'Marlboro Country' fit these desires, this search people were going through.'' ''Something young people could trust.''A candid appraisal of the purpose of the Marlboro theme was provided by the marketing director with Philip Morris in Argentina, ''Marlboro magic people using things with [the] Marlboro logo * * * was projected to other products around it and when those kids who were playing with Marlboro merchandise 5 to 10 years ago—when they start smoking they'll smoke Marlboro.'' ¹²⁶

With regard to smokeless tobacco products, the U.S. Tobacco Company (UST) successfully revived a declining market by targeting young people, especially young men, in its promotion and advertising. In 1970, the segment of the population with the highest use of these products was men over age 50, and young males were among the lowest. Fifteen years later, there had been a 10-fold increase in the use of smokeless tobacco products among young males, whose use was double that of men over age 50.¹²⁷

The increased use of smokeless tobacco products by young people was precisely the objective of a marketing strategy of UST set in motion almost 30 years ago. In 1968, officials at UST held a marketing meeting where, according to the "Wall Street Journal," the vicepresident for marketing said, "We must sell the use of tobacco in the mouth and appeal to young people * * * we hope to start a fad." ¹²⁸ Another official who attended the meeting was quoted as saying, "We were looking for new users—younger people who, by reputation, wouldn't try the old products." 129 When a rival company developed a smokeless tobacco product that 9-year-old children began using, a UST regional sales manager reported to UST's national sales manager that the product was mostly used by children and young adults "from 9 years old and up" and noted that this age was "four or five years earlier than we have reached them in the past." 130

Responding to a question years later about why so many young males were buying smokeless tobacco, Louis F. Bantle, then chairman of the board of UST said, "I think there are a lot of reasons, with one of them being that it is very 'macho'." 131 Playing to this "macho" perception of smokeless tobacco by young males, advertisements for smokeless tobacco products have traditionally used a rugged, masculine image and have been promoted by wellknown professional athletes. UST's successful penetration into the youth market is indicated in a statement by Mr. Bantle: "In Texas today, a kid

wouldn't dare to go to school, even if he doesn't use the product, without a can in his Levis'." ¹³²

UST distributes free samples of low nicotine-delivery brands of moist snuff and instructs its representatives not to distribute free samples of higher nicotine-delivery brands. The low nicotine-delivery brands also have a disproportionate share of advertising relative to their market share. For example, in 1983, Skoal Bandits, a starter brand, accounted for 47 percent of UST's advertising dollars, but accounted for only $\bar{2}$ percent of the market share by weight. In contrast, Copenhagen, the highest nicotinedelivery brand, had only 1 percent of the advertising expenditures, but 50 percent of the market share. This advertising focus is indicative of UST's "graduation process" of starting new smokeless tobacco product users on low nicotine-delivery brands and having them graduate to higher nicotinedelivery brands as a method for recruiting new, younger users.133

Tobacco companies deny any youthdirected advertising and promotion activities.¹³⁴ Moreover, the industry claims that advertising plays no role in a person's decision to start smoking; that tobacco advertising is designed solely to capture brand share from competitors and maintain product loyalty. The industry further claims that the tobacco market is a "mature" market in which awareness of the product is universal and overall demand is either stable or declining.¹³⁵ In a mature market, the industry contends, advertising functions to merely shift customers from one brand to another, but does not act as a stimulus to new customers to enter the market.

One purpose of cigarette advertising may be to encourage or discourage brand switching among current tobacco users. Some experts believe, however, that this same advertising encourages new consumers to begin using these products.136 Tobacco advertising, promotion, and marketing, on which the industry spends over \$6 billion each year, may serve both purposes largely out of market necessity. Market expansion, in the sense of new customers entering the market, must occur to maintain total tobacco sales and avoid a significant market decline. "[T]he cigarette industry has been artfully maintaining that cigarette advertising has nothing to do with total sales * * * [T]his is complete and utter nonsense. The industry knows it is nonsense," wrote a former cigarette advertising executive.137

Evidence indicates that acquiring a portion of the "starter" market,

overwhelmingly people in their teens, is regarded by the industry as essential to a company's continuing economic viability. One document acquired from Imperial Tobacco Limited (ITL) of Canada, a sister company of the Brown & Williamson Company in the United States, states:

If the last ten years have taught us anything, it is that the industry is dominated by the companies who respond most effectively to the needs of younger smokers." $^{\prime\prime}$ 138

To further this goal, ITL hired a consulting research company to investigate attitudes about smoking among people aged 15 years and older. The purpose of the research, i.e., how best to recruit new smokers, is indicated in the following statement:

It is no exaggeration to suggest that the tobacco industry is under siege. The smoker base is declining, primarily as a function of successful quitting. And the characteristics of new smokers are changing such that the future starting level may be in question.¹³⁹

Similar attitudinal research was done for R.J.R.-MacDonald, Inc., the Canadian subsidiary of R.J. Reynolds.¹⁴⁰ A report entitled YOUTH 1987 closely examined the lifestyles and value systems of "young men and women in the 15–24 age range." The report said the research would:

provide marketers and policymakers with an enriched understanding of the mores and motives of this important emerging adult segment which can be applied to better decision making in regard to products and programs directed at youth.¹⁴¹

A similar research objective was described in a 1969 research paper presented to the Philip Morris Board of Directors.¹⁴² The paper stated that one of its objectives was to probe "[w]hy do 70 million Americans * * * smoke despite parental admonition, doctors" warnings, governmental taxes, and health agency propaganda?" ¹⁴³ The paper continues:

There is general agreement on the answer to the first [question—why does one begin to smoke.] The 16 to 20-year old begins smoking for psychosocial reasons. The act of smoking is symbolic; it signifies adulthood, he smokes to enhance his image in the eyes of his peers.¹⁴⁴

Cigarette manufacturers are also aware of the difficulties young people encounter when they try to quit smoking. Studies prepared for a Canadian affiliate of a U.S. cigarette company state:

However intriguing smoking was at 11, 12, or 13, by the age of 16 or 17 many regretted their use of cigarettes for health reasons and because they feel unable to stop smoking when they want to.¹⁴⁵