Another document declares:

[T]he desire to quit seems to come earlier now than before, even prior to the end of high school. In fact, it often seems to take hold as soon as the recent starter admits to himself that he is hooked on smoking. However, the desire to quit, and actually carrying it out, are two quite different things, as the would-be quitter soon learns. 146

Thus, these documents and reports suggest that cigarette manufacturers know that young people are vital to their markets and that they need to develop advertising and other promotional activities that appeal to young people. They also suggest that cigarette manufacturers know that once those young people become regular smokers, that they, like adult smokers, find quitting smoking to be very difficult, and most young people fail in their attempts to quit.

4. Empirical Research on the Effects of Cigarette Advertising Activities on Young People

The 1994 Surgeon General's Report concluded that "[a] substantial and growing body of scientific literature has reported on young people's awareness of, and attitudes about, cigarette advertising and promotional activities." The report also found that "[c]onsidered together, these studies offer a compelling argument for the mediated relationship of cigarette advertising and adolescent smoking." 147 The Surgeon General's Report and the Institute of Medicine's report 148 find that there is sufficient evidence to conclude that advertising and labeling play a significant and important contributory role in a young person's decision to use cigarettes or smokeless tobacco products.

a. Studies of advertising recall, approval of advertising, and young people's response to advertising. Many studies have shown that young people are aware of, respond favorably to, and are influenced by cigarette advertising.149 Even relatively young children are aware of cigarette advertisements and can recall salient portions. A recent Gallup survey found that 87 percent of adolescents surveyed could recall seeing one or more tobacco advertisements and that half could identify the brand name associated with one of four popular cigarette slogans. 150 One study found that over 34 percent of 12- to 13-year-old California children surveyed could name a brand of cigarettes that was advertised, despite the fact that Federal law bans cigarette and smokeless tobacco product advertising on both radio and television, the usual medium of information for children and adolescents. 151

Other studies show that children who smoke are more likely to correctly identify cigarette advertisements and slogans in which the product names have been removed than are nonsmokers. ¹⁵² One study surveyed a group of U.S. high school students and found a positive relationship between smoking level and cigarette advertisement recognition. Regular smokers recognized 61.6 percent of the tobacco advertisements while non-smokers recognized 33.2 percent. ¹⁵³

Another study measured cigarette advertising exposure among adolescents by determining which magazines they read and the number of cigarette advertisements in each magazine. The study found that two factors, advertising exposure and whether a friend or friends smoked, were predictive of smoking status or intention to smoke. The authors contended that the findings are consistent with the theory that cigarette advertising successfully represents, through attractive imagery, that smoking is a facilitator for acquiring a desired characteristic or goal. 154

These studies raised the question of whether smoking causes a person to recognize advertisements or whether a person's exposure to or recognition of advertisements leads to smoking or increases the likelihood that a person will smoke. One study designed specifically to address this issue 155 showed that causality flowed in both directions: experimentation with cigarettes prompted subjects to attend to and retain information from cigarette advertisements (smoking status determined whether the child attended to advertising) and the amount of information retained by each subject from cigarette advertisements predicted the subjects' experimentation with cigarettes (causality).156

Another study attempted to address the issue of causality by questioning Glasgow school children at two different times, 1 year apart. The study asked 640 Glasgow children between the ages of 11 and 14 about their intention to smoke and their recognition of cigarette advertising. Children who were more inclined to smoke between the time when the two interviews were conducted tended to be more aware of cigarette advertising at the first interview than children who were less inclined to smoke. The study concluded that cigarette advertising has predisposing, as well as reinforcing, effects on children's attitudes towards smoking and their smoking intentions. 157

Other studies relating children's misperceptions about the prevalence of smoking to advertising exposure and

smoking status have found that overestimating smoking prevalence appears to be a very strong predictor of smoking initiation and progression to regular smoking. 158 The 1994 Surgeon General's Report found that young people overestimate the prevalence of cigarette smoking 159 and that advertising's pervasiveness plays a role in this misconception. One unpublished study cited in the Surgeon General's Report supports this finding. The study found that children in Los Angeles (where cigarette advertising and promotional campaigns are prevalent) were nearly three times more likely to overestimate the prevalence of peer smoking than were children in Helsinki, Finland (where there has been a total ban on advertising since 1978).¹⁶⁰ Moreover, adolescent smokers are more likely to overestimate the prevalence than adolescent non-smokers. 161 Overestimating smoking prevalence, as well as self-reported exposure to advertising, have both been positively correlated with the intention to smoke.162

Additional evidence indicates that children smoke many fewer brands than adults and that their choices, unlike adults, are directly related to the amount and kind of advertising. 163 CDC recently reported that 86 percent of underage smokers who purchase their own cigarettes purchase one of three brands: Marlboro (60 percent), Camel (13.3 percent) and Newport (12.7 percent).¹⁶⁴ These three brands were also the three most heavily advertised brands in 1993. 165 While Marlboro has long been the most popular brand among young people, Camel's share of the youth market increased from around 3 percent to 13.3 percent as a result of the invigorated Joe Camel campaign.

Adult preferences, on the other hand, are more dispersed. The three most commonly purchased brands among all smokers (as measured by market share) accounted for only 35 percent of the overall market share. (Camel had approximately 4 percent of the market and its market share did not change as a result of the Joe Camel advertising.) Furthermore, the most popular "brand" of cigarette among adult smokers was no brand at all: 39 percent of all cigarettes sold in the first quarter of 1993 were from the "price value market" which includes private label, generics, and plain-packaged products. 166 These brands typically rely on little or no advertising and little or no imagery on their packaging.

These studies present evidence that advertising plays a significant role in children's smoking behavior. There are, in addition, individual case studies that