



- densitometry. *Ann Pharmacother*. 2003; 37(7-8):976–981.
51. Johnson JA, Bootman JL. Drug-related morbidity and mortality. A cost-of-illness model. *Arch Intern Med*. 1995;155(18):1949–1956.
52. Wosinska M. Direct-to-consumer advertising and drug therapy compliance. *J Mark Res*. 2005;42(3):323–332.
53. Bradford WD, Kleit AN, Nietert PJ, Ornstein S. Effects of direct-to-consumer advertising of hydroxymethylglutaryl co-enzyme a reductase inhibitors on attainment of LDL-C goals. *Clin Ther*. 2006; 28(12):2105–2118.
54. Adams C. FDA to review policy allowing drug ads on TV. *Wall Street Journal*. March 28, 2001:B1.
55. Mintzes B, Barer ML, Kravitz RL, et al. How does direct-to-consumer advertising (DTCA) affect prescribing? A survey in primary care environments with and without legal DTCA. *CMAJ*. 2003; 169(5):405–412.
56. Spence MM, Teleki SS, Cheatham TC, Schweitzer SO, Millares M. Direct-to-consumer advertising of COX-2 inhibitors: effect on appropriateness of prescribing. *Med Care Res Rev*. 2005; 62(5):544–559.
57. Hansen RA, Shaheen NJ, Schommer JC. Factors influencing the shift of patients from one proton pump inhibitor to another: the effect of direct-to-consumer advertising. *Clin Ther*. 2005;27(9): 1478–1487.
58. McDonagh MS, Carson S. Drug class review on proton pump inhibitors. Available at: http://derp.ohsu.edu/final/PPI_%20final%20report_update%205_version%204_unshaded_09_May.pdf. Published 2006. Accessed October 2, 2008.
59. Conrad P, Leiter V. Medicalization, markets and consumers. *J Health Soc Behav*. 2004;45(Suppl):158–176.
60. Mintzes B. For and against: direct to consumer advertising is medicalising normal human experience. *For. BMJ*. 2002;324(7342):908–909.
61. Bonaccorso SN, Sturchio JL. For and against: direct to consumer advertising is medicalising normal human experience. *Against. BMJ*. 2002;324(7342):910–911.
62. Arney J, Rafalovich A. Incomplete syllogisms as techniques of medicalization: the case of direct-to-consumer advertising in popular magazines, 1997 to 2003. *Qual Health Res*. 2007;17(1):49–60.
63. Bell RA, Kravitz RL, Wilkes MS. Direct-to-consumer prescription drug advertising, 1989–1998. A content analysis of conditions, targets, inducements, and appeals. *J Fam Pract*. 2000;49(4):329–335.
64. Davis JJ. Consumers' preferences for the communication of risk information in drug advertising. *Health Aff (Millwood)*. 2007;26(3):863–870.
65. Halvorsen PA, Kristiