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A ‘No-Barriers’ Tobacco Product? Selling Smokeless Tobacco to Women, People of Color, and the LGBTQ+ Community in the US

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Abstract

In both Sweden and the US, smokeless tobacco (ST) is legal and used predominantly by men. Starting in the 1970’s, US tobacco companies attempted to expand the smokeless tobacco market to women, African-Americans, Hispanic Americans, and LGBTQ+ people. We analyzed industry documents from the Truth Tobacco Industry Documents Library triangulating findings with recent ST advertising and publicly available literature. We found tobacco companies used design innovations such as pouched moist snuff, snus, and dissolvable products to expand the market. In addition, diverse advertising campaigns targeted women, people of color (Hispanic, African-American), and LGBTQ+ communities with identity-targeted messages emphasizing novelty, convenience, cleanliness and use in smoke-free environments. However, stereotypes of ST users as rural white males endured, perpetuated by continued marketing aimed at this customer base, which created cognitive dissonance and stymied marketer’s hopes that pouch products would ‘democratize’ smokeless tobacco. These failed campaigns suggest novel products such as nicotine pouch products may provide a ‘clean slate’ to similarly target women and other low ST-using groups. Based on this history, the risk of new tobacco and nicotine products to increase health disparities should be closely monitored.

Keywords

Smokeless Tobacco; Demographic Targeting; Media; New Markets; Minorities

INTRODUCTION

Smokeless tobacco (ST) causes cancer of the mouth, esophagus, and pancreas;[1,2] oral disease,[3] increases the risk of death from heart disease and stroke,[4] and causes nicotine addiction.[5] In higher income countries like Sweden and the US,[6,7] the product is used

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mainly by men, but the 2014 Global Youth Tobacco Survey found more youth used ST than cigarettes,[8] raising concerns about broad initiation worldwide. In the US, ST has been advertised to white, rural males since the 1960s and 70s.[9,10] Beginning in the 1980's the United States Smokeless Tobacco Company (USST) (known as the United States Tobacco Company until 2001) and other tobacco companies began to target broader audiences,[11] including African Americans, Hispanics, women, and members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and other sexual orientation (LGBTQ+) communities.[12,13]

Smokeless tobacco advertising affects use.[14] While cigarette advertising targeting marginalized groups has been well studied,[15–19] ST marketing targeting women, people of color, and LGBTQ+ people has not previously been systematically analyzed. As tobacco companies lobby to lift bans on smokeless tobacco in Europe to preserve their markets,[20] and novel products such as nicotine pouches that mimic smokeless tobacco enter the market, [21] understanding past tactics to broaden the ST market to new audiences is important to anticipate re-emergent marketing strategies. Previous studies have documented ST's increased dual use advertising to smokers,[22,23] diversification of ST flavors to recruit new users,[22] and a generalization of ST marketing to entice mainstream nicotine-naïve audiences.[23,24] This article evaluates tobacco industry strategies and ST advertising in the US utilizing content analysis and archival research to identify the implicit and explicit tailored advertising campaigns to these specific groups typically not associated with ST use and evaluate why they were—or were not—successful.

METHODOLOGY

We searched previously secret tobacco industry document archives from the University of California, San Francisco Truth (formerly Legacy) Tobacco Documents Library (<https://industrydocumentslibrary.ucsf.edu/tobacco>), between April 2016 and August 2017. Search terms derived through iterative snowball searches included: 'snus,' 'smokeless tobacco,' 'feminine,' 'multicultural,' 'ethnic research,' 'Black market,' 'Hispanic market,' 'gay,' 'homosexual,' 'Bandits,' and 'new markets.' Initial searches produced thousands of documents; searches were narrowed using more specific keywords suggested by an initial review of the documents retrieved using Boolean operators, followed by snowball searches using standard techniques.[25–27] Follow-up searches utilized key individuals, project dates and titles, budgets, organizational charts, and reference numbers. Research memos containing search strategies, direct quotes and content summaries were written to develop a conceptual and historic understanding, and multiple researchers reviewed these memos, and questions or differences in interpretation were resolved, primarily by gathering additional data. Document data was triangulated by reviewing smokeless tobacco advertising from 1974–2018 using online advertising archives including the Trinkets and Trash archive,[28] Stanford University's Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising (SRITA) database, [29] and other internet searches. Analysis is based on a final collection of 240 tobacco documents, and 139 advertisements published between 1974 and 2018.

