scheme.

This project also relies on the concept of analytic induction. Bryman (2012) details that this technique relies on the researcher's attempts to understand a universal explanation of phenomena by assigning data until there are no samples that are inconsistent with a hypothetical explanation (Bryman, 2012: 566). In other words, any sample that slightly deviates from a subject theme, for example, would result in the reformulation of the definition and requirements of the entire category. Through this approach, constant refinement of the subject themes provides a more comprehensive approach when assigning the samples to their respective categories. To ensure that every advertisement falls within at least one of the thematic categories, refining the definition of each category gives more comprehensive detail on the theme's characteristics.

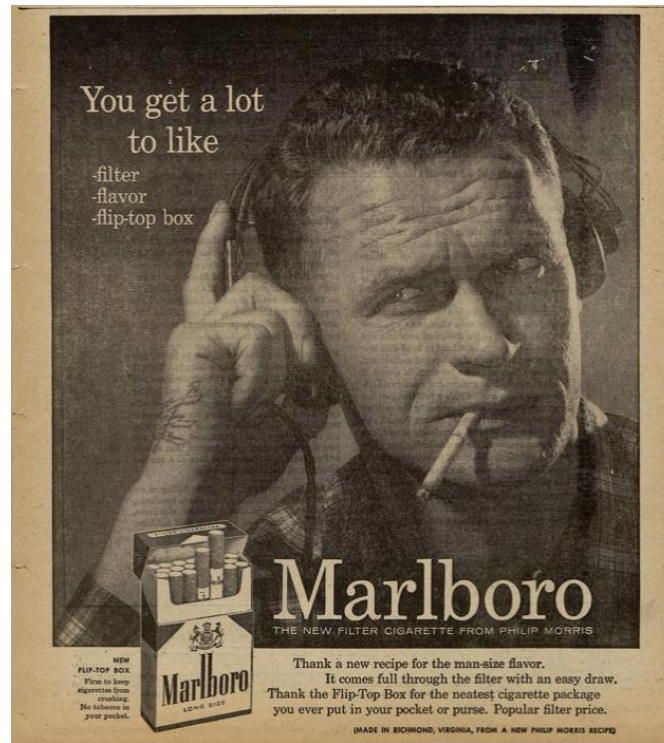
To comprehend the objective of tobacco marketers in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia from 1950-1965, one can investigate how the visual elements that comprised these advertisements produced a specific response from a select demographic. The two cities—Pittsburgh and Philadelphia—were chosen based on the large population size of each urban area within Pennsylvania. Advertisements that are circulated in areas of high traffic presented tobacco corporations a higher chance of success to obtain a steady revenue, while amusing a diverse set of demographics. Specifically, superficial and inherent meanings of advertising strategies appeal towards the target demographic's self-image or social identity. By performing a selective content analysis on these documents within the *Pitt News*, *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, *The Daily Pennsylvanian*, and *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, the strategies for reaching target demographics can be discerned or inferred. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the people of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia commonly consumed information from the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* and *The Philadelphia*

Inquirer, respectively. Therefore, these two newspaper outlets were chosen based on their popularity in their respective cities. Also, to comprehend how tobacco marketers tailored their advertisements to young adults, the *Pitt News* and *Daily Pennsylvanian* served as the basis of the data collection process in the context of the college student demographic. The University of Pittsburgh and University of Pennsylvania were both popular institutions within their respective cities. Also, comparing a blue-collar institution to that of an Ivy League may reveal stark differences in the tobacco strategies circulated in each of their respective student newspapers in terms of socioeconomic differences. The basic research design consists of filtering articles and advertisements presented by these four newspaper outlets through the University of Pittsburgh's "Documenting Pitt Database" for the *Pitt News* and "Pro-Quest Historical Newspaper Database" for the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. The University of Pennsylvania's "Daily Pennsylvanian archives" contains the complete record of all published newspapers within the study's intended timeframe. Lastly, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* archives were obtained from "newspapers.com," which also contain the complete set of published newspapers within the timeframe. The articles were filtered from January 1, 1950, to December 31, 1965, with the keyword "cigarette" as the primary search term. To further refine the resultant newspapers displayed in the database, two main criteria served as the basis of data collection: (1) the word 'cigarette' was incorporated within an advertisement or editorial circulated by specific tobacco corporations; (2) the sample advertisement was disregarded when the word 'cigarette' was present in a catalog with prices or had no strategic context to convince consumers. The number of advertisements that met these criteria were n=1304, 1160, 1158 and 1704 in the *Pitt News*, *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, *Daily Pennsylvanian*, and *Philadelphia Inquirer*, respectively. Under these restrictions, each advertisement's newspaper outlet, identifier, date, title, short description, subject, and page number were recorded. A short

description was written to provide a general idea of what tobacco company circulated the advertisement, and what major keywords or ideas were extracted from the sample. Lastly, the subject of the advertisement was recorded to describe the general objective of tobacco marketers and what underlying concepts or ideas are illuminated to understand the potential patterns and ambitions of tobacco companies.

To reiterate, the denotation and connotation of specific elements present within the sample contributed to the categorization process, and dictate which group it will be placed in. The following categories were selected based on the recurring frequency of advertisement subject themes and ideas that convinced the people of Pennsylvania to engage with large tobacco corporations and purchase their merchandise at a massive scale. Eleven representative samples—one for each category—are illustrated below to exemplify certain criteria and characteristics that would classify a sample to be in one group over another group.

### 3.1 Masculinity/Femininity (M/F)



**Figure 1. Image from page 11 of The Pitt News, vol. 50, no. 37 depicting a Marlboro Advertisement circulated on March 19, 1956**

This sample advertisement in *The Pitt News* draws upon multiple strategies to gain a consistent consumer base. Although there are specific words that convey Quality (QUA) such as “Flip-top box for the neatest cigarette package” and “you get a lot to like,” this ad clearly plays along with the ideas of masculinity. The personable man, who covers a large portion of the sample, gives young men an idea that Marlboro cigarettes are associated with characteristics of traditional masculinity like toughness. Other example advertisements that portray this include men who served in the military, men in suits or other affluent clothing, and men with guitars or cars. For women, traditional sample advertisements include “gossip guides,” women in dresses or affluent

clothing, and women who promote feminine products for purchase like makeup. In this sample, Marlboro has utilized the idea of masculinity throughout many of its advertisements to create underlying connections between these products and manliness. Within this advertisement, masculinity is expressed as a changing social construction. Kervin (1990) mentions that masculinity and femininity are derived from socialization, as gender functions as a “meta-meaning system,” which influences the “choice and aesthetics of codes” (Kervin, 1990). Advertisers in the tobacco market, therefore, must make assumptions regarding their target audience based on social definitions and situations of consumers, specifically, what consumers consider to be masculine and feminine. They acknowledge, especially in the early and mid-20th century, advertisements were tailored based on a gender’s psychological “normal configuration of traits, attitudes, and interests” (Kervin, 1990). In practice, ideas and/or objects that conveyed these characteristics of masculinity or femininity, would be placed into this category to demonstrate cigarettes satisfy these requirements.

### 3.2 Competition (COMP)

Viceroy Advertisement: “A special message... To Every Man and Woman Who is Thinking about Changing to a Filter Cigarette: **Viceroy—Only Viceroy Has 20,000 Filters.** Twice as many filters as the two other largest-selling filter brands for smoother smoking, Smoke Viceroy.” Images present within the advertisement display a cigarette labeled with “20,000 filters” and a Viceroy cigarette box, stating “Filter Tip Cigarettes.”

Image description from page 22 of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* displaying a Viceroy

Advertisement circulated on October 3, 1956

This advertisement circulated by Viceroy appeals towards a more archaic type of advertising. Historically, Viceroy has ignited an interest through an understanding that their products are advantageous compared to other brands. Although the ad contains lines such as “smoother smoking,” which may demonstrate an idea of quality and content, the marketers aimed to convey that “Only Viceroy” can offer these products. Also, the company actively attempted to switch those who may not be satisfied with their traditional brand. Viceroy urges consumers that their products are worthy substitute because of their uniqueness compared to their competitors’ products. This technique provides customers with another factor to consider when deciding to purchase a specific brand of cigarettes. Broadly, samples conveying—either directly or indirectly—that their product was better than another leading brand would be considered competition. Samples including one corporation actively competing against other corporations were included in this category. Barton Weitz (1985) stresses that diverse marketing strategies are crucial, especially in a competitive marketplace. Satisfying customer needs while outcompeting the competition makes the brand more valuable in a consumer’s perspective. Weitz mentions when companies compete, there is an appeal towards “variety seeking,” meaning the suitability of a brand’s product complements the consumer (Weitz, 1985). Comparably, Viceroy aims to make their product more unique than other leading brands based on the suitability of the filters to consumer needs.

### 3.3 Celebrity Endorsement (CEE)



**Figure 2. Image from page 8 of the Daily Pennsylvanian displaying a Chesterfield Advertisement circulated on February 21, 1951**

Chesterfield employed a celebrity endorsement from the famous actress, Anna Pearce. As an affluent woman with a reputable education at the University of Southern California, Pearce utilizes her social status in society to endorse Chesterfield cigarettes, which enhances a customer's recognition of a brand. Celebrity endorsements have been utilized for a variety of promotional advertisements in our current time. Cigarette companies have employed this technique to resonate with customers who enjoy consuming movies with Anna Pearce, for example. If customers were able to see their favorite celebrities, politicians and leading experts purchasing and using a particular brand's cigarettes, it would give a positive impression of brand's products like cigarettes. This example would not fall under Masculinity/Femininity (M/F) because she clearly endorses the

brand with her signature, and she does not serve solely as a model in the Chesterfield tobacco corporation. In one study, researchers Min et al. (2019) determined that a consumer's viewpoint toward a celebrity and brand positively affected his or her buying attentions. People indirectly associate their favorite celebrities with tobacco products, which causes them to also connect a positive mentality to smoking cigarettes. Moreover, people who had a negative outlook on the celebrity can also influence buying patterns of consumers as well (Min et al., 2019). Samples that have influential individuals in politics/government, the movie industry, business, the medical field, and academia would be placed into this category because these people's participation in a product would prompt a community response.

### 3.4 Health (HEA)

**Not One Single Case of Throat Irritation due to smoking CAMELS!**

**Popular Band Leader States Case**

**Smokers Prove Camel Mildness for Themselves—Make 30-Day Test in Their Own "T-Zones"!** (T for Throat, T for Taste)

**MORE DOCTORS SMOKE CAMELS**

**SOCIALITE AGREES ON CAMEL MILDNESS**

**30-Day Camel Mildness Test**

**CROSS-SECTION, U.S.A.**

Figure 3. Image from page 14 of the Daily Pennsylvanian displaying a Camels Advertisement circulated on

August 1, 1950

This advertisement, circulated by the cigarette brand Camels, reassures individuals that cigarettes and other nicotine-related products were safe. With increasing medical literature and studies on the danger of cigarettes increasing in the 1950s, many tobacco corporations tailored their advertisements to appeal towards safety—their products did not cause long-term complications. This ad clearly expresses Camel's desire for public confidence in their product. The

incorporation of medical professionals' testimonies and scientific data from the tobacco industry's own studies, allowed these corporations to console consumers. They had the "medical backing" to announce nicotine is not an addictive chemical, and cigarette smoking is a safe and secure activity. This advertisement utilizes language and elements that appeal towards health through promoting the products' mildness and comfort. These messages may cause those who were unsure of the health effects of tobacco to start smoking cigarettes, for example. Samples with scientific evidence or health literature that promoted the use of cigarettes were placed into this category. Also, typically advertisements that boasted the inclusion of filters and medical devices within their product would fit the criteria of this category.



# FLASH! TO ALL STUDENTS OF PITT

## CAN YOU USE A HUNDRED BUCKS?

THAT'S WHAT YOU CAN WIN IN EVERY ONE OF

# Viceroy's Big College Football Contests

IT'S EASY! JUST PICK THE TEN WINNING TEAMS, PREDICT THE SCORES—AND YOU'RE IN THE MONEY!

**FLASH! ONLY STUDENTS ON THIS CAMPUS ARE ELIGIBLE!**

**FIRST CONTEST UNTIL OCTOBER 27th**

All you have to do is clip the coupon, pick the winners and predict the scores—then figure out how you're going to spend that hundred bucks! It's easy... just clip the coupon below or get an every flash where you buy cigarettes and fill in our predictions of the ten you've got to win. That's all it takes with an empty Viceroy package as the tangible evidence of the Viceroy team as it appears on the package (look for Viceroy on the Benetton card on the yellow blank or slip in the ball) has been conveniently placed on the coupon.

Best only to students and faculty members. Enter as many times as you want. Simply send an empty Viceroy package or unopened container of the Viceroy team with each entry.

Entries must be postmarked or dropped in the ball box no later than the Wednesday midnight before the games and returned by noon Friday of the same week. Best contest will be open on October 27—wherever you find flash contest sheets to win.

## LOOK!

HERE ARE ALL THE PRIZES YOU CAN WIN!

- 1st PRIZE **\$100**
- 2nd PRIZE **\$50**
- 3rd PRIZE **\$25**

**PLUS**

**10 OTHER PRIZES OF \$100 EACH**



**DON'T SMOKE ANOTHER CIGARETTE UNTIL YOU LEARN WHAT Viceroy's Deep Weaver Filter CAN DO FOR YOUR TASTE!**

It can do almost anything. Pick the Viceroy that meets your taste, pack, cigarette material, reach into the same strange filter strands or smell good times.

But it's the basic Viceroy reason these ten strands into the special Deep Weaver Filter... and that's their job: to get you to get into the good stuff of Viceroy's rich tobacco blend. You'll love the taste!

Only Viceroy's Got It On the Ball! Get The Good Stuff!

©1988 U.S. Patent Pending




And a free carton of Viceroy to every contestant who names all ten winning teams—REGARDLESS OF THE SCORE!

### Viceroy College Football CONTEST NO. 1

Here are my predictions for next Saturday's games. Send my prize money to: NAME \_\_\_\_\_ ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

WIN	SCORE	WIN	SCORE
<input type="checkbox"/> Pittsburgh	<input type="checkbox"/> Washington	<input type="checkbox"/> Miami	<input type="checkbox"/> Miami
<input type="checkbox"/> Maryland	<input type="checkbox"/> Tennessee	<input type="checkbox"/> Arizona	<input type="checkbox"/> Arizona
<input type="checkbox"/> Michigan	<input type="checkbox"/> Texas	<input type="checkbox"/> U.C.A.	<input type="checkbox"/> U.C.A.
<input type="checkbox"/> Iowa	<input type="checkbox"/> Duke	<input type="checkbox"/> Duke	<input type="checkbox"/> Duke
<input type="checkbox"/> Purdue	<input type="checkbox"/> S.M.U.	<input type="checkbox"/> S.M.U.	<input type="checkbox"/> S.M.U.
<input type="checkbox"/> U.S.M.	<input type="checkbox"/> Air Force	<input type="checkbox"/> Air Force	<input type="checkbox"/> Air Force
<input type="checkbox"/> Nebraska	<input type="checkbox"/> Alabama	<input type="checkbox"/> Alabama	<input type="checkbox"/> Alabama
<input type="checkbox"/> Oklahoma	<input type="checkbox"/> Wake Forest	<input type="checkbox"/> Wake Forest	<input type="checkbox"/> Wake Forest
<input type="checkbox"/> Duke	<input type="checkbox"/> Clemson	<input type="checkbox"/> Clemson	<input type="checkbox"/> Clemson
<input type="checkbox"/> Colorado	<input type="checkbox"/> U.S.M.	<input type="checkbox"/> U.S.M.	<input type="checkbox"/> U.S.M.
<input type="checkbox"/> U.S.M.	<input type="checkbox"/> Georgia Tech	<input type="checkbox"/> Georgia Tech	<input type="checkbox"/> Georgia Tech

Contest open ONLY TO STUDENTS AND FACULTY ON THIS CAMPUS. Not before October 6, 8 or Viceroy. Ben 818. No. 100000. No. 100000.

**HERE ARE THE CONTEST RULES—READ 'EM AND WIN!**

1. No cash or prize money will be paid until the contest has been completed. 2. All entries must be postmarked or dropped in the ball box no later than the Wednesday midnight before the games and returned by noon Friday of the same week. 3. Best contest will be open on October 27—wherever you find flash contest sheets to win. 4. Entries must be postmarked or dropped in the ball box no later than the Wednesday midnight before the games and returned by noon Friday of the same week. 5. Best contest will be open on October 27—wherever you find flash contest sheets to win.

Viceroy's attempt to attract students, specifically, took shape within a number of their athletic advertisements. By actively engaging college students to enter raffles or promotions offered by their company, Viceroy draws attention to prizes and incentives to create brand loyalty and recognition among people who reside in Pittsburgh. This advertisement plays along with the idea that people should have the same enthusiasm for smoking Viceroy cigarettes as attending a football game. Qian (2020) emphasizes that the tobacco industry relied on a variety of events and promotions to engage college students. They cite implementing the strong 'College Marketing

Program’ influenced college students to engage in tobacco products (Qian, 2020). For instance, tobacco corporations would hire college representatives to maximize their influence on their peers. Moreover, these companies used a strong incentive program to win prizes if students purchased a certain brand's cigarettes. And on campus or near campus retail contributed to keep product placement around a large population of students (Qian, 2020). Advertisements that actively aimed to involve or engage students or the general population to participate in tobacco company-mediated events, promotions, questionnaires, puzzles, or activities were placed into this category.

### 3.6 Quality (QUA)

Sano Advertisement: Filter Tip, All Cigar Tobacco, Cost No More. **Low Nicotine:**  
Cigarette Size Cigars, Great Taste! Image: half the advertisement is comprised of a tobacco box titled, “Little Sano Cigars”

Image description from page 24 of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* depicting a Sano  
Advertisements distributed on June 4, 1965

This advertisement circulated by Sano claims characteristics of quality and taste. Sano cigarette marketers focused on stressing the ‘premium quality’ of the contents present within their tobacco products in order to draw more customers. With greater medical awareness, Sano Cigars aimed to be known for quality and “low nicotine” content, which provides aromatic smells and flavors when their cigarettes were ignited. This brand association with the inherent quality of the cigarette would convince customers that Sano is the cleanest and best ‘tasting’ cigarette. Examples include advertisers that boasted their products’ menthol, or minty, taste. Also, samples that

contained 'low-nicotine,' 'great-tasting,' or 'fresh' words were placed into this category. This sample would not be placed in the Health (HEA) category because there is no pertinent scientific evidence or health records that Sano distributed to prove their products are safe. Rather, they take a more indirect approach to demonstrate that the low nicotine content makes the product not only less dangerous than other leading brands, but also more flavorful. This idea is essential to convey the purpose of simply obtaining these products. Consumers smoke cigarettes for a variety of reasons such as to de-stress. So, the Quality (QUA) category emphasizes these products are purchased for their mere intended effects or consumer needs. Researcher Ling (2005) determined that in the late-20th century, tobacco companies aimed to make a "more socially acceptable" cigarette with less visible smoke and less odor (Ling, 2005). By manipulating certain aspects of their product, tobacco corporations made their cigarettes more attractive to smokers who had doubts about the safety of nicotine and more comforting to nonsmokers who worried about the effects of secondhand smoke.

### 3.7 Holiday/Seasonal (HOL)



**Figure 5. Image from page 7 of the Pitt News displaying a Chesterfield Advertisement circulated on December 5, 1955**

This promotional advertisement plays along with the idea of seasonal marketing. As the famous tobacco company, Chesterfield displays “In the Stocking under the Tree,” which fits the Christmas season. As the holidays are a time of sharing gifts, tobacco companies market their products to be notable presents for the family to enjoy. Moreover, they attempt to utilize this time of mass spending to promote their products during the holiday season to gain potential customers and keep regular customers engaged. The seasonal structure of these advertisements creates demands for cigarettes and gifts during the holiday season, which can cause a large increase in sales during certain events or months throughout the year. This type of technique is utilized in our modern time as well, which creates popularity for these products and a sense of anticipation for consumers to see their favorite cigarette brands lowering their prices for the holidays. Radas &

Shugan (1998) explain seasonality in marketing is significant because it may dictate business strategy by promoting products in predictable, seasonable patterns (Radas & Shugan, 1998). Two of the larger divisions present within this dataset include the holiday, typically Christmas, advertisements and the springtime advertisements that were circulated around March-April for each year.

### 3.8 Editorial (EDT)

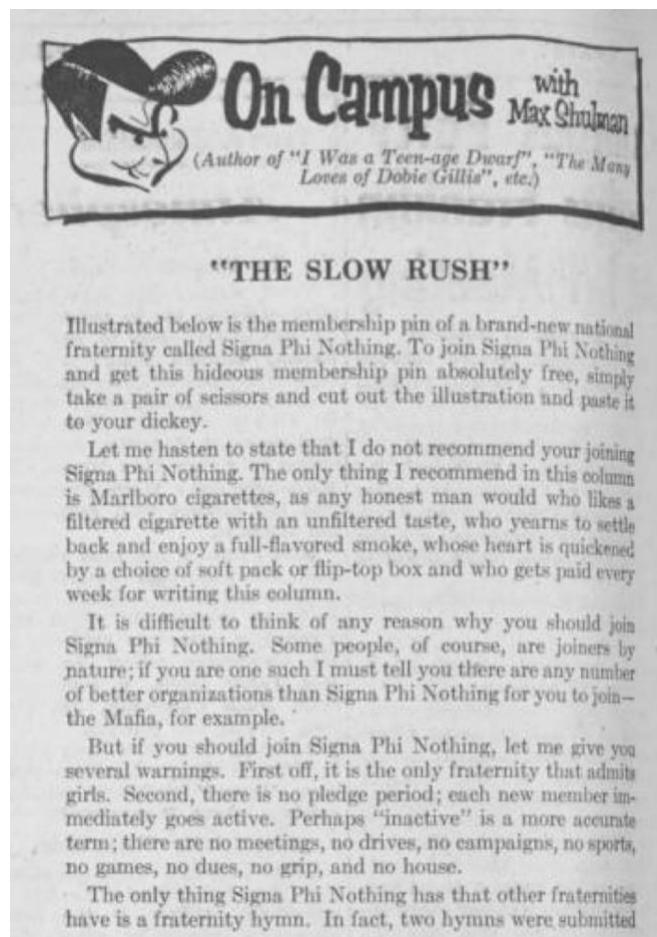


Figure 6. Image from page 2 of the Daily Pennsylvanian presenting a Phillips Morris Advertisement distributed on February 23, 1961

This editorial indirectly circulated by the tobacco company Phillip Morris showcases a unique technique to evade regulations that are considered to ban tobacco marketing in college and university newspapers. Through this technique, Max Shulman, a notable humorist, underlyingly promoted college students to continue utilizing tobacco and nicotine-related products. He mentions that ‘the intelligent should demand the tastiest tobacco flavors,’ illustrating his purpose was to promote pleasure in young Americans by offering them a cigarette. His language showcases that he was a strong supporter of tobacco products, and he continued to convince college students to purchase nicotine products throughout the 20th century. The continuous incorporation of these editorials throughout the *Daily Pennsylvanian* and the *Pitt News* introduced a new approach in advertising even when the ‘traditional’ ads were removed from college newspapers in June 1963. The only tobacco editorials circulated throughout the studied timeframe were the Max Shulman advertisements, so only these specific types of samples were included in this category. This tactic developed by Phillip Morris and Marlboro offers a contingency for these companies as the same message is promoted despite it not being circulated in the regular sense. These advertisements continued to normalize smoking behaviors despite an increase in medical literature and awareness.

### 3.9 Sophistication (SOPH)



Figure 7. Image from page 8 of the Pitt News presenting a Camel Advertisement distributed on September 19, 1955

This advertisement distributed by the tobacco corporation Camel signifies an understanding of sophistication. The college man and woman depicted in this advertisement introduce unique aspirations for the 'college experience' through the representations of going to a football game, talking to your dream girl and being academically independent. This category applies specifically to advertisements that revolve around college students attempting to showcase their adventurous or exciting experiences. This type of ad would cause college students to want to try more exciting activities such as smoking a cigarette, for example. This idea of idealized values and futures of college students presents a window of opportunity for tobacco corporations as they engage a new population of consumers on a more personal level to gain sales and boost profits. Qian et al. (2020) claims that targeting university students in US colleges was a common practice by tobacco corporations through advertisements and promotions that would increase sales (Qian

et al., 2020). Tobacco corporations' decision to target college and university students lead to a massive increase in the sale of tobacco products and cigarettes by unlocking a new consumer base that could fuel these companies' growth. Their specific and targeted designs towards college and high school students creates an idealized reality of going to college. Samples that include prominent college symbols like sports pennants, academic life, and phrases like 'dean's list,' 'fraternities/sororities' and 'college football games' were placed into this category. Other samples that illustrate 'college ideals,' or experiences were placed into this category.

### 3.10 Popularity (POP)

Winston Advertisement: "Winston puts its **Filter-Blend** up front.... fine, flavorful tobaccos, specially processed for filter smoking. There's nothing lop-sided about a Winston. For up for of that famous, pure white, modern filter, Winston's secret **Filter-Blend** works *flavor* wonders in the tobacco end. (After all, if you get short-changed on flavor, aren't you missing the whole idea of smoking?). Winston's exclusive **Filter-Blend** of exceptionally fine, mild tobaccos—specially processed for filter smoking is what distinguishes Winston from all other filter cigarettes. **Filter-Blend** makes Winston taste *good!* America's best-selling filter cigarette."

Images: Man, who is staring at his partner, holding a Winston cigarette box. Meanwhile, his partner is leaning her head on her shoulder, smiling. This image comprises more than 75% of the area of the advertisement.

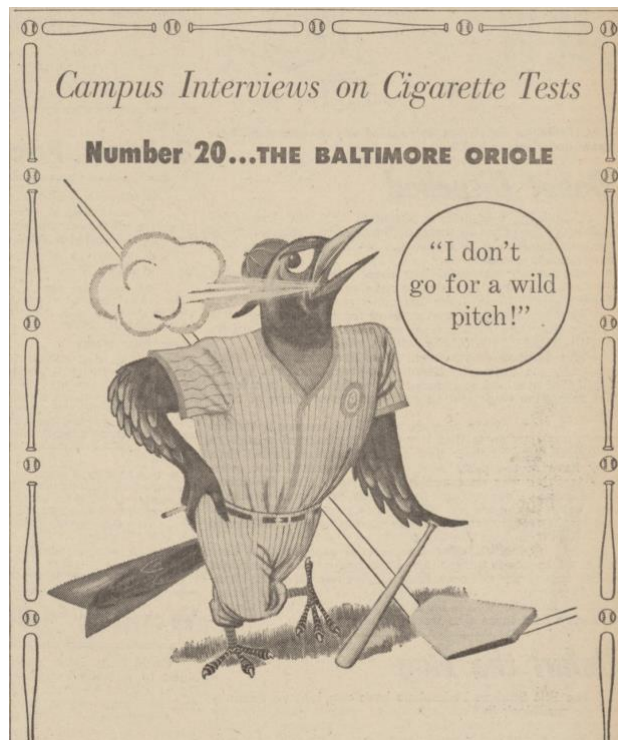
Image description from page 34 of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* presenting a Camel

Advertisement distributed on December 1, 1958

This sample that was circulated by the tobacco corporation Winston, does not display masculinity or femininity inherently. The happiness of the couple may convey an idea of popularity based on the idea of being in a romantic relationship. The psychology and social needs of people to find a partner is an overarchingly convincing technique that has been utilized by a variety of marketers in different corporations. These qualities are similar to Bourdieu's (1986) conceptualization of social capital. He claims social capital is accumulated by individual people in the form of institutionalized relationships. Therefore, people are associated to others through social connections, which can bolster their individualistic advancement or social identity in society (Bourdieu 1986: 21). These social networks result from cultural, economic, and social factors that create a power difference between select individuals and the public. Researchers Xue and Ellzey (2009) depict a more contemporary application of Bourdieu's principles in terms this 'differential power' through advertising strategies. They state that advertisers attempt to connect their product or service to a consumer's most basic psychological needs, which include respect, passion, love, security, and self-esteem (Xue & Ellzey, 2009). Therefore, consumers purchase products, like cigarettes, not only for the tangible use of the material, but the symbolic desire to be in a relationship. Xue and Ellzey mention that people will compare themselves to the idealized images in advertising, leading to decreased life satisfaction (Xue & Ellzey, 2009). Advertisers capitalize on this idea, claiming their product may serve to indirectly bolster self-esteem. The people depicted in this sample are older than college students, so this advertisement would not be eligible to be placed into the Sophistication (SOPH) category because it does not represent college values or experiences. Typically, samples with one man and one woman in a romantic relationship are placed into this category. Therefore, this category consists of, typically, a couple in an idealized

relationship who fabricates a reality were finding a partner to achieve through this brand's cigarettes.

### 3.11 Cartoon (CAR)



**Figure 8. Image from page 3 of the Pitt News presenting a Camel Advertisement distributed on May 11, 1951**

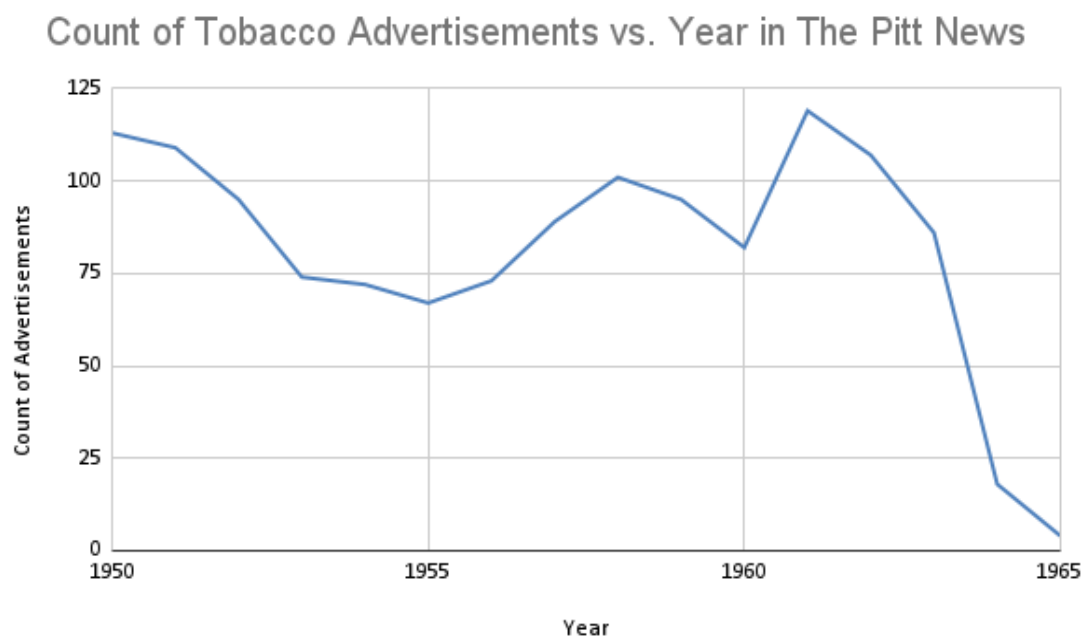
This advertisement distributed by the Camel tobacco corporation reaches a wide array of consumers with different backgrounds through cartoons. Even in our current time, cartoons help emphasize a message that the marketers aim to convey by appealing to the reader's attention, making the visual content more digestible and memorable. Typically, cartoons serve to have a deeper meaning in newspaper outlets, presenting a strong awareness of a certain aspect of a product like the tasteful quality in cigarettes, for example. Vijayakrishnan et al. (2018) believe cartoon

characters are utilized to address “delicate subjects without being aggravating” (Vijayakrishnan, 2018). Samples that include unpractical real-world phenomena, like the Baltimore Oriole playing baseball in this example, were placed into this category to create associations between amusing images and consumer perspectives. These actions or characters conducting in smoking-like behavior are classified in the ‘Cartoon (CAR)’ category to make the product viewable in a fun and interconnected way.

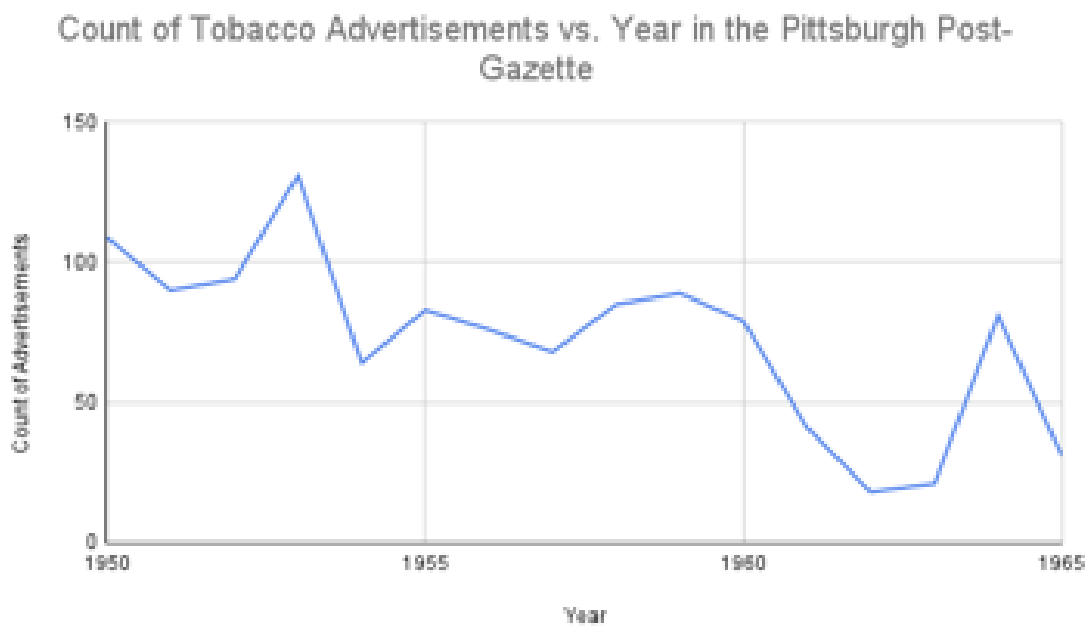
## **4.0 Results & Discussion**

After filtering each of the advertisements and assigning them to their preexisting categories, it is possible to understand which techniques were more popular than others. Calculating the proportion of samples that comprise each technique may also reveal what topics tobacco companies found to be most valuable when targeting a specific demographic or population. However, it should be noted that the internal and external concepts embedded in these advertisements may differ from one researcher to the next depending on the focus, size of text, size of image and background information that may influence which sample was placed into its respective category. Therefore, the categorization of each sample analyzed was based on the principles of the coding scheme and factors that constitute the categories outlined above.

To analyze the general frequency of advertisements per year, a simple line graph was constructed for each of the four newspaper sources to compare how the number of samples varied from the intended timeframe of January 1, 1950, to December 31, 1965. Through these trendlines, the consistency of these tobacco marketers' advertising campaigns may be observed because of the current issues present within society or a tobacco corporation's internal workings within a given year.



**Figure 9. Count of Tobacco Advertisements vs. Year in the Pitt News (N=1304)**



**Figure 10. Count of Tobacco Advertisements vs. Year in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (N=1160)**

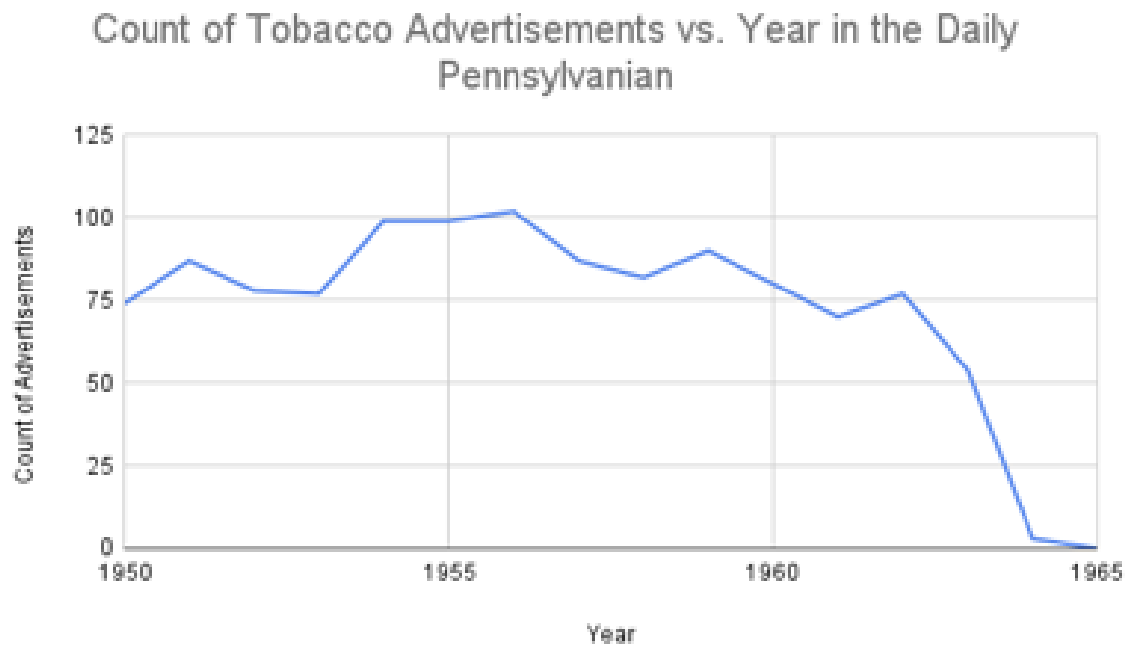


Figure 11. Count of Tobacco Advertisements vs Year in the Daily Pennsylvanian (N=1158)

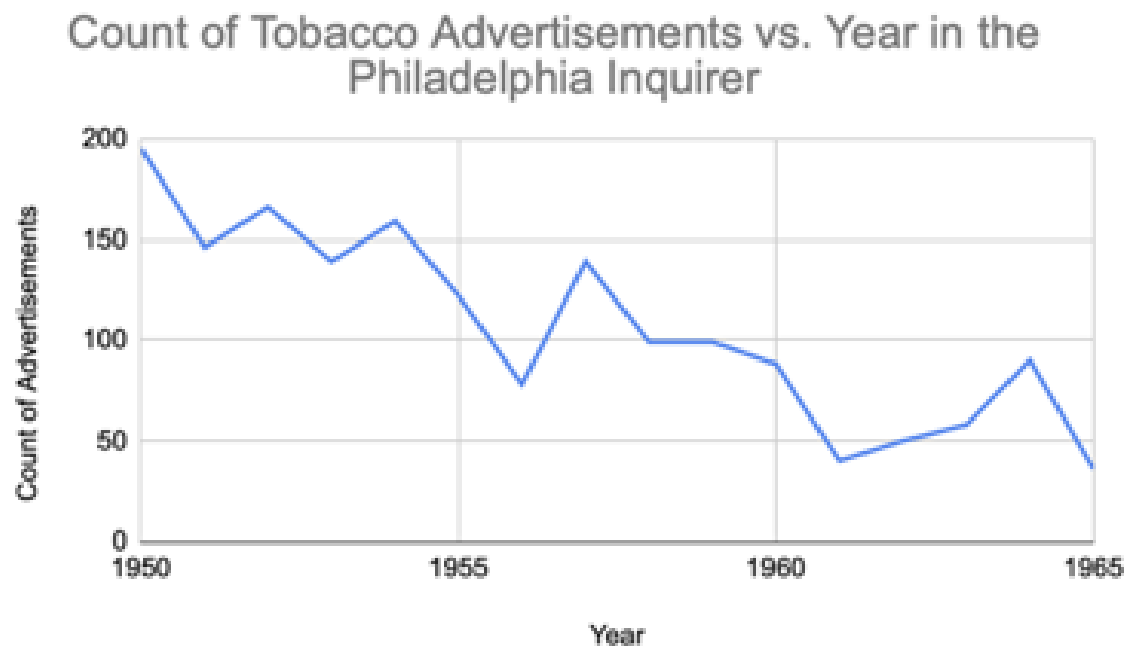
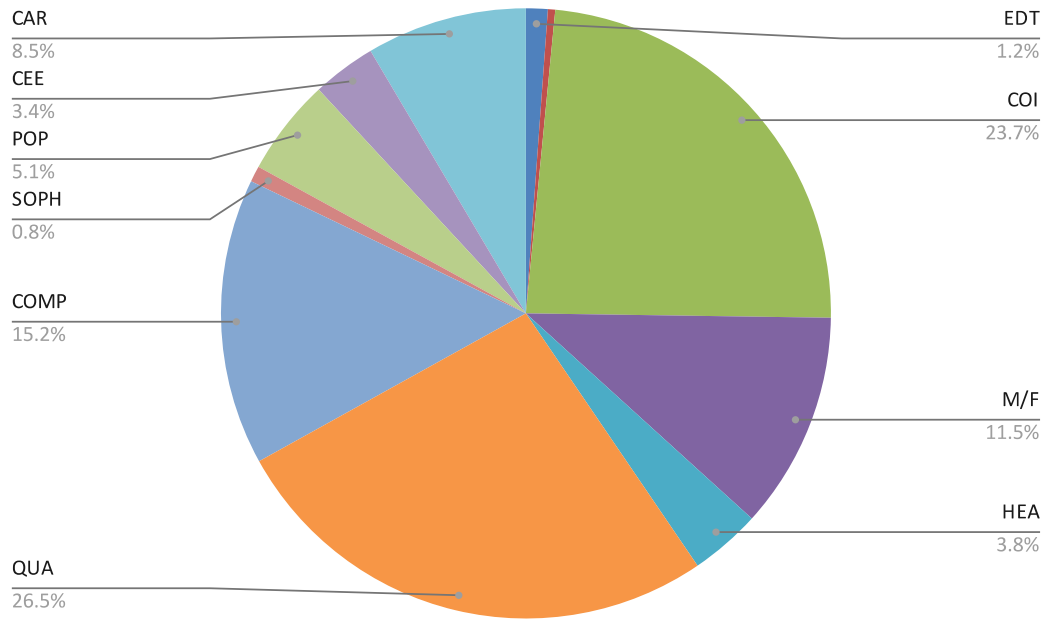


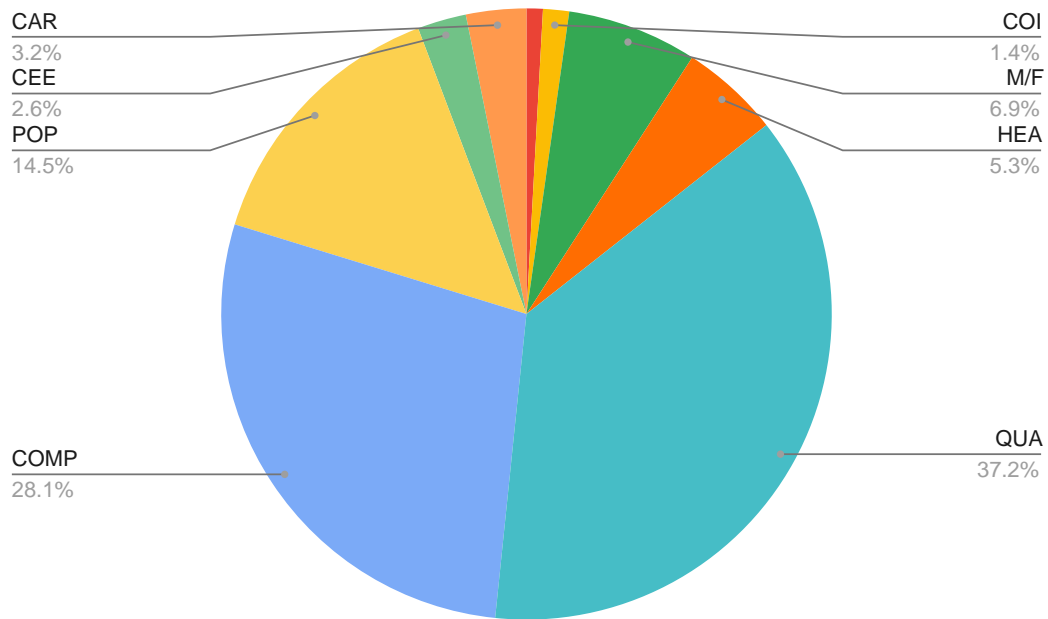
Figure 12. Count of Tobacco Advertisements vs Year in the Philadelphia Inquirer (N=1704)

Although the data (Figures 9-12) appears to have differing frequencies of advertisements each year when compared to each other, the number of samples decreased from the beginning to the end of the investigated timeframe. It should be noted the total amount of advertisements circulated within these newspaper outlets differed from one another. The count of samples in the *Pitt News*, *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, *Daily Pennsylvanian*, and *Philadelphia Inquirer* are 1304, 1160, 1158 and 1704, respectively. It is evident that three of the newspaper outlets—*The Pitt News*, *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* and *The Philadelphia Inquirer*—all had over 100 advertisements at the beginning of study’s timeframe, while the *Daily Pennsylvanian* started with less than 100 advertisements in 1950. By the end of the studied timeframe, all four newspaper outlets had less than 50 advertisements in 1965. In Figures 9 and 11, it is evident that in university newspapers, a major decline in the frequency of advertisements occurred roughly around 1963, as the line graph begins to have a steeper, decreasing slope. In Figures 10 and 12, in city newspapers, there appears to be a notable spike in advertisements around 1963-1964.

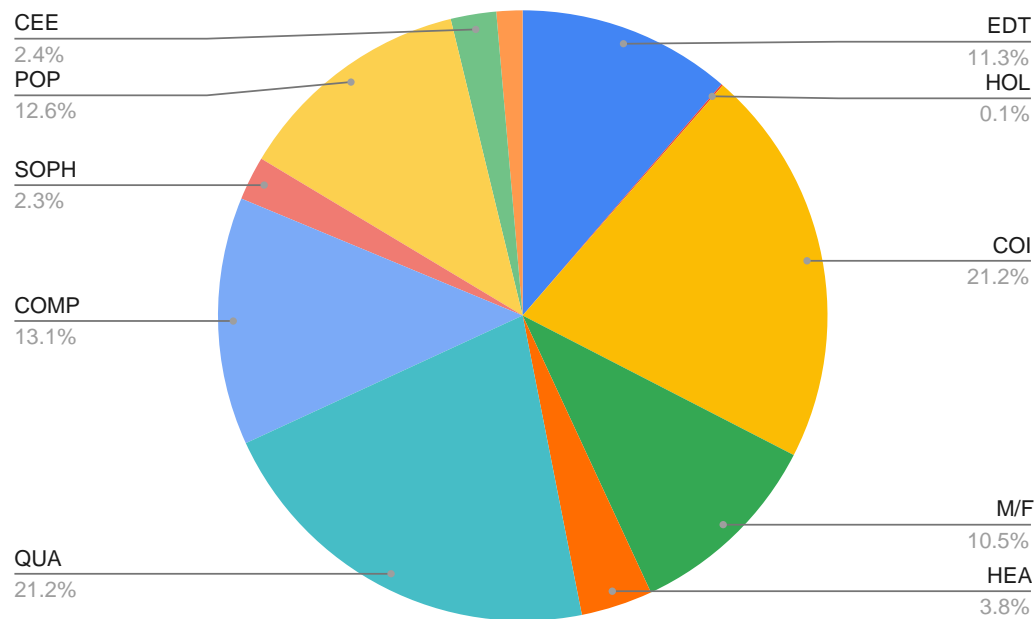
The simple line graphs provide an overarching basis of the dynamics of advertising campaigns present within Pittsburgh and Philadelphia’s most popular newspaper outlets as well as two universities that are present within each of these cities as well. But, to further investigate the types of strategies that played a significant role in gaining potential consumers, the proportion of advertisements that fall within their respective groups were calculated and recorded. The 11 categories outlined in the methodology section served as the basis of the data collection process, and certain key elements and themes present within an advertisement influenced the group it would be placed into.



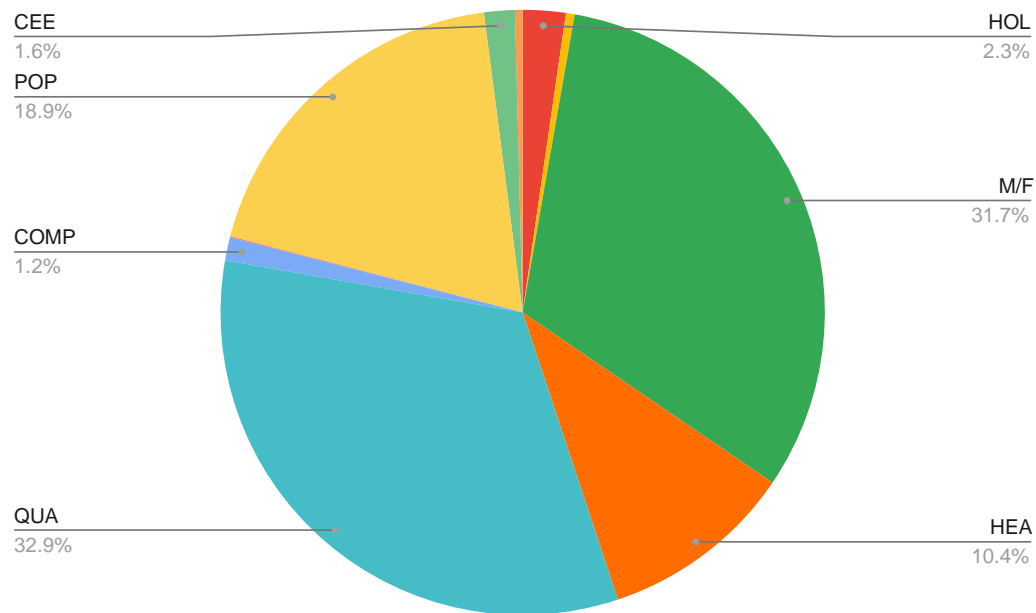
**Figure 13. Proportion of Marketing Strategies of Advertisements in the Pitt News**



**Figure 14. Proportion of Marketing Strategies of Advertisements in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette**



**Figure 15. Proportion of Marketing Strategies of Advertisements in the Daily Pennsylvanian**



**Figure 16. Proportion of Marketing Strategies of Advertisements in the Philadelphia Inquirer**

The pie charts above (Figures 13-16) depict the proportion of advertisements that fall within a respective category out of the total advertisements recorded present within a newspaper outlet. To start, the quality category (QUA) comprises the highest proportion of advertisements within each of the newspaper outlets. The data characterizes that the percentages of quality-focused samples in the *Pitt News*, *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, *Daily Pennsylvanian*, and *Philadelphia Inquirer* are 26.5%, 37.2%, 21.2% and 32.9%, respectively. It appears that advertisers focus on the quality of their product to satisfy customer needs to retain their brand loyalty among their consumers. A productive and influential marketing strategy that is geared towards the mere essence of the product is the most effective and transparent technique that customers find valuable.

In terms of the second highest category, tobacco companies, who advertised in these four newspaper outlets, focused on different strategies and proportion of these techniques on their respective demographics. Figure 13 presents the College Involvement/Involvement (COI) category to be the second highest percentage of advertisements as 23.7% in the *Pitt News*. This concept is also clear within Figure 15, as the *Daily Pennsylvanian*'s second highest category is also College Involvement/Involvement with the percentage being 21.2%. A corporation's ability to engage college students and young adults, for example, constructs a positive reputation that is built on trust. Tobacco corporations focused consumer participation to drive tobacco product sales in university newspapers.

Figure 14 shows that the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*'s second highest category is competition (COMP) between brands with a percentage of 28.1%. In our modern time, advertisements that are tailored towards directly competing values and products with another company are rare. However, throughout much of the 20th century, competition-based advertisements gave consumers another upfront piece of information when considering which

leading cigarette brand to purchase and engage with. Through competition, corporations can efficiently update or transform their business model to be a vital and significant member of the consumer market, while actively attempting to undercut the competition. These continuous developments continue to offer consumers another factor to ponder when choosing a cigarette from a specific brand. These companies attempted to outcompete other brands through strong, and convincing advertising campaigns that challenge other cigarette companies.

Figure 16 presents that the *Philadelphia Inquirer's* second highest category is masculinity/femininity (M/F) with the percentage being 31.7%. Through these types of advertisements, both adolescents and adults obtain an inclination that plays upon the idea that tobacco products are grounded in the stereotypical perception of masculinity and femininity. In the mid-20th century, certain elements in men such as a rugged perception tied with independent and masculine ideas constructs an image that causes an unconscious response regarding what the role and perception of man should be. This perception of toughness correlated with cigarettes, for instance, gives the impression that women would find men who smoke cigarettes as attractive and desirable. In the mid-20th century, elements in females like the connotation of beauty and kindness essentializes traditional gender divisions. Cigarette marketers took advantage of this idea to present their products as a means for enhancing social capital in society.

The results of this study reveal important legislation, trends, and internal workings of tobacco corporations through a historical basis and a contemporary one. When observing the line graphs, although the trendlines of each of the four newspaper outlets differ from one another, there are certain legislative actions that can explain common trends. For instance, within the University of Pittsburgh and University of Pennsylvania's school newspapers (Figures 9 & 11), the count of tobacco advertisements remains to be relatively steady from the beginning of the

study, January 1950, to around mid-1963. Roughly within the middle of this timeframe, a 1956 national sales meeting of American Tobacco representatives reveals the authentic intentions of tobacco marketers. These representatives claimed that tobacco companies' sampling programs on colleges and universities' campuses were an "excellent investment" (Apollonio & Glantz, 2016). The trendline for the *Pitt News* (Figure 9) displays that the count of advertisements increases from 1956 before decreasing in 1958. Conversely, the trendline for the *Daily Pennsylvania* (Figure 11) displays the count of advertisements holding steady from 1956 to 1957, and then decreases in 1958. There are multiple factors that may influence why these two frequencies differ such as university population size, urban city demographics and marketing intentions of tobacco advertisers. One factor that Leonard (2004) cites is that tobacco marketers have targeted blue-collar workers for decades at a higher rate than white-collar workers and universities (Leonard, 2004). Therefore, one possible explanation regarding why the count of advertisements in the *Daily Pennsylvanian* does not resemble that of the *Pitt News* is based on tobacco marketers targeting blue-collar universities like the University of Pittsburgh more than affluent Ivy League institutions. Tobacco marketers' tendency to market to people of low socioeconomic status is notably commonplace in our society today. The CDC mentions that cigarette smoking has disproportionately affected people with low socioeconomic status—through a historical and contemporary viewpoint (Anon, 2019). There typically are a higher density of tobacco retailers and advertisements present in low-income neighborhoods, as these corporations have targeted these populations with direct-mail coupons, discount coupons and point-of-sale discounts (Anon, 2019).

In the latter half of the timeframe of study, it is evident that the count of advertisements greatly decreases in the university newspapers (Figures 9 & 11) in mid-1963. The Cigarette

Advertising Code of 1964 is one of the primary reasons leading to the major decline in the frequency of these samples. Richards et al. (1996) cites that the public's increasing scrutiny towards tobacco companies led to a massive retraction of their advertising campaigns in college and university newspapers. He states that these advertisements were criticized based on the groundless health claims while actively deceiving the public into believing that "they could smoke without endangering their health" (Richards et al., 1996:297). The tobacco industry attempted to devalue authentic medical reports and continued to encourage teenagers and young adults ignited a realization of distrust among the public spheres. Based on the frequencies of advertisements, each newspaper outlet started with approximately 100 advertisements in January 1950 to nearly less than 10 advertisements by December 1965.

Within the urban environment newspapers (Figures 10 & 12), the line graphs appear to gradually decrease from 1950 to 1959. There are a multitude of factors that may explain this decrease in advertising from a political and business point-of-view. However, increasing health literature regarding the dangerous consequences of smoking may be one of the more pertinent driving factors that has created restrictions on these advertising campaigns. In fact, this industry's response to health concerns from consumers were tied to public health messages as both the content and frequency of the advertisements became more health-focused and lesser in count, respectively. When inspecting the simple line graphs of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* and *Philadelphian Inquirer*, it is also clear that there appears to be a drastic decline in advertisements from 1958 to 1963. Within *Reducing Tobacco Use*, the Surgeon General of the United States and his researchers mention that the Consumers Union, a highly influential nonprofit organization that provided consumers with information and advice on consumer issues, shifted their focus to the threatening consequences of smoking (Baker, 2000:39). In 1954, this organization produced

and circulated vague data regarding its advice to smokers as the medical literature was still being understood and contested in American society. In fact, the Cancer and Tobacco Committee within the American Cancer Society (ACS) adopted a resolution that recognized the correlation between smoking and lung cancer; however, the board of directors did not consider this association to be casual, which tobacco corporations capitalized on to spread disinformation campaigns (Baker, 2000:39). Nevertheless, by 1958, the Consumers Union completely acknowledged the negative health complications of smoking cigarettes, and distributed reports regarding their concerns with the practicality of filters in nicotine-dispensing products. The authentic medical reports reveal the true dangers of smoking, and the Consumers Union advised people and smokers “to cut out or cut down” on these products (Baker, 2000:39). The credibility and authority of the Consumers Union, among numerous other nonprofit organizations, may have contributed to further pressure legislators to push back on Big Tobacco, causing a decrease in the advertisements circulated. Lastly, both the trendlines (Figures 10 & 12) appear to have a notable spike during 1964 before subsequently decreasing in 1965. One possible explanation regarding this phenomenon may be the idea that the US Surgeon General published a smoking report in 1964. With the evidence of more than 7000 reports, scientific articles, and research regarding the correlation between smoking and lung cancer, the Advisory committee concluded that smoking was a probable cause of lung cancer in men and women (Anon, 2021). This report aimed to diminish the impact of tobacco use on the American people’s health by taking the appropriate steps to regulate Big Tobacco. Perhaps tobacco corporations aimed to distribute as many advertisements as possible before their business model and products would be drastically altered based on the regulations and principles of the U.S. government. Eventually, “the United States Congress adopted the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act of 1965 and the

Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act of 1969” (Anon, 2021). These two pieces of legislation systematically banned advertising in broadcasting media, called for a yearly report on the consequences of smoking, and required a health warning on every box of cigarettes. Also, these new regulations may explain why the number of advertisements decrease once again after 1964 in Figures 10 & 12.

The proportions of each subject theme may provide further evidence regarding what types of strategies and techniques tobacco corporations regularly distributed based on their influence and accessibility to specific demographics present within each urban environment and each university newspaper. Within all the pie charts (Figures 13-16), it is evident that the Quality (QUA) category appears to comprise the majority of the advertisements within the timeframe of study. Marketing the quality of a product is a significant and commonplace strategy in our contemporary era. Razak (2016) mentions that “better product quality” can cause an “increase in consumer value” (Razak, 2016). He continues to mention that if the product quality is in order with its general expectation based on the customer’s point-of-view, the consumer will feel content with his or her purchase based on several indicators. Factors that may define the perceived quality are the aesthetics, compliance, durability, service ability, performance, features, and reliability (Razak, 2016). Similarly, in the context of cigarettes and other nicotine-related products, tobacco marketers aimed not only to produce and circulate a quality product, but also a comprehensive branding on the packaging of their product to promote the brand and company. Brand packaging and quality advertisements both aimed to communicate the product characteristics that their consumers considered valuable. When restrictions on advertisements became too cumbersome for the tobacco industry, many tobacco marketers utilized brand packaging to promote the product and serve as a key factor in the customer decision making

process (“High Court of Australia Transcripts,” 2012). Through this approach, tobacco marketers were able to continue advertising the flavorful and ‘great tasting’ nature of cigarettes. Also, when increasing health literature became apparent, phrases like ‘less irritable’ and ‘low nicotine’ contributed to sell these products a steady rate despite the damaging medical reports. Quality serves to be an overarching technique based on the ease of designing and circulating these advertisements in a high quantity per year to engage consumers on every level.

The College Involvement/Involvement (COI) category served as the second highest proportion of advertisements within the *Pitt News* and *Daily Pennsylvanian* (Figures 13 & 15). Within our current period, it is evident that involving consumers, especially youth populations, is a dynamic and innovative technique to gain customers and boost sales. Te’eni-Harari et al. (2009) explain that involvement into a product or company typically creates a “personal significance that the individual ascribes to the natures of the object” (Te’eni-Harari et al., 2009). Meaning, individuals’ involvement with any type of corporation or industry may positively and indirectly cause them to perceive an association between their participation in a company-mediated event or activity and the product or service the company primarily offers its customers. Te’eni-Harari et al. continues to mention that a child’s media environment serves as a reinforcing factor that makes a notable influence within a child’s life. Therefore, when children believe the product to be more meaningful and relevant within their experiences, their attitudes towards the company are influenced (Te’eni-Harari et al., 2009). In other words, a child’s participation in a company-mediated event, promotion, survey, or activity further “reinforces the status of the product and brand” (Te’eni-Harari et al., 2009). Tobacco advertisers took advantage of this idea, framing involvement-based advertisements on college campuses to be inclusive in the daily life of a mid-20<sup>th</sup> century university student. Tobacco marketers aimed to engage and involve an

entirely new demographic to interest a wide variety of people to purchase cigarettes and other nicotine-related products. Qian (2020) explains that numerous tobacco corporations like The American Tobacco Company, Philip Morris, and RJ Reynolds all utilized their own college campus marketing programs because “they’re young and if we sell them [college students], we have customer[s] for a long time” (Qian, 2020). Involving college students and cohorts of younger populations into tobacco company-sponsored events creates a potential for inciting interest within an entire untapped marketplace. The ability to gain more revenue and sell more products is one of the primary reasons tobacco marketers aimed to embrace college students into these promotions.

The Competition (COMP) category serves as the second highest proportion of advertisements within the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (Figure 14). This strategy creates a sense of uniqueness that other leading brands cannot fulfill to their consumers. In an era when each American had increased purchasing power, it is evident that tobacco companies typically competed for a larger share of the consumer market in Pittsburgh, advertising aspects of their products that other companies cannot offer their consumers. Competitive marketplaces create a dynamic environment in which one corporation attempts to undercut another one, and it is evident that tobacco corporations aimed to not only reach out to different demographics for the best chance of success, but also compete against other leading brands to sell more products. Erickson (1985) mentions that competitive markets attempt to increase shares of one corporation at “the expense of competing brands” (Erikson, 1985). Meaning, competitors in a marketplace, where two companies are selling similar or identical products, focus on offering engaging and new characteristics to outcompete other brands. These constant refinements cause alterations in the “market share and product performance for the individual competing brands” (Erikson,

1985). Within the *Pittsburgh-Post Gazette*, perhaps tobacco corporations experienced stiff competition within this urban environment, which may have incited an increase in the count of competition-based advertisements within this timeframe of study.

The Masculinity/Femininity (M/F) category serves as the second highest proportion of advertisements within the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (Figure 16). This type of marketing strategy pertains to portraying representations of gender based on cultural perspectives and norms. The tobacco companies that circulated in their advertisements in Philadelphia presumed what ideas or concepts characterized masculinity and femininity based on the public's perception. Lorna Stevens and Jacob Ostberg depict gendered images in advertising as a representation of "men and women which are stereotypical, and these stereotypes give us an implicit assumption of how men and women really are" (Stevens & Ostberg, 2011:392). Typically, these types of advertisements aimed to provide images by which people defined masculinity and femininity. Tobacco advertisers capitalized on the social and cultural interpretations of gender norms to develop marketing campaigns that presented consumers with an awareness regarding Western society's idea of gender portrayals. Stevens & Ostberg mention that advertisements can "reflect, sustain, challenge or even subvert predominant cultural values of society" (Stevens & Ostberg, 2011:393). Tobacco marketers relied on cultural values, language and imagery that complement the traditional values of masculinity and femininity in Philadelphia.

## 5.0 Case Study: Editorials of Philip Morris and Marlboro Cigarettes

Within the *Pitt News* and *Daily Pennsylvanian* post-1963, the number of cigarette and tobacco advertisements greatly declined due to tobacco corporations' decision to retract their promotions in college university newspapers throughout the United States. These editorials written by Max Shulman, a notable humorist and writer in the mid-20th century, took a different perspective to continue the drive of boosting cigarette and tobacco sales when traditional advertisements were no longer feasible in a revolving society that prioritized health over pleasure. Although the specific proportion of editorials in the *Pitt News* and *Daily Pennsylvanian* were only 1.2% and 11.3% in their respective newspaper outlets, this unique type of marketing technique reinforces the drive and enthusiasm for these products despite health leaders' concerns. Editorials circulated by Phillip Morris and Marlboro were a revolutionary technique that evaded the normal regulations of banning advertisements in these newspapers. The specific and detailed language of Shulman's messages continued to spread the benefits of smoking and utilizing nicotine-related products. For example, Figure 6 reveals that Shulman "recommend[s] the Marlboro cigarettes, as any honest man would who likes a filtered cigarette with an unfiltered taste, who yearns to settle back and enjoy a full-flavored smoke, whose heart is quickened by a choice of soft pack or flip-top box." From this sample, the general structure of his editorial, as well as other editorials he has circulated, is to first engage college students by introducing a topic in the college or academic sphere like "Sigma Phi Nothing." Then, he wedges a promotional or positive message regarding the refreshing nature of Marlboro or Phillip Morris cigarettes. Lastly, he returns to the topic of discussion to reengage his audience, while indirectly embedding the idea of smoking into general college life.

These types of advertisements were not limited to colleges and universities in Pennsylvania. Max Shulman's influence was widespread throughout the United States. Excerpts were present in Rice University's student newspaper to Boston College's student newspaper (Anon, 1961). These promotions comprised most of the advertisements after 1963, emphasizing that these brands continued to have a recurring influence in the late-20th century United States. Although these types of promotions may not create an implicit or unconscious feeling that provides a consumer with an inclination to buy tobacco products at the same level as traditional advertisements, this direct strategy still provides another factor to consider in an age when cigarette products were still vastly popular despite increasing medical evidence.

In fact, when medical scientists published recurring evidence regarding the carcinogenic and dangerous effects of smoking in the 1950s, tobacco companies considered this information as a threat to their industry and production. Gardner & Brandt (2011) mention that as the public grew to become aware of these findings, tobacco corporations worked together to devise a joint strategy to assure the popularity and demand for these products would not diminish (Gardener & Brandt, 2006). The Max Shulman advertisements were essential in creating doubt in the expert testimonies of health care professionals. These advertisements, coupled with other health-targeted messages, played a significant role in maintaining tobacco products' popularity as criticism and doubt aimed to decrease it. This support for tobacco corporations and for their products continued to normalize smoking behavior despite the apparent dangers.

## **6.0 Conclusion**

The results of this project reinforce the idea that smoking cigarettes and consuming nicotine related products were not just considered as the norm, but an accepted culture throughout the United States. Large tobacco corporations deliberately aimed to draw college students and the people of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia to purchase their products. The exposure of cigarette marketing to, particularly, youth populations reinforce the concept that these products will augment one's self-image in society and the perceptions of popularity that he or she attempted to obtain within a respective community. Through an examination of the tobacco advertisements within these newspaper outlets, there appears to be a strong connection with the topics or strategies that Big Tobacco utilized to the identifiable and authentic needs of customers. The appeal towards adolescent peer acceptance, stress relief, and relationships expresses the idea that tobacco corporations, essentially, marketed a method for people to enhance one's social capital like confidence or ambition to achieve their individualistic goals in both direct and indirect ways. Tobacco corporations observed 'the demand' for improving one's self-image and customized thought-provoking promotions to build a consistent, coherent consumer base. The variety of subject themes presented convincing appeals to allure a wide range of customers who had diverse personalities, needs and expectations.

An individual's desire to augment his or her social capital in society is a concept that tobacco marketers took advantage of when designing embedded messages within their advertisements. Social capital provides people with the mobility to advance in their respective communities, leading to power differential between one person or group of people to a larger community. However, forms of social identity throughout the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century do not resemble,

in its entirety, those of our current era. Tobacco advertisers utilized subject themes that are archaic to contemporary cigarette advertisements based on the social norms present throughout this specific timeframe in American history. Specifically, the Competition category (COMP) is not readily observable in our current period. Marketers today have focused on outcompeting the competition through an indirect approach rather than a direct one. Also, the Masculinity/Femininity (M/F) advertisements are also outdated compared to today's social construction of gender norms. Tobacco marketers in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century relied on traditional aspects of the public's interpretation what a man and woman should act like in society. Although there are similarities between these ideas today, there is a much more fluid basis regarding society's understanding of masculinity and femininity in our current period. Lastly, the Health (HEA) advertisements, in respective to tobacco products, have become void as the medical literature of cigarette smoke is extensive in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Health advertisements were popular during a period when the first published medical reports were contested. Tobacco marketers exploited the unexplored and disputable nature of this evidence, mobilizing an advertising task force to combat scientific evidence through disinformation campaigns.

The mixed qualitative and quantitative methodology, specifically the qualitative data analysis through visible methods, has served as a valuable approach throughout this project. In conjunction with the concept of analytic induction, this methodology provides a concrete and recursive approach to comprehending the intent of specific marketing strategies. Also, this technique is highly iterative when formulating the criteria for each category. Although this methodology is the most appropriate approach when analyzing this specific dataset, some disadvantages include slight deviations in the categorization process of the subject themes. Potential misplacement of an advertisement may be a result of connoting or denoting an image to

varying degrees. Nevertheless, the margin of error of misclassifying a sample is small, as the basis of the categories were constructed based on the coding scheme. Perhaps an investigation of more sample advertisements would continue to refine the criteria and definition of each of the categories constructed. Therefore, expanding the timeframe of study of this project or analyzing advertisements present within other newspaper outlets would provide a more detailed understanding of the strategies of tobacco advertisers. Also, comparing the advertisement subject themes in different universities and cities across the United States may depict whether tobacco corporations tailored their strategies to different populations, socioeconomic classes, demographics, or genders based on the ideas, attractions, or traditions that are well-known in locations outside of Pennsylvania.

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