

Sifting the Ashes: Understanding Cigarette Marketing Through Historical and Archival Research

Richard W. Pollay, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada

This keynote address presents advertising examples to illustrate highlights of the history of cigarette advertising as understood learning from fourteen years of research, testifying in litigation, and consulting with governments and public health organizations. This experience includes all of the major U.S. and transnational firms and many of the high profile legal cases, both private actions and filings by states, insurers, and classes. Also reflected will be work with organizations such as the Office on Smoking or Health on several U.S. Surgeon General reports, the Attorney Generals of several states and Canada, and the National Cancer Institute.

ABOUT THE SPEAKER / AUTHOR

Richard W. Pollay has taught advertising and marketing management in the Faculty of Commerce at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada for more than 30 years. Most recently he has had the responsibility of leading the teaching team that delivers the term long "Core Experience," the introduction to graduate studies in management required of all incoming MBA students. This teaching requires him to deal with corporate decisions on marketing and consumer research, advertising strategy and their implementation.

His research on the social and culture effects of advertising, much of it using an historical perspective, has appeared in peer reviewed publications such as *Advances in Consumer Research*, *American Academy of Advertising*, *Current Issues and Research in Advertising*, *European Journal of Marketing*, *International Journal of Advertising*, *Journal of Advertising History*, *Journal of Consumer Research*, *Journal of Marketing*, *Journal of Marketing Theory & Practice*, *Journal of Social Issues*.

He produced the reference book of the field, *Information Sources for the History of Advertising* (Greenwood Press, 1976) and many scholarly articles on historical topics. This led to occasional consulting with institutions like the American Advertising Museum (Portland, OR), the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and

the Center for the Study of Commercialism (all Washington, DC).

His research of the last fourteen years on cigarette advertising has covered many varied topics in cigarette marketing: the targeting of children, the use of public relations, ethnic targeting, self-regulation, motivation research, media choices, packaging, stadium signage, campaign consistencies, retail signage, sports and events sponsorship, low-tar advertising to create impressions of healthfulness, etc. In general, he has described the managerial strategies and tactics. This has been accomplished by accessing varied sources: many, many boxes of corporate documents produced in the course of litigation; chronological notes from sources like the advertising and tobacco trade journals (see below); archival sources like the Hill papers of the founder of Hill & Knowlton; government reports; and original research and analysis into media plans and preferences and consumer reactions to advertising activity (see Pollay et al, 1996).

The History of Advertising Archives, which he curates, holds the largest known collection of American cigarette ads, with about 10,000 examples of print ads in a variety of sizes, including original poster boards and other retail signage, and about 500 TV ads. These are housed in the Tobacco Industry Promotion Series (TIPS), a compilation of resources which also includes many corporate documents, government reports, working papers, scholarly work by others, and sundry tobacco marketing artifacts (e.g. candy cigarettes, toys, T-shirts, caps). TIPS and the Archives are used frequently by both scholars and media, especially documentary film and television producers. Thanks to funding for cataloguing from the National Cancer Institute, most of the print ads can now be previewed at: <http://www.tobaccodocuments.org/POLLAY/>

The international interest in his research is reflected in invitations to speak at many conferences and at Universities both in North America and overseas.

LITIGATION: TESTIMONY, DEPOSITIONS AND AFFIDAVITS

Cipollone v Liggett et al. Federal District (N.J.) Court, 1988.

CHARM 2001

Imperial Tobacco Limitee & RJR-Macdonald Inc. c. Le Procureur General du Canada. Quebec Superior Court (Montreal) 1990.

Horton v American Tobacco Company. Circuit Court (Oxford, Mississippi), 1990.

Haines v Liggett et al. New Jersey, Federal District Court.

Wilkes v American Tobacco Company. Circuit Court (Greenwood, Mississippi), 1992.

Allgood v R. J. Reynolds, American Tobacco, The Tobacco Institute and the Council for Tobacco Research. United States District Court, Southern District, Houston, Texas.

Sterling Doubleday vs City of New York and Philip Morris, Supreme Court, State of New York, County of Queens, June 1994.

Sackman v. Liggett, Case No. 93 Civ. 4166 (ADS), Missouri.

Roth v. ACandS, Case #94C216 (Geary County, Kansas)

Burton v. R. J. Reynolds, American Tobacco (Kansas 94-2202-JWL)

Marcus Pusey, William North, Mabel MacMurray, Frank Pierko and John Mallard v. Owens Corning Fibreglas Corp. (asbestos). Superior Court of Delaware, New Castle County. Deposition, March 22, 1996

Carter v. American Tobacco Co. et al. (Circuit Court, Duval Co., FL., Case #95-00934 CA).

Clark v. R. J. Reynolds Tobacco. Co., etc. et. al. (Circuit Court, Duval Co., FL, Case #95-03333 CA)

Connor v. R.J.Reynolds et al. (Florida)

Scott and Jackson v. American Tobacco et al. (Parish of Orleans, Louisiana, 96-8461)

State of Florida v. American Tobacco et al.

State of Texas v. Brown & Williamson et al.

Widdick (Maddox) v. Brown and Williamson et al. (FL)

F.A.I.R. v. City of Chicago (97C7619)

Maryland v. Phillip Morris et al.

State of Missouri v. American Tobacco et al. (Cause No. 972-1465, Div. 5)

Insolia et al and USDHHS et al. Philip Morris Inc, et al. (Wisconsin 97-C-0347-C)

Complex Asbestos Litigation (California)

Patricia Henley vs. Philip Morris et al., CA Superior Court (No. 995172)

Williams-Branch v. Philip Morris, Multnomah County (OR), Case #9705-03857

Little v. Brown & Williamson, et al. (Charleston, SC)(2-98-1879-23)

Whiteley v. Raybestos-Manhattan et al (SFSC 303184)

Blue Cross and Blue Shield, New Jersey et al. v. Philip Morris, et al. (New York No. CV98-3287)

Oliver and Dates v. R. J. Reynolds et al (Philadelphia)(1998: 268)

Imperial Tobacco Ltd, Rothmans, Benson & Hedges Inc and RJR MacDonald Inc v. Attorney General of Canada.

LEGISLATIVE HEARINGS

British Columbia Parliament, Victoria, Select Standing Committee on Health and Social Services re: Retail Warnings and sales to Minors. (Feb. 16, 1993)

House of Commons (Canada), Standing Committee on Health, Hearings on Plain Packaging of Tobacco Products, "As Anyone Can Plainly See: Brand Imagery in Cigarette Packaging and Promotion." (May 3, 1994)

Vancouver Board of Parks and Recreation re: Benson & Hedges "Symphony of Fire" Fireworks Sponsorship. (Jan 9 & April 3, 1995)

Tolman Hearings: Dept. Of Public Health, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, "Advertising/Marketing of Low Yield Cigarettes: Themes, Messages and Miscommunication." (Jan. 30, 1997)

Senate of Canada, Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs. Ottawa. Re: Bill C-71, An Act to Regulate the Manufacturer, Sale, Labelling and Promotion of Tobacco Products. (April 7, 1997)

King County Board of Health, Seattle, WA. Re: "Publicly Visible Cigarette Advertising: Outdoor, Mobile or Point of Sales Media." (April 17, 1998)

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, "Protecting Children as Consumers: Comments on Proposed Regulations re: packaging, marketing, distribution and sales of cigarettes" 940 CMR 19 and 940 CMR 20. See WP 98.3. (June 1, 1998)

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES

1988. Promotion and Policy for a Pandemic Product: Notes of the History of Cigarette Advertising (US). Working Paper 88.1: 96p. Published in Tobacco Litigator's Bookshelf, 4.7 TPLR, pp 6.30-6.79.

1990. More Chronological Notes on the Promotion of Cigarettes. Working Paper 90.2: 63p.

1996. Even More Chronological Notes on Cigarette Advertising
Pre-1950s. Working Paper 96.2: 44p.
1950s. Working Paper 96.3: 30p.
1960s: Working Paper 96.4: 38p.
1970s. Working Paper 96.5: 15p.
1980s. Working Paper 96.6: 62p.
1990 - 1995. Working Paper 96.7: 73p.
Bibliography. Working Paper 96.8: 39p.

1997. Many More Notes on Cigarette Advertising. Working Paper 97.4: 100p.

1997. Public Relations in the Private Interest: More Tricks of the Tobacco Trade. Working Paper 97.7: 45p.

Chronological notes from trade journals:
Advertising Age
1950 - 1959. Working Paper 91.1:178p.
1960 - 1964. Working Paper 91.2: 91p.
1965 - 1969. Working Paper 91.3:119p.
1970 - 1974. Working Paper 92.1: 78p.

MILESTONES IN MARKETING HISTORY

Advertising and Selling

- 1929 - 1935. Working Paper 97.1: 39p.
- 1935 - 1947. Working Paper 96.15: 44p.
- 1948 - 1953. Working Paper 94.10: 50p.
- 1954 - 1958. Working Paper 94.11: 49p.

Consumer Advertising

- 1964 - 1967. Working Paper 96.13:10p.

Consumer Reports

- 1936 - 1993. Working Paper 94.2: 20p.

Media Decisions

- 1966 - 1979. Working Paper 96.9: 32p.
- 1980 - 1993. Working Paper 96.10: 39p.

Reader's Digest

- 1924-1994. Working Paper 95.1: 52p.

Sponsor

- 1950 - 1969. Working Paper 96.12: 47p.

Printers' Ink

- 1933 - 1949. Working Paper 94.12: 26p.
- 1950 - 1954. Working Paper 93.1: 37p.
- 1955 - 1959. Working Paper 93.2: 59p.
- 1960 - 1963. Working Paper 93.4: 50p.
- 1964 - 1970. Working Paper 94.7: 45p.

(U.S.) Tobacco Journals:

- 1950 - 1954. Working Paper 94.3: 28p.
- 1955 - 1959. Working Paper 94.8: 60p.
- 1960 - 1962. Working Paper 94.13: 59p.
- 1963 - 1965. Working Paper 94.14: 59p.

DOCUMENTARY FILMS AND VIDEOS

- Pack of Lies*, Sut Jhally, Director/Editor. Northhampton, MA: Foundation for Media Education, 1992.
- The Ad and the Ego*, Harold Bohem, Director/Editor. Philadelphia: Parallax Pictures, 1996.
- Smoke and Mirrors: A History of Denial* (documentary film), Torrie Rosenzweig, Director, American Lung Association, 1999, 60 min.

REFERENCES

- Pollay, Richard W. 1987. Tracking the Marlboro Man, Speedy Alka-Seltzer and the Pepsi Generation through the Smithsonian. *Proceedings of the American Academy of Advertising*: 143-147.
- _____. 1989. Filter, Flavor ... Flim-Flam, Too! Cigarette Advertising Content and Its Regulation. *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing* 8: 30-39.
- _____. 1990. Propaganda, Puffing and the Public Interest: The Scientific Smoke Screen for Cigarettes. *Public Relations Review* 16 #3: 27-42.
- _____. 1990. Information and Imagery in Contemporary Canadian Cigarette Ads. *Proceedings of the American Academy of Advertising*. Austin, TX: University of Texas: 74-79.
- _____. 1991. Signs and Symbols in Cigarette Advertising: A Historical Analysis of the Use of Pictures of Health. In Hanne Hartvig-Larsen, David G. Mick and Christian Alsted, eds, *Marketing & Semiotics*. Copenhagen: Handelshojskolens Forlag: 160-176.
- _____, Jung S. Lee and David Carter-Whitney. 1992. Separate, But Not Equal: Racial Segmentation in Cigarette Advertising. *Journal of Advertising* 16 #1 (March): 45-57.
- _____. and Anne Lavack. 1993. The Targeting of Youth by Cigarette Marketers: Archival Evidence on Trial. In Leigh McAlister and Michael L. Rothschild, eds., *Advances in Consumer Research* 20: 266-271.
- _____. 1993. Pertinent Research and Impertinent Opinion: On Our Contributions to the Cigarette Advertising Public Policy Debates. *Journal of Advertising* 22 #4 (Dec): 110-117.
- _____. 1993. The Changing Character of American Cigarette Advertising: Content Analysis Findings. In M. Joseph Sirgy, Kenneth D. Bain and Tunc Erem, eds., *World Marketing Congress 6*. Academy of Marketing Science: 297-301.
- _____. 1993. The Major Minor Issue: Children, Cigarettes and Advertising Self-Regulation in the Sixties. *Proceedings of the American Academy of Advertising*: 2-11.
- _____. 1994. Targeting the Young is an Old Story: A History of Cigarette Advertising to the Young. In Jeffrey B. Schmidt et al. eds., *Contemporary Marketing History: Proceedings of the Sixth Conference on Historical Research in Marketing and Marketing Thought*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University: 263-282.
- _____, and Gerald Gorn. 1994. Stop and Think! Consider This Before You Develop Retail Cigarette Warnings. Working Paper 94.5, History of Advertising Archives: 22p.
- _____. 1994. The Cowboy and Genital Joe. *Journal of Advertising* 23 #4 (Dec): facing 1.
- _____. 1994. A History of Cigarette Advertising to the Young. *Preventing Tobacco Use Among Young People: A Report of the Surgeon General*. Atlanta, GA: U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Office on Smoking and Health: 164-179.
- _____. 1994. Historical Content Analyses of Cigarette Advertising. *Preventing Tobacco Use Among Young People: A Report of the Surgeon General*. Atlanta, GA: U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Office on Smoking and Health: 179-184.
- _____. 1994. Exposure of Youth to U.S. Cigarette Broadcast Advertising in the 1960s. *Tobacco Control* 3 #2 (Summer): 130-133.
- _____. 1994. Promises, Promises: Self-Regulation of US Cigarette Broadcast Advertising in the 1960s. *Tobacco Control* 3 #2 (Summer): 134-144.
- _____. 1995. The BUZ in Canada without an Ad Ban. *Tobacco Control* 4 #4 (Winter): 397-398.

CHARM 2001

- _____. 1995. 'Below the Belt' Cigarette Advertising. *Tobacco Control* 4 #2 (Summer): 188-191.
- _____. 1995. Targeting Tactics in Selling Smoke: Youthful Aspects of 20th Century Cigarette Advertising. *Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice* 3 #1 (Winter): 1-22.
- _____, et al. 1996. The Last Straw? Cigarette Advertising and Realized Market Shares among Youths and Adults, 1979-1993. *Journal of Marketing*. 60 #2 (April): 1-16.
- O'Keefe, Anne Marie and Richard W. Pollay. 1996. Deadly Targeting of Women in Promoting Cigarettes. *Journal of the American Medical Women Association* 51 #1/2 (Jan/Apr): 67-69.
- Pollay, Richard W. 1997. Hacks, Flacks and Counter-Attacks: Cigarette Advertising, Sponsored Research and Controversies. *Journal of Social Issues* 53 #1 (March): 53-74.
- _____. 1997. Advertising/Marketing of Low Yield Cigarettes: Themes, Messages and Miscommunication. Working Paper #97.2, The History of Advertising Archives, Faculty of Commerce, Jan: 1-29.
- _____. 1997. The Truth Seems a Little Twisted: Advocacy Advertising by the Cigarette Industry, 1954 - 1997. Working Paper 97.9, History of Advertising Archives, Faculty of Commerce, UBC (June): 78p.
- _____. 1998. *How Cigarette Advertising Works: Rich Imagery and Poor Information [Public Version]*. History of Advertising Archives, Working Paper 98.6 (October): 22p.
- _____. 1998. Export A Ads are Extremely Expert, Eh?. *Filter Tips: A Review of Cigarette Marketing in Canada* 1 (Autumn). E-Published at http://www/smoke-free.ca/filtertips_001/Expert-eh.htm.
- _____, and Timothy Dewhirst. 1998. The Unscientific Perspective of the Tobacco Industry Research Committee [1954]. History of Advertising Archives, Working Paper 98.5 (August): 11p.
- Dewhirst, Timothy and Richard W. Pollay. Exhibited and Exposed: Annotations to Documents Discussed in Minnesota et al. Plaintiffs v. Phillip Morris et al. Defendants. History of Advertising Archives, Working Paper 98.4 (July): 19p.
- Pollay, Richard W. 1998. Bah, Humbug! *Regulation: The Cato Review of Business & Government* 21 #2 (Spring):4-5.
- _____. 1998. A Brief History of Tobacco Advertising Targeting African Americans. In *Tobacco Use Among U.S. Racial/Ethnic Minority Groups - African Americans, American Indians and Alaska Natives, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics: A Report of the Surgeon General*. Atlanta, Georgia: U.S. Dept of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Chronic Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, Office on Smoking and Health: 240-244.
- _____, and Timothy Dewhirst. 1999. Successful Images and Failed Fact: The Dark Side of Marketing Seemingly Light Cigarettes. History of Advertising Archives, Working Paper 99.4 (August): 52p, plus exhibits.
- _____. 2000. Targeting Youth and Concerned Smokers: Evidence from Canadian Tobacco Industry Documents. *Tobacco Control* 9 #2 (June): 136-147.

N. B. Scholars seeking access or copies of the above and related work, or who wish to utilize the archival holdings in TIPS, should contact Prof. Pollay at the Faculty of Commerce, UBC, 2053 Main Mall, Vancouver, BC, V6T 1Z2.

e-mail: pollay@commerce.ubc.ca

Web site: <http://www.tobaccodocuments.org/pollay/>