FINDINGS

Early Imagery of White Masculinity (1970s-1980s)

The gendering of ST was supported by advertising campaigns exploiting idealized forms of hyper-masculinity which, perhaps inadvertently, led to stigmatizing female ST use. [30,31] While ST was openly used by all demographics a century ago, germ theory in the 1920's relegated spitting to rural and outdoor workers.[32,33] The rise of white-collar desk work and popularity of cigarettes further gelled through marketing in the 1970s,[35] and helped drive almost exclusive adoption by this group (figure 1).[36,37] Capitalizing on the trend of anti-feminism in the 1970s and 80s,[38] a qualitative study conducted for USST [39] reported:

...chewing helps to establish and reinforce traditional male boundaries and role definitions, differentiating men from others (i.e. women and gay men). Even extremely negative (female) responses may... be rewarding, in that they assure users that their masculinity is threatening, potent, and a force to be reckoned with... With women's lib, this is the last bastion of masculinity.[39]

USST hoped to replace their aging user base[9] using masculine imagery, sponsoring sporting events such as rodeos and car shows,[40] and macho spokesmen such as rodeo star Walt Garrison (Figure 2).[41] Between 1971 and 1991 'regular use of moist snuff by 18–24 year old males increased from less than 1% to 6.2%'.[9] By 1991, 23.6% of white adolescents in high-school used ST.[42] USST brands Skoal and Copenhagen dominated the US market until the late 1990s.[43] However, following the highly publicized oral cancer death of nineteen year old ST-chewing track star Sean Marsee in 1984,[44] the company sought to expand their consumer base.

Bandits Era: pouches broaden the consumer base (1980s-90s)

In the 1970s, USST and Swedish Match partnered to create pouched moist snuff tobacco (MST) for the US and Europe.[35] For USST, the launch was explicitly intended to 'change the make-up of its user base'.[45] Pouched, spitless, and dissolvable tobacco products were conceptualized in the 1980s, [46] and the first successful launch of these products appeared under the brand of Skoal Bandits, inaugurating a new era of financial and commercial success for smokeless tobacco.[35] A 1983 USST document noted 'potential skew to all demographic groups,' 'potential appeal to both sexes,' and a 'more upscale' image.[45] [47] 'Since all [people] are predisposed to tobacco use,' USST research and development leadership waxed optimistically, '*All* are potential consumers' (emphasis in original).[45] A 1983 USST document on pouched tobacco warned: 'This product has no entry barriers– DO NOT CREATE THEM!' (emphasis in original).[48]

People of Color as a new Demographic for Skoal Bandits (1980–90s)

The projected population growth of African American and Hispanic markets made them increasingly attractive targets.[49, 50] In 1982, USST sales administrator Greg Watson underestimated that 'One out of every five Americans will be either Black or Hispanic by the year 2000,' presenting a business opportunity as 'no oral tobacco [product] is currently tapping this vast potential market'.[49] USST created a 'Black Market Program,' intending

to reach the 5 million African Americans in their target 18–40 age demographic.[12] A 1984 USST presentation to Senior Vice President of Corporate Development Manuel Leitao stated that ‘Each Black consumer reached is worth more and the return can be higher for every dollar targeted expressly at blacks than whites’.[51]

USST utilized African American and Hispanic media sources and events to exploit existing trust networks, drawing on cultural solidarity.[12] They planned to distribute ads and coupons through Black media, targeting *Jet*, *Ebony*, *Dollars & Cents*, *Black Marketers*, *Black Enterprise*, *Black Collegian* (specifically the ‘careers’ issue), and *The New Black Monitor*.[12] USST strategized to leverage Black fraternities, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (a civil rights organization), and the National Black Police Association [52] to spread promotional materials.[12] The company also made African American football star Earl Campbell their spokesman, while wondering if Campbell was ‘believable’ enough in his ST advertisements to credibly sell ST to African Americans (Figure 2).[49]

To target male Hispanics, USST focused on cultural and sporting events. In 1989, Skoal Bandits sponsored Miami’s Calle Ocho festival, a Hispanic festival in Corpus Christi, Texas, and the 10th anniversary car and truck show of *Lowrider* magazine [40], as well as the Copa Nacional (Hispanic championship soccer tournament) in 1995.[40]

Yet, USST predicted the possibility of dissonance in appealing to urban people of color after spending decades building a white, rural base. On the one hand, a 1982 memo from Special Marketing Task Force leader Greg P. Watson to Vice President of Sales A. Hayward Cameron at USST stated that ‘Spanish and Black men are highly individualistic and macho,’ which was consonant with prevailing smokeless marketing.[49] On the other hand, in the same memo, USST recognized, ‘our [current] spokesman connotes a redneck image’ which could precipitate a ‘negative response from Blacks and Hispanics’.[49] The double-bind of marketing to keep the core demographic while reaching out to new populations would become a recurring trope for ST companies.

Women in the Bandits Era (1980s-90s)

In the postwar period, while men used ST in outdoor and factory jobs, women in service jobs and in the home were encouraged to smoke cigarettes.[34] Smokeless tobacco companies sought to develop new ST products for women without altering prevailing gender roles.[53] In the early 1980s RJ Reynolds (RJR) and the consulting firm Synectics developed pouched, spitless ST and dissolvable tobacco that could be ‘unobtrusive,’ ‘more unisex,’ and spitless—overcoming crucial hurdles to female ST adoption.[46] RJR’s lingering concern was ‘how to convince women that it is feminine’.[46] Proposed tactics included celebrity endorsements, flavoring, discreet packaging, and hiring female samplers and distributors. [54] RJR also considered sexualizing products, suggesting a nicotine lipstick, allowing one to ‘kiss her and get a buzz on’.[46]

As women were more likely to smoke flavored cigarettes,[55] consultants suggested that a female-branded smokeless product could ‘use a more female sort of flavor (e.g. lemon or orange)’, making it ‘look like Tic Tacs’.[46] Unabashed marketing of a female-friendly,

candy-like product did raise concerns for USST, however, including: ‘How to have it safe for children,’ and ‘How to mark the product as tobacco and not gum or confectionary so no FDA’ intervention would ensue.[46]

True to their plan, in the early 1980’s USST hired roughly 20 female sales representatives promoting ST to drive around in ‘Skoal Bandit Cars’ (imitations of NASCAR driver Harry Grant’s Skoal sponsored racecar).[56, 36] USST promoted them in the press: the Cedar Rapids Gazette (Iowa) ran an article in 1983 highlighting a female sales representative: ‘Some people might think selling tobacco products is an unusual job for a woman, but not so, [sales rep Mary Johnston] asserts... “I would still want to work, even if I didn’t have to... I’m not the housewife type”’. [36]

These efforts continued in the late 1990s and early 2000’s as USST developed early versions of spitless pouched MST branded as Revel and Skoal Dry, both marketed using images of white collar, urban or suburban, men and women of varying races (Figure 3).[57] In 2003, USST President Murray S. Kessler discussed appealing to both sexes faced with smoke-free policies, ‘Whether restricted on an airplane, in a meeting, on the factory floor, or in a shopping mall, we believe that Revel is the answer adults smokers have been seeking’.[58]

Snus & Dissolvables: dual use is for everyone (2000s on)

Dual use of cigarettes and other ST and oral nicotine products became a goal for tobacco companies as smoke-free laws, taxes, and denormalization led to fewer acceptable places to smoke.[59,60] RJR acquired Conwood smokeless tobacco company in 2006, and Philip Morris (PM) acquired USST in 2008. Subsequently, each parent company introduced cigarette-branded snus products. These products were perceived as a temporary substitute: in an internal RJR study, 69 percent of tested tobacco users agreed ‘Camel Orbs [a new dissolvable product] is great when you can’t smoke, dip or chew’ while only 17 percent agreed ‘Camel Orbs is a product I’d rather use than cigarettes’.[61]

To promote dual use, RJR simultaneously ran intensive Hispanic and African American-targeted cigarette campaigns in many of the same cities where they were marketing Camel Snus. RJR laid out a plan for ‘connecting with the Multicultural Consumer’ in 2007, including tailored marketing ‘celebrating African-American and Hispanic cultures in positive and authentic ways’.[62] In 2008, RJR increased marketing for Kool (an African American-targeted menthol cigarette),[63] Camel Hispanic (targeted Hispanic messaging and Spanish language marketing),[64] and Camel Snus advertisements simultaneously in several metropolitan areas.[63]

With African American markets predicted to remain stagnant in 2007,[62] RJR particularly focused on increasing snus use in Hispanic communities. In June 2009, RJR held test marketing dinners in San Diego, Phoenix, and San Antonio for Camel Snus among ‘non-aculturated’ Hispanic male smokers linguistically and culturally still tied to their country of origin, ages 21–48. RJR found the participants responded positively to the product being hands-free and not affecting others with secondhand smoke. The marketing manager was pleasantly surprised that there was no negative association with spitting, as most Hispanic participants had no prior experience with dip.[65]

Marketing Snus to Women (2007 on)

Soon after its introduction in test markets, RJR conducted consumer surveys assessing the appeal of Camel Snus to women.[66][67] A February 2009 RJR consumer survey found 13% of non-smoking women would try Snus (compared to only 2% interested in trying cigarettes),[67] and another marketing study found ‘Females may find reason for a stronger, personal relevance’ to the product.[68] RJR ran an advertising campaign from 2009–2013 placing gender neutral messages about Camel Snus in magazines including *Essence*, *Latina*, and *Marie Claire*.^[28] The Camel Snus ads used blue and green colors to convey calm and cleanliness,^[69] lower case lettering, and omitted traditionally masculine images or tones (Figure 4). A summer 2010 Camel Snus ad ran in *Marie Claire*, *Field & Stream*, *Latina*, *GQ*, *Rolling Stone*, *Glamour*, *Car and Driver*, *Maxim*, and the *Village Voice* (NYC),^[70] reaching female, Hispanic, male, rural, metropolitan, and LGBTQ+ readership.^[71]

Some Camel Snus ads, while still not explicitly ‘for’ women, evoked more stereotypically feminine messages. Ads included messaging such as ‘Happy Valentine’s Day, Cheat on Your Old Flame’ (2011) and ‘The Perfect (un)match’ (2011) with images of hearts and cupid’s arrows directed at smokers wishing to quit smoking but still addicted to tobacco. Despite the female-friendly marketing campaign, female consumers did not adopt Camel Snus to the degree RJR had hoped. The Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration estimated in 2015 0.6% of adult U.S. women (compared to 6.7% of adult U.S. men) had used ST (snuff dip, chew, snus) within the last 30 days.^[72]

Marketing Dissolvables to Women (2007 on)

RJR hoped dissolvable tobacco, which took a candy-like form and did not require spitting, would appeal to women. Initial RJR planning documents in 1981 emphasized that a dissolvable product would be ‘discreet, refined, private’.^[46,73] Packaging was intended to ‘[express] an emotional indulgence attitude guided by the female aesthetic concept’.^[73] Two and a half decades later, RJR research found Camel Sticks, Strips, and Orbs (dispensed in Tic-Tac®-like containers) appealed to both younger and older males and females.^[74] A 2009 RJR follow-up study found 40% of adult users under 30 agreed that Camel Orbs appealed to women.^[61] Between 2006–2009, women and girls exposed to ST advertising in magazines rose from 4% to 9.3%.^[14] Similar to the Skoal Bandits advertising described earlier, Camel Dissolvables advertising featured an everyday working spokeswoman ‘Cynthia’ who RJR presented as ‘Our tobacco Expert Extraordinaire for Camel Dissolvables’ (Figure 4).^[75]

Competitor PM brainstormed nicotine products with feminine appeal in 2008, including dissolvable nicotine product possibilities such as ‘dietary herbal supplement[s],’ ‘flavored edible glitter,’ and ‘adult flavors, cognac, brandy, wine, etc’.^[76] PM’s actual dissolvable nicotine products (Marlboro and Skoal Sticks), however, only briefly appeared in limited markets, and met little success.^[77] Despite initial positive feedback, RJR also ultimately conceded that Camel Dissolvables were failing in test markets, and facing regulatory investigations for selling candy-like tobacco products, retired the product in 2013.^[78]

LGBTQ + Snus (2010s)

Marketing ST to LGBTQ+ people occurred later and more subtly, potentially due to even more intense dissonance with past (and present) hyper-masculine and exclusionary-by-design branding. The construction of ST as a rural, white, masculine product in the 1970's necessarily came with a strong emphasis on heteronormativity and homophobia.[79] In 1977, market research for USST reported 'chewing helps to establish and reinforce traditional male boundaries and role definitions, differentiating men from others (i.e. women and gay men)'. [39] Original advertising featured pro athletes, rodeo promotions [40], truckers [80], outdoorsman gear catalogues,[81] and other symbols of heteronormative masculinity.[79,82,83] In contrast, RJR advertised Camel Snus in LGBTQ+ magazines and in alternative newspapers such as *QNotes* (Charlotte, NC), *Lavender* (Minneapolis), and *Village Voice* (NYC) in 2010.[84,85] The 'Take Pride in your Flavor' ad, including a rainbow, appeared in *QNotes* and *Lavender* synchronized with annual Gay Pride parades in 2011 (Figure 4). At least 21 geographically diverse alternative weeklies and LGBTQ+ magazines ran snus ads from 2009–11.[85][86] Cigarette advertising in LGBTQ+ news publications also started in the early 2000s.[17]

It is difficult to measure the impact of these efforts. While LGBTQ+ smoking rates are disproportionately high,[87,88] LGBTQ+ ST use is less studied. ST use varies greatly within the LGBTQ+ population by age and gender (and likely by race).[89,90] One 2013–2014 national study found LGBTQ+ women had higher and LGBTQ+ men had lower rates of ST use;[88] however, the study did not differentiate between snus and other types of smokeless tobacco.

ZYN and next generation ST

Tobacco companies globally continue to pursue novel nicotine products to attract diverse demographics. For example, Swedish Match introduced ZYN nicotine-salt pouches in 2016, advertising the product as a simple, tobacco-free way to obtain nicotine.[91] The company describes ZYN as appealing to e-cigarette users as well as traditional target users (snus and MST users, smokers).[92] Swedish Match is constructing production facilities for ZYN in Kentucky, a \$40.9 million investment.[93] Swedish Match research and development documents remarked on the 'higher level of acceptance among female consumers versus other oral options', and referred to ZYN as a 'next generation product' capable of finally breaching the oral tobacco/nicotine replacement therapy marketing divide. [92] Advertisements on Facebook for ZYN imply reduced-harm, convenience, and include youthful images of diverse users (e.g., lesbian, genderqueer DJs at underground parties) (Figure 4).[94] Between 2016–2019 ZYN captured roughly 10% of the Western US smokeless market.[95] Altria bought a 80% stake in On! nicotine pouches for \$372 million in June 2019.[95] Bernstein analyst Callum Elliott claimed that 'nicotine pouches are to oral tobacco... what Juul and vaping are to cigarettes'.[95] Since new 'recreational' nicotine pouches are sold alongside nicotine-replacement therapy pouches, consumers may confuse ST and pharmaceutical nicotine products.[96,97]

DISCUSSION

This study describes decades of efforts to expand the ST market in the US to capture large metropolitan, female, people of color, and LGBTQ+ consumer bases. For the most part, these efforts have failed. The failure to expand the market may be partially due to inconsistent brand messaging and dissonance between new diversity-friendly brands (Camel Snus) and established brands still geared to the rural white male consumer (Grizzly, Copenhagen). Richardson et al found in 2012 that the majority of ST advertising still focused on masculine themes.[98] The Grizzly ‘Telling It Like It Is’ campaign (2012–2018), included aggressively masculine ad copy such as ‘Women have spas. Men have firing ranges’,[99] and ‘Fashion Tip: You don’t need fashion tips’.[100] RJR’s Grizzly was the only brand that successfully challenged USST’s Copenhagen and Skoal brands between 2005–2011,[43] featuring cheaper pricing and high nicotine content along with its masculine advertising. While segmented marketing is frequently used to sell a similar product to different audiences using different brand positioning, the decades of exclusively masculine advertising for MST made it particularly difficult to introduce the clean, gender-neutral brand image of Camel Snus.

Camel Snus’ attempts to expand the market resulted in inconsistent advertising. Snus advertising in *Car and Driver* (2009) and *Field and Stream* (2009–10) was traditionally masculine, but mildly so, perhaps attempting to walk a fine line to not alienate the rural male base while also not offending potential new users (women, people of color, LGBTQ+). In contrast, in 2010 RJR ran a series of Camel Snus ads in Maxim’s ‘Hometown Hottie’ edition objectifying scantily clad women and linking lust for heteronormative attractiveness with their product, clearly sexing the product towards heterosexual men.[101] The failed attempts to expand the market while retaining traditional users mirror Philip Morris’s failed efforts to make Virginia Slims female cigarette advertising more relevant to young women while retaining older feminist smokers in the 1990s.[16] The unprofitable demographic expansion efforts of pouched ST and snus in the US contrasts with other studies focused on selling cigarettes tracking lucrative tobacco industry marketing strategies targeting women, African Americans,[102–104] Hispanics,[105] Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders,[106] persons of low socioeconomic status,[107] and homeless and mentally ill individuals.[108] This study suggests that it may be more challenging to apply cigarette brands to ST, which has a strong masculine user image, than to novel tobacco products, such as similarly dispensed but unconventionally positioned nicotine pouches,[109] which take pains to disassociate from previously defined ST user stereotypes.

In contrast to ST, which had decades of masculine advertising, e-cigarettes were a *tabula rasa* with no pre-existing user image. Health claims and lifestyle appeals [110] coupled with thousands of flavors [111] attracted a broad audience, including women, children, people of color, and LGBTQ+ people.[112,113] Because e-cigarettes were free of prior associations, the blu brand’s e-cigarette ads, for example, could feature an African-American motorcyclist,[114] a drag queen,[115] and a Photoshopped Audrey Hepburn [116] holding the product with no dissonance (Figure 5), demonstrating a level of semiotic flexibility ST never achieved. Similarly, ZYN, Dryft, and on! brands of new nicotine pouch products appealing to demographic groups excluded from traditional ST marketing have recently seen

an exponential growth in sales, especially amongst flavored products.[109] In contrast to the failed rebranding of smokeless tobacco products, which did not succeed in mass adoption by these previously excluded demographics, nicotine pouches – free from prior associated branding baggage – hold potential for bringing new populations to tobacco use. For newer nicotine products, messaging that deemphasizes that these substances are tobacco products in the traditional sense may expand the market to nicotine-naïve young people.

Limitations

The Truth Tobacco Industry Documents archive consists mainly of documents produced during litigation with the seven major US tobacco companies, and thus includes fewer documents from ST companies (e.g., Conwood Tobacco Company was not a signatory to the Smokeless Tobacco Master Settlement Agreement). In addition, more recent documents, such as detailed planning documents for Camel Snus, were not found. The Trinkets and Trash advertising archive includes systematic tracking of tobacco advertising in 25 magazines over nearly two decades, but it is not an exhaustive sample.

