**Objectives:** To examine the number, type (menthol vs non-menthol), brand (Black, White, Women’s, Other), and size of cigarette ads in Black, Latino, and White magazines.

**Method:** Analysis of digital photographs of 274 cigarette ads appearing in *Ebony* (Black), *People* (White), and *People in Spanish* (Latino) for the 4.5-year period of January 1998 to August 2002.

**Results:** Black magazines were 9.8 times and Latino magazines 2.6 times more likely than White magazines to contain ads for menthol cigarettes. Black and Latino magazines also contained significantly more ads for brands (*Virginia Slims*) that target women.

**Conclusions:** The tobacco industry continues to target Blacks with menthol cigarette ads, appears now to be targeting Latinos similarly, and targets Black and Latino women with additional, tailored cigarette ads. From San Diego State University, San Diego, California.

**Key Words:** Blacks, Ethnicity, Latinos, Tobacco Advertising

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**INTRODUCTION**

Cigarette advertising plays a role in smoking initiation and maintenance in several ways: 1) advertising may encourage youth to experiment with smoking and to initiate regular smoking; 2) it may deter adult smokers from quitting; 3) it may prompt adult former-smokers to begin smoking again; and 4) it may increase daily cigarette consumption. Unfortunately, the extent to which cigarettes are differentially advertised to different ethnic communities is unclear. Although a "large and increasing portion of advertising and marketing is targeted to racial/ethnic groups," studies examining this effect have focused primarily on African Americans. For example, most studies of cigarette advertising on billboards have examined the greater advertising in African-American vs White neighborhoods, with only a handful of studies examining such advertising in Latino or Asian neighborhoods. Likewise, studies of cigarette ads in ethnic magazines have examined magazines geared for African Americans vs those targeting Whites/the general public, but no study has investigated ads in magazines that target other ethnic minority groups. We conducted the first study of cigarette ads in magazines that target Latinos, and we used prior studies on African Americans as a model for this preliminary investigation.

Studies have found more cigarette ads and more ads for menthol cigarette brands in Black than in White/general public magazines, irrespective of whether the readers of the magazines tend to be adults (>25 years) or young people (17–24 years). The most well known of these studies is the 1987 Cummings et al study because it is the only study designed to examine ads in Black vs White magazines (rather than in magazines for youth). Cummings et al examined cigarette ads in one year (June 1984 through May 1985) of issues of three African-American (*Ebony, Jet, and Essence*) and four White/general public magazines (*Newsweek, Time, People, Mademoiselle*). They found 12% more cigarette ads in the Black magazines and found that 65.9% of the cigarette ads in the Black magazines were for menthol cigarette brands, but only 15.4% of the cigarette ads in White magazines were for menthol cigarette brands, but only 15.4% of the cigarette ads in White/general magazines were for such brands. This targeted advertising of menthol cigarettes (eg, *Newport, Kool*) to Blacks and of non-menthol cigarettes (eg, *Marlboro, Camel, Winston*) to Whites^4^ might account for the finding that most Black youth and adult smokers smoke a menthol brand, whereas most White youth and adult smokers smoke a non-menthol brand. The marketing of menthol cigarettes to Blacks is particularly problematic because smoking mentholated (vs non-mentholated) cigarettes has been linked to increased rates of cancer.
cigarette advertising appears to shape both youth and adult perceptions about the acceptability and pervasiveness of smoking, which in turn plays a role in the aforementioned processes.  

Black, Latino, and White magazines for the first time.

**METHOD**

Three popular magazines were selected: *Ebony* (Black magazine, 2002 readership=1.89 million), *People* (White magazine, 2002 readership=3.62 million), and *People in Spanish* (Latino magazine, 2002 readership=approximately 500,000).  

Table 1. Number of menthol vs non-menthol cigarette ads in ethnic magazines*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine Type</th>
<th>Menthol Ads</th>
<th>Non-Menthol Ads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White magazine (People)</td>
<td>17.3% (17)</td>
<td>82.7% (81)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino magazine (People in Spanish)</td>
<td>35.3% (18)</td>
<td>64.7% (33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black magazine (Ebony)</td>
<td>67.2% (84)</td>
<td>32.8% (41)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Overall likelihood ratio $\chi^2_{df1} = 60.266, P < .0005$; White vs Black $\chi^2_{df1} = 58.551, P < .0005$; Black vs Latino $\chi^2_{df1} = 15.103, P < .0005$; White vs Latino $\chi^2_{df1} = 5.801, P < .016$.  

**RESULTS**

**Number of Ads**

The 141 magazine issues contained a total of 274 cigarette ads. The White magazine (*People*, $N=54$ issues) contained 98 ads (mean=1.87 ads per issue), the Black magazine (*Ebony*, $N=56$ issues) contained 125 ads (mean=2.25 ads per issue), and the Latino magazine (*People in Spanish*, $N=31$) contained 51 ads (mean=1.58 ads per issue). Analysis for differences in the average number of ads per issue by magazine approached but did not reach statistical significance (ANOVA mean square=4.718, $F_{2,141} = 2.923, P = .06$).

**Menthol vs Non-Menthol Ads**

Significant differences in the prevalence of ads for menthol cigarettes (*Newport, Kool, Salem* etc) were found. As shown in Table 1, 67% of the cigarette ads in the Black magazine, 35% of the cigarette ads in the Latino magazine, and 17% of cigarette ads in the White...
Cigarette Ads - Landrine et al

Table 2. Brands of cigarettes advertised in ethnic magazines*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>White Brands</th>
<th>Black Brands</th>
<th>Women’s Brand</th>
<th>Other Brands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White (People)</td>
<td>31.4% (33)</td>
<td>15.2% (16)</td>
<td>6.7% (7)</td>
<td>46.7% (49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino (People in Spanish)</td>
<td>27.5% (14)</td>
<td>45.1% (23)</td>
<td>27.5% (14)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black (Ebony)</td>
<td>3.1% (4)</td>
<td>56.9% (74)</td>
<td>16.9% (22)</td>
<td>23.1% (30)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Overall likelihood ratio \( \chi^2 = 116.342, P = .0005 \); White vs Black \( \chi^2 = 76.568, P = .0005 \); White vs Latino \( \chi^2 = 60.391, P = .0005 \); Black vs Latino \( \chi^2 = 41.808, P = .0005 \).
did) may make our data comparable to the Cummings data.

Likewise, in this first exploration of cigarette ads in magazines for Latinos, we found many ads for menthol brands: the Latino magazine was 2.6 times more likely than the White magazine to contain ads for menthol cigarettes; 35% of ads in the Latino magazine (vs 17% in White magazine) were ads for menthol brands. Because the magazines in question were the same magazine—the English versus the Spanish version of People—these data strongly suggest that the tobacco industry targets Latinos in a manner that it does not target Whites, and indeed, in a manner highly similar to its targeting of Blacks. This interpretation is bolstered by the findings on specific brands of cigarettes marketed to Blacks and Latinos relative to Whites: 57% of the brands advertised to Blacks were Black brands, and 45% of the brands advertised to Latinos were Black brands, compared to only 15% Black brands in the White magazine. This suggests that the tobacco industry may view Blacks and Latinos similarly and so treats them similarly, ie, with a preponderance of ads for what may be the most dangerous brands of cigarettes and with ads for a specific, restrictive set of brands (ie, 16 different brands advertised to Whites, vs 7 brands to Blacks, vs 4 brands to Latinos).

The third finding was on the advertising of Virginia Slims. The purpose of this cigarette is to attract women to smoking by ads that link smoking this brand to women’s emancipation and empowerment.20–24 In the 1960s, the slogan for Virginia Slims was “You’ve come a long way, baby,” and that slogan purposefully has been changed each decade to continue to attract women to smoking.24 In the 1970s and 1980s, the slogan was changed to “We made Virginia Slims especially for women because they are biologically superior to men;” in the 1990’s it was changed to “Virginia Slims. It’s a woman thing,” then to “Virginia Slims. Find your voice,” and most recently to, “Tame and timid? That goes against my instincts.”24 In this first exploration of targeting minority women by placing ads for this brand in popular, minority magazines, we found significantly more ads for Virginia Slims minority than in White magazines: 27.5% of the brands advertised to Latinos were Virginia Slims, compared to 17% for Blacks and 7% for Whites (Latino>Black>White magazines in ads for Virginia Slims). This finding suggests the targeting of minority women, Latina in particular. Further research comparing the number and types of cigarette ads in popular magazines for White (Glamour, Cosmopolitan), Black (Essence, Black Woman), and Latina (Glamour in Spanish, Cosmopolitan in Spanish) is needed to clarify this possibility, and such a study is underway. This novel finding requires verification through additional studies.

Each finding reported here requires verification and must be viewed in light of the limitations of this exploratory study. Foremost among those is that only one magazine was examined for each ethnic group. Although those magazines are comparable, and both Ebony and People have been used in prior studies, different results may have been found if greater number and diversity of magazines had been included. Our finding on advertising menthol brands to Blacks vs Whites is comparable to the Cummings finding, which suggests that our results may be valid, but verification is needed. Likewise, the total number of magazine issues examined was small and limited. Therefore these findings are preliminary, require verification through studies with larger samples of magazines, and are regarded as suggestive.

Prior studies have noted that the tobacco industry has targeted Latinos by sponsoring sporting and cultural events in Latino communities, by a greater percentage of tobacco billboards in Latino than in White neighborhoods, and by marketing the culturally tailored Rio and Dorado cigarette brands to Latinos.3

This preliminary study is the first to examine cigarette ads in Latino magazines, and it suggests that the tobacco industry may target Latinos in a manner similar to its targeting of Blacks, ie, with ads for menthol brands.

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Manuscript draft: Landrine, Klonoff
Statistical expertise: Landrine, Klonoff
Acquisition of funding: Landrine, Klonoff
Administrative, technical, or material assistance: Landrine, Klonoff
Supervision: Landrine, Klonoff

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1. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Smoking cessation during previous year