

Racialized Geography, Corporate Activity, and Health Disparities:

Tobacco industry targeting of lower income inner city residents

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Cigarette Smoking Prevalence among African Americans

- 19.3% AA adults vs. 16.1% all other adults
- 21.4% African American men
- 17.3% African American women

African American Smoking Behaviors

- Report smoking fewer cigarettes per day
- Become regular smokers later in life
- 80% smoke menthol cigarettes

Tobacco-related Health Burden: African American Adults

- More African Americans die of tobacco-related diseases than do white Americans
- African American male smokers are 50% more likely than white male smokers to develop lung cancer
- African American women are more susceptible than any other group to the damaging effects from smoking
- Bear a disproportionate share of the cost of smoking in California

Tobacco is Disproportionately Costly For African Americans



“Smoking-Attributable Mortality among African Americans is High”

- AA 6.2% California population, but 7.6% of smoking-attributable deaths
- Lose 16.3 years of life per death due to smoking-attributable causes (vs. 12.0 years for all others)
- Suffer greater productivity losses

Wendy Max, Hai-Yen Sung, and Lue-Yen Tucker. Unpublished findings from
The Disproportionate Cost of Smoking for Communities of Color.

Smoking-Attributable Healthcare Expenditures

- Smoking-attributable healthcare expenditures amount to \$2,192 for every African American adult smoker in the state
 - vs. \$400 for African American adults who don't smoke

Wendy Max, Hai-Yen Sung, and Lue-Yen Tucker. Unpublished findings from
The Disproportionate Cost of Smoking for Communities of Color.

“Great Economic Burden on the African American Community”

- Incur 10% of all smoking-attributable costs
 - 8% smoking-attributable healthcare expenditures
 - 13% smoking-attributable mortality costs
- Smoking-attributable healthcare and mortality costs amount to \$4,922 for each African American adult smoker in California

Wendy Max, Hai-Yen Sung, and Lue-Yen Tucker. Unpublished findings from
The Disproportionate Cost of Smoking for Communities of Color.

Racialized Geography

- Complex interplay between race, class, and place of residence*
- Occurs within the context of social, economic, and political systems
- Geographic location of place and social position of residents shape societal views of that place

* Sundstrom. Race and place: Social space and the production of human kinds. *Philosophy & Geography* 2003;6(1):83-95.

Place of Residence Matters*

- Where people live affects their health
- Less affluent neighborhoods have more hazards and fewer resources
- Blacks living in U.S. urban, inner city communities are more likely to smoke cigarettes
 - Disproportionately affected by tobacco-caused diseases and death

* Reaching for a Healthier Life: Facts on Socioeconomic Status and Health in the U.S.



Tobacco Corporate Activities

- Enormous power differentials between corporations and poor residents
- Among most powerful corporate influences on health and policy
 - Targeted marketing
 - Undermining tobacco control efforts
 - Deceptive scientific practices
 - Influencing policymakers and community leaders

Case Study: Tobacco Industry Targeting of the Inner City

- What made the inner city attractive to tobacco companies
- Use of aggressive and innovative marketing tactics
 - to adapt to racialized, geographic challenges
 - to exploit inner city demographics

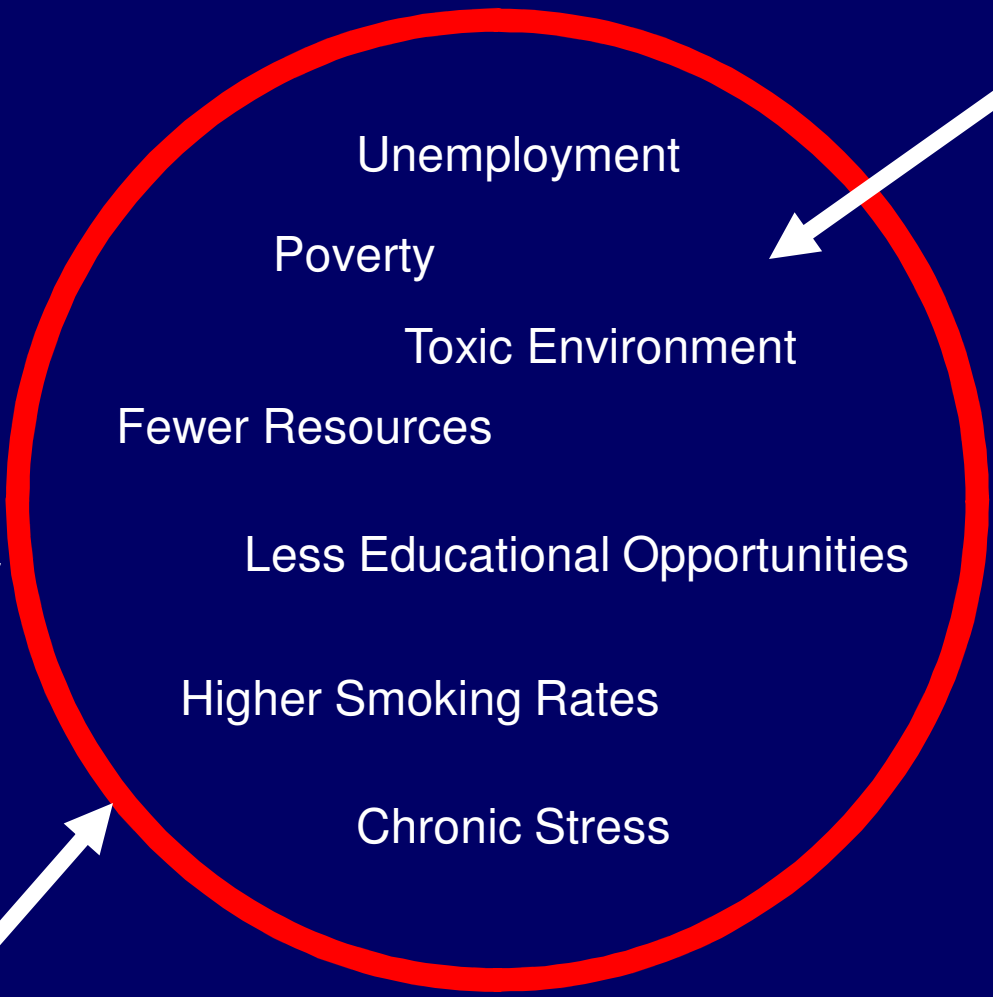
Methodology

- Retrieved 400+ previously secret internal tobacco industry documents
- Electronically retrieved from University of California, San Francisco's Legacy Tobacco Documents Library
- <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu>

Innovative Marketing Strategies to Target African Americans

Inner City Schematic

Inside the Inner City



Racism

Segregation

Outside the Inner City

Inner City 1980s

Inside the Inner City



Outside the Inner City

KOOL Embraced by Black Americans



Lorillard
MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

September 18, 1987

TO: K.P. Augustyn
FROM: M.S. Liebow
RE: NEWPORT FIELD VISIT: LOS ANGELES

This reports my observations and findings from my recent field trip to Los Angeles, California; and recommends next steps.

I. PURPOSE

- The competition is centering their marketing efforts in the low income black communities.

II. SUMMARY

Here are six observations from my visit to Los Angeles:

- Newport's business is strong and growing at a good pace.
- The bulk of Newport's business is centered in low income black areas. The brand is perceived by retailers, and most likely consumers, as a black brand.
- Newport is well supported in Out-of-Home, but lacks promotional image reinforcement.
- The menthol category is extremely large, ranking third in terms of national tonnage. However, the overall market skews more to non-menthol brands with key menthol sales development indices below average.
- The competition is centering their marketing efforts in the low income black communities.
- The geographic area is immense, covering five full Divisions, and a assortment of different ethnic groups and races.

In general, I believe Los Angeles offers significant additional volume opportunities for Newport. However, the brand must be more aggressively marketed to less developed target segments.

Therefore, I recommend we continue the development of the MOP program in Los Angeles.

87057630

Bates #87057630/7636

Inner City as Battlefield for “Menthol Wars”

- Major tobacco companies aggressively competed against one another
- Promotion of menthol brands intensified during the 1980s and 1990s
- Inner city communities represented efficient sites for an industrial exploitation

CONFIDENTIAL

NEWPORT
INNER CITY SALES PROGRAM

TARGET

■ CONSUMERS

- MALES/FEMALES: 50/50

- YOUNG ADULTS

- HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION OR LESS

- PREDOMINATELY BLACK AND/OR HISPANIC

LAURENCE HARBOR, NEW JERSEY
OCTOBER 12, 1987

94081406

Bates #94081406/1414

Specialized Marketing Programs

Developed to specifically target
“minorities with a high school
education or less”, living in “tough
inner city neighborhoods”

A Few Examples

Brown & Williamson (KOOL)

- KOOL Inner City Family Program
- Inner City Music Festivals

Lorillard (Newport)

- Inner City Sales Program
- Marketing Opportunity Program

PM (Benson & Hedges Menthol)

- Inner City Marketing Program
- Minority Marketing Plan
- Inner City Task Force
- Inner City 'Special' Accounts

RJ Reynolds (Salem)

- Black-focused Initiative Programs

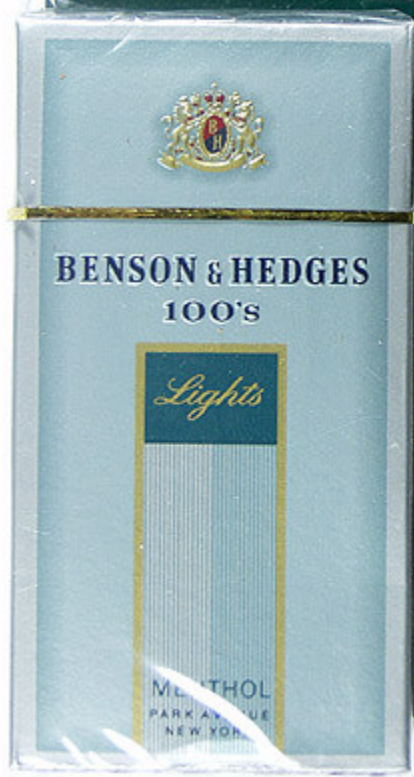
A Closer Look

- Lorillard's Inner City Sales Program
 - Objective: Close the gap between the sales of Newport and KOOL
- Philip Morris' Inner City Task Force
 - Objective: "Beef up" Benson & Hedges Menthol in inner city areas
- RJR's Black Initiative Program
 - Increase sales of Salem cigarettes among Black smokers

BENSON & HEDGES

FREE

Lighter
with one pack
purchase





Salem

*Fresh
on the scene*

FREE WATCH

**WITH 1 PACK
PURCHASE**





Distributing Free Cigarettes

Street Sampling

- Sales staff on foot handed out free cigarettes
- Gave away 90 packs per hour
- “...confined to the inner city area to maximize ...sampling on the target market”
- “...do not go into the suburbs”

Van Programs

- Vans allowed sample distributors to be protected from “unruly crowds” while handing out free cigarettes in “dangerous territory”
- Unique attention getting sampling device found to be “very effective for reaching target market in their own environment”
- Innovative marketing technology used to promote menthol cigarettes



Special Retailer Incentives

Retail Outlet Challenges

- Limitations on product availability & visibility
- Space constraints
- Retail clutter
- High crime rates
- Cash flow restrictions

Dealing with the Inner City Retailer

- Financial incentives for retailers in “ghetto areas”
- Scaled down displays to fit small, crowded stores
- Use of black models in marketing materials who were “down to earth and not resemble the Harvard Black”
- Use of suction cups to hang signage from bullet-proof shields

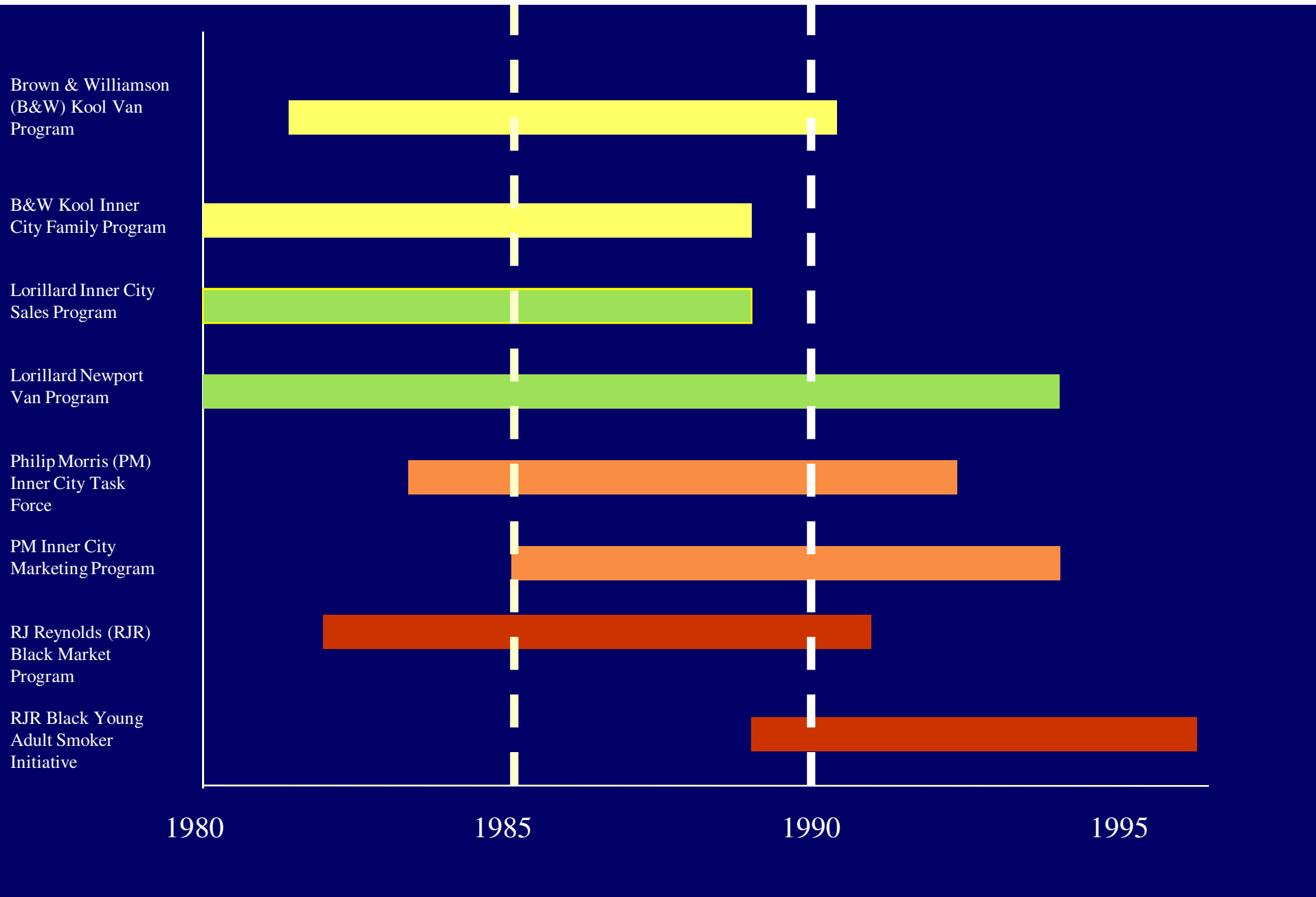
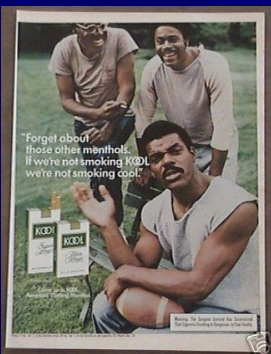
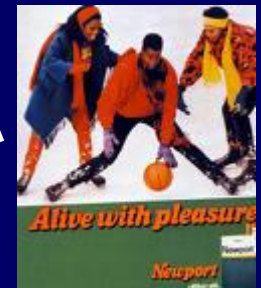
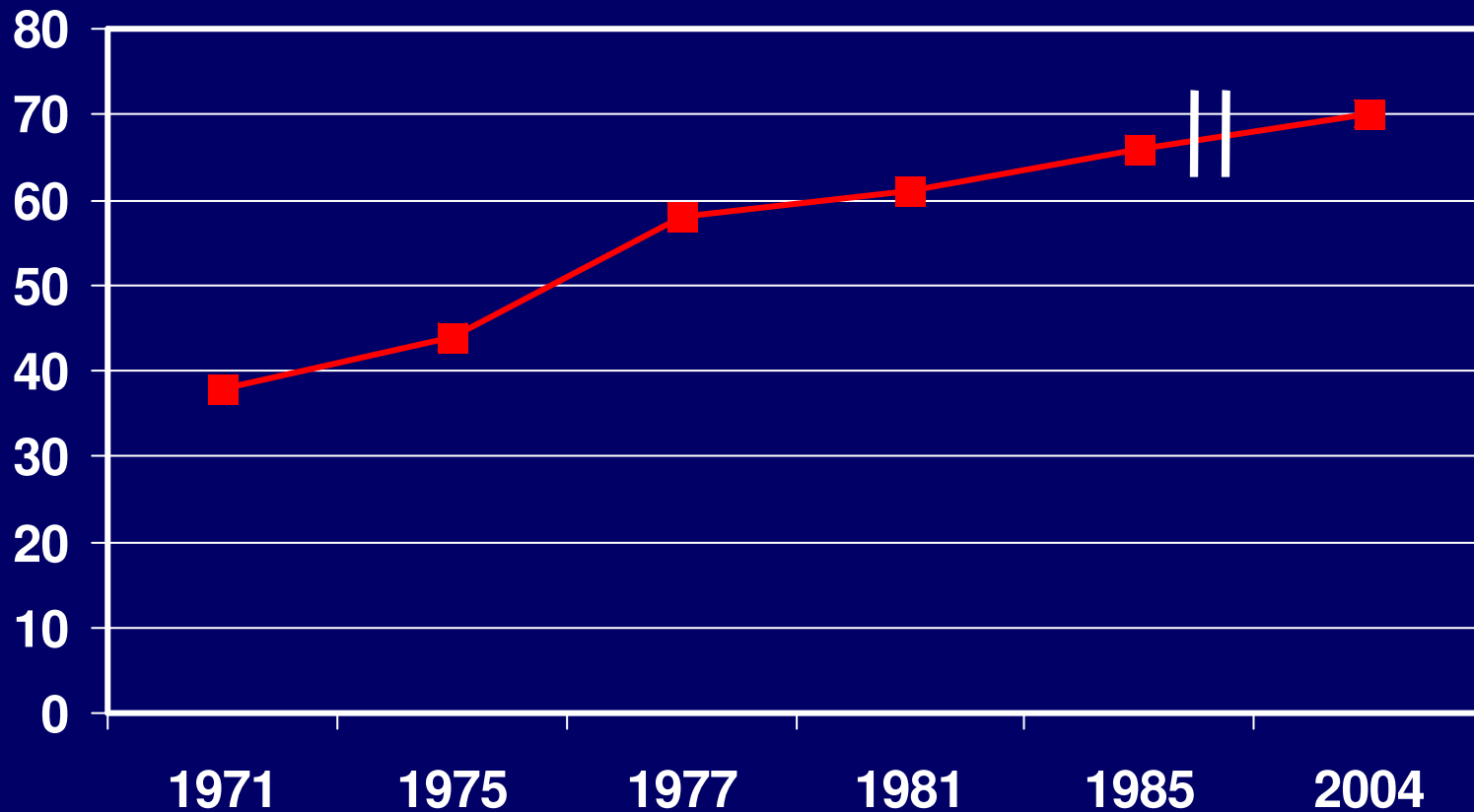


Figure 1 –Temporal concentration of selected major tobacco marketing initiatives in U.S. inner cities

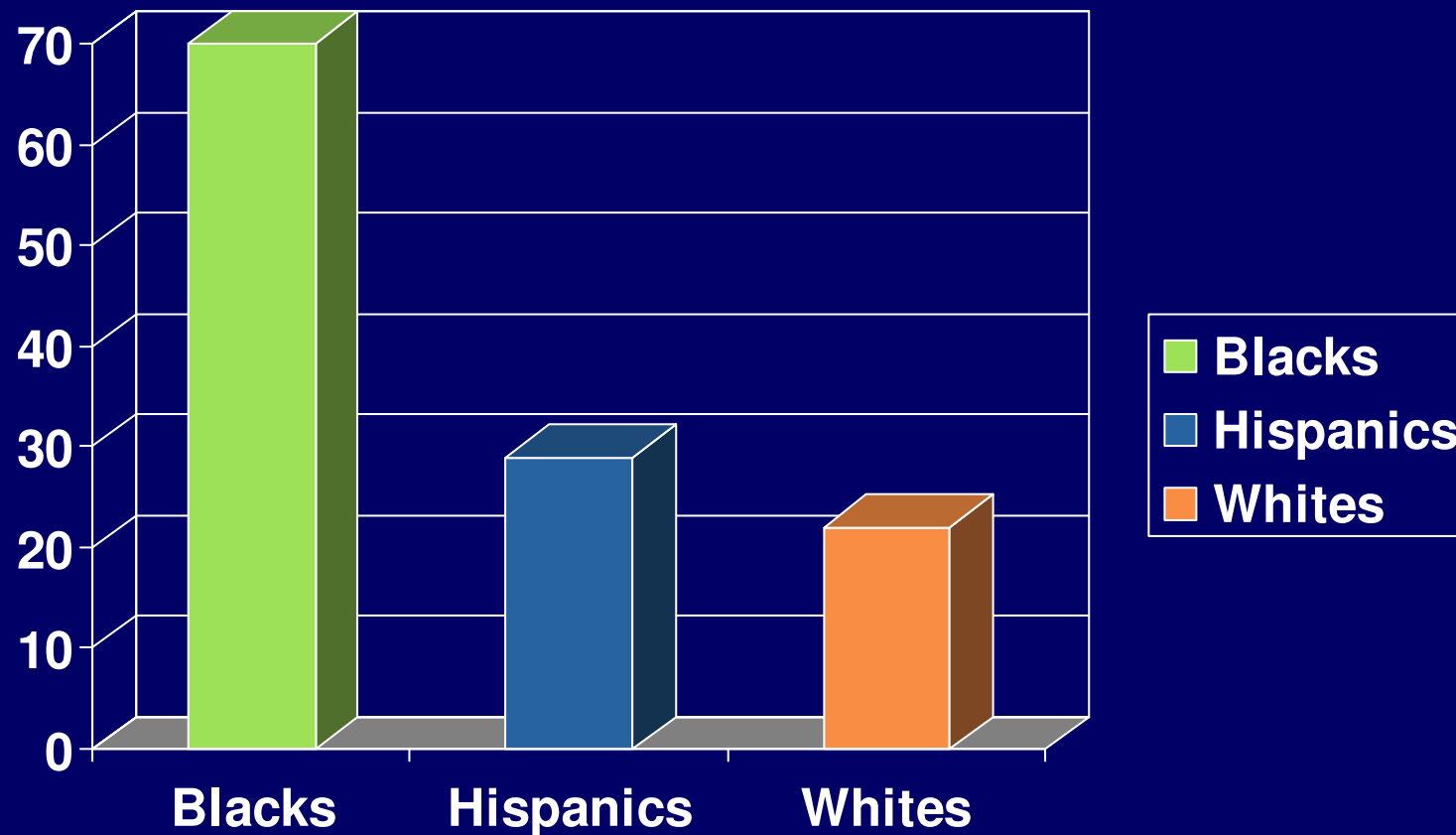


Menthol Use among Black Smokers



Sources: 1) Gardiner PS. The African Americanization of menthol cigarette use in the United States. *Nicotine Tob Res* 2004;6 suppl 1:S55-65. 2) Bates 94249889/9892

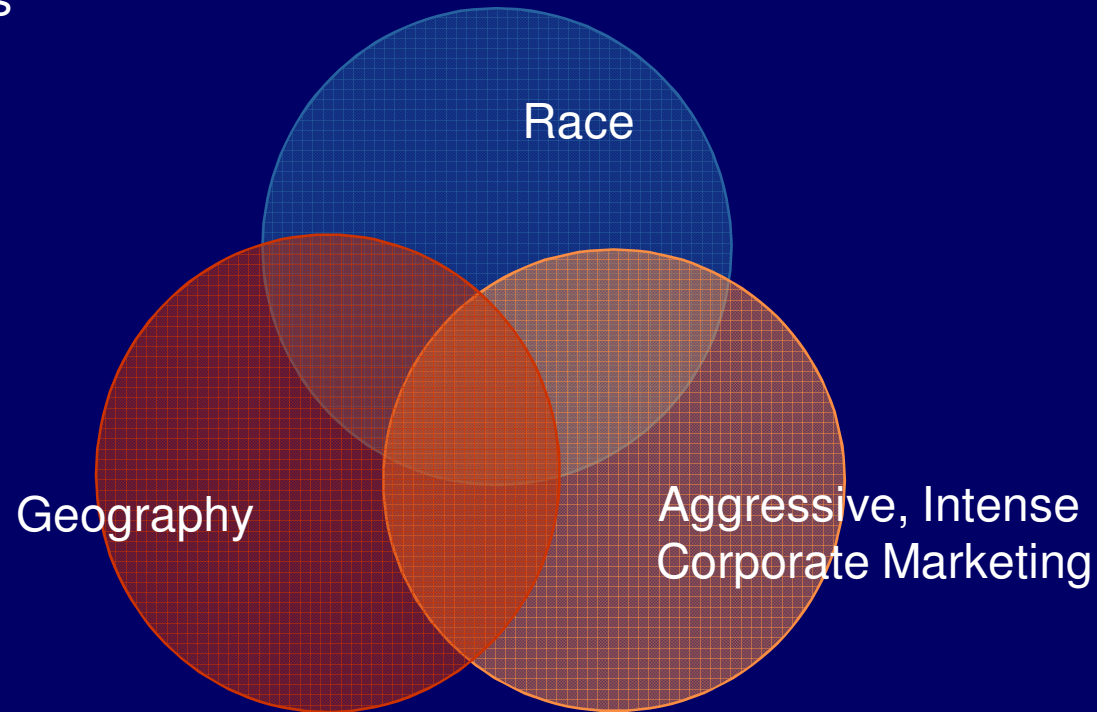
Menthol Use among U.S. Smokers



Source: Giovino G, Sidney S, Gfroerer J, et al. The Epidemiology of menthol cigarette use. *Nicotine Tob Res* 2004;6 suppl 1:S67-81.

Temporal Intersection

1976 – 1990s



Tobacco companies developed challenges
encountered in the inner cities
innovative marketing technologies

Emerging Tobacco Products - 2006

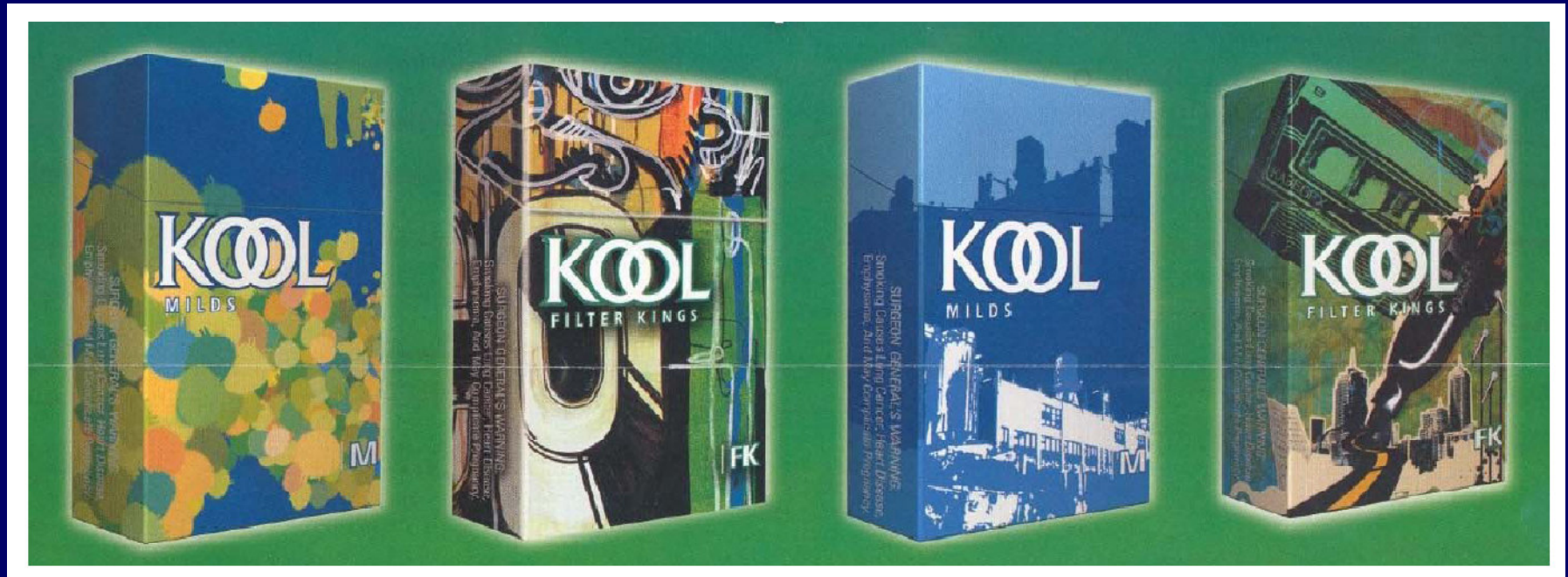


Photo provided by George Crawford, Synergy CIS

Emerging Tobacco Marketing - 2008



Diamonds are forever...

...And so is lung cancer.

*Did you know that tobacco industry giant RJReynolds has launched a new cigarette- Camel No. 9- aggressively targeting young women using beautiful gems such as these? They are sponsoring "Girls Night Out" across the country complete with **FREE** manicures, make-up, and **cigarettes**.*

Menthol and the FDA Legislation

- cigarette or any of its component parts (including the tobacco , filter, or paper) shall not contain, as a constituent (including a smoke constituent) or additive, an artificial or natural flavor (other than tobacco or menthol) or an herb or spice, including strawberry, grape, orange, clove, cinnamon, pineapple, vanilla, coconut, licorice, cocoa, chocolate, cherry, or coffee, that is a characterizing flavor of the tobacco product or tobacco smoke. (HR 1256, Sec. 907, (a) (1))

Policy Implications

- Create tobacco control programs that integrate social justice and denormalization messages
- Address social conditions that predispose less affluent neighborhoods to the unequal exploitations of industry
- Encourage equal implementation of policies that reduce tobacco use and exposure to secondhand smoke
- Insist that there is parity in tobacco control efforts so communities can participate while also building their capacity and infrastructure

Summary

- Tobacco corporate activities 20-30 years ago
 - Inner cities: efficient sites for industrial exploitation
 - Shaped the racialized geography of today's tobacco-related health disparities
- Effective resistance against corporate exploitation
 - Parity in tobacco control efforts
 - Partnering with communities to build and sustain their capacity and infrastructure