CONCLUSION

This is the first study detailing efforts by tobacco companies to sell smokeless tobacco products to women, people of color, and LGBTQ+ populations using pouched forms of moist snuff tobacco, snus, and dissolvable tobacco products. These products were marketed as different from typical smokeless tobacco products, and tobacco companies attempted to associate these products with Hispanic, African-American, LGBTQ+, and female identities through demographically-tailored marketing. While these efforts largely failed, tobacco control programs should not overlook vulnerable populations when addressing the targeted marketing of ST products, especially new nicotine pouches. Tobacco companies are likely to continue to create new nicotine products aimed at demographic groups uninterested in smoking but vulnerable to tobacco advertising and peer pressure both in the US and in other countries. Because nicotine pouches lack a history yoked to a specific consumer identity, targeted advertising to drive use among women, people of color, and LGBTQ+ people is more likely to succeed than prior efforts to promote variations on traditional smokeless tobacco products. These communications should be monitored and mitigated.

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What this paper adds

- Smokeless tobacco is known to be predominantly advertised to rural white males in the US
- This study reveals how, since the 1980s, tobacco companies attempted to expand the market for pouched moist snuff, snus and dissolvable products by targeting women, people of color, and LGBTQ+ audiences.
- The efforts to diversify the smokeless market largely failed because the historical hypermasculine branding limited its appeal and penetration in new consumer markets.
- New tobacco products without a preexisting user template such as e-cigarettes, heated tobacco products or nicotine pouch products, are more likely to succeed in appealing to women, people of color, and LGBTQ+ people.

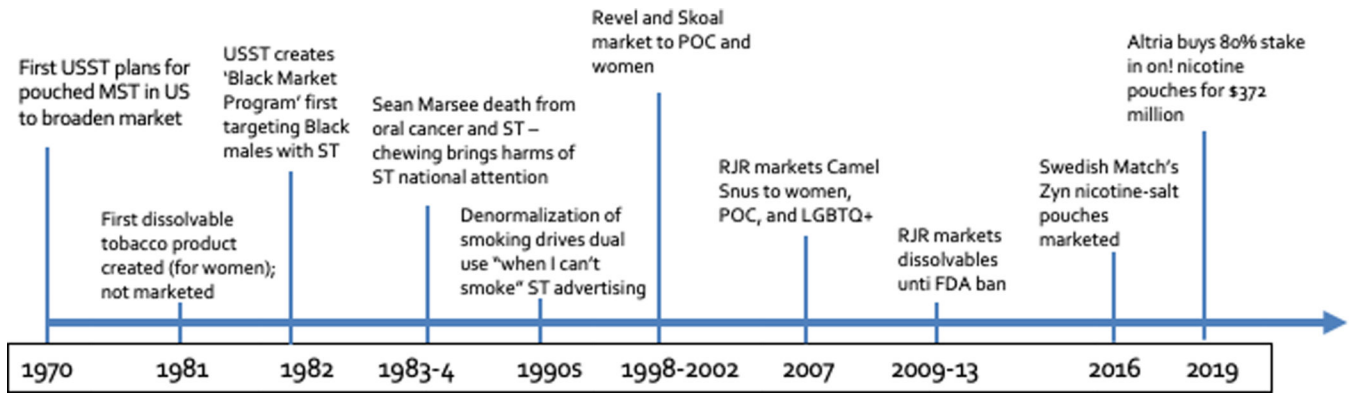


Figure 1.
Timeline of ST industry developments and public health events

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I love tobacco. I don't smoke.

Walt Garrison, football and rodeo star.

If I'm a guy who loves tobacco, how come I never take a puff? Well, because I use "smokeless tobacco."

All it takes is a pinch of "smokeless" in between my cheek and gum. Feels real, really is there. And I get full, rich tobacco pleasure.

Another thing is, "smokeless tobacco" can't get up my hands, so I can use it no matter what I'm doing.

If you'd like to go "smokeless," here's what you do. Just look for three great brands. There's Skoal, my favorite, which has a wintergreen taste. Copenhagen, a straight tobacco. And Happy Days Mint. They'll each give you the tobacco pleasure you're looking for.

Smokeless tobacco. A pinch is all it takes.

For a free booklet that explains how to get the full enjoyment of "smokeless tobacco"—as well as a few free pinches that you can try for yourself—write to: "Smokeless Tobacco," United States Tobacco Company, Dept. P20, Greenwich, Connecticut 06830.

SEPTEMBER 1974 | 36

Something for nothing.

SKOAL

If the best things in life are free, this is one of them. Just fill out the coupon below, send it in and we'll send you a free can of Happy Days moist smokeless tobacco.

Just a pinch between your cheek and gum will give you real tobacco pleasure without lighting up. Go Smokeless. It's the only way to go.

A pinch is all it takes!

SEND ME MY FREE CAN OF HAPPY DAYS

Fill out and send to: "Smokeless Tobacco," P.O. Box 265, Dept. 22-23, Greenwich, Conn. 06830. Name and complete address must appear on outside of envelope.

Name: _____
 Address: _____
 City: _____
 State: _____
 Zip: _____

©1981 U.S. Tobacco Company. *Special to one company per family. *OFFERS MUST BE MAILED TO US BY 12/31/81.

Figure 2.
 (a) Walt Garrison advertising Skoal. (1974, trinkets and trash). (b) 1981 UST Promotion for Skoal, Happy Days, and Copenhagen MST, featuring African American football star Earl Campbell.



Figure 3. Skoal Dry (USST) Ad, 2006. Hands showing the product reflect different skin tones and include a female hand (with nail polish), with button-down shirt or blazer cuffs visible, and a testimonial from a 'R. Garcia,' signaling inclusion of Hispanic users.

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Figure 4. Camel Snus ads in conjunction with Gay Pride events in 2011 (appeared in *QNotes* and *Lavender*); ZYN ad feature racially diverse, young women and men engaged in a variety of youthful activities (a female DJ-ing at an underground club) in ad format that resembles Instagram.

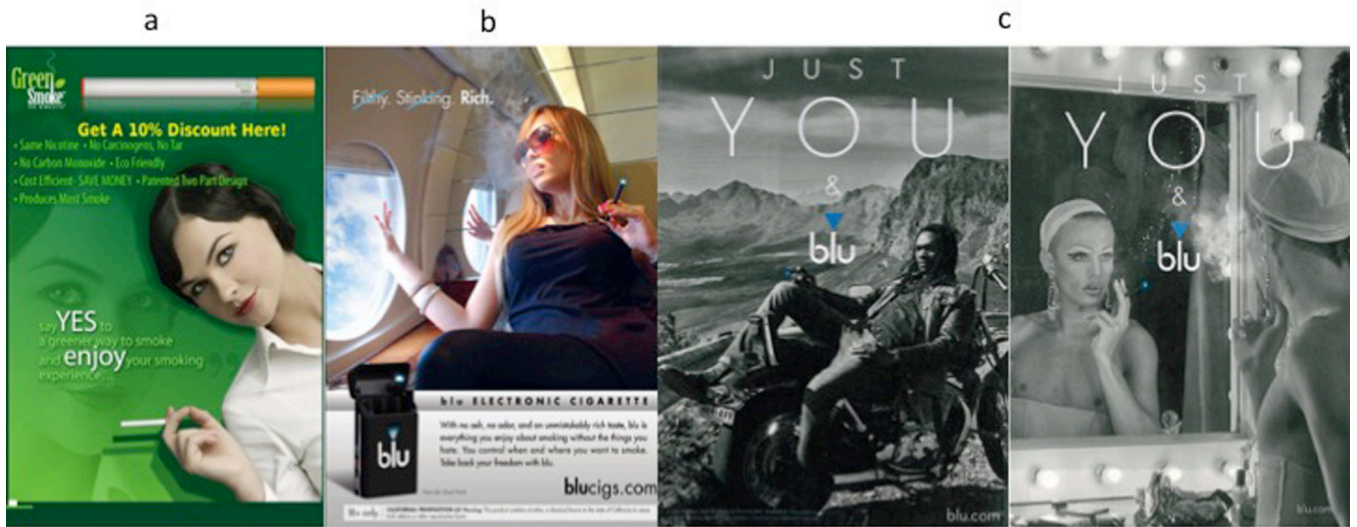


Figure 5.
E-cigarette advertising featuring diverse product users.

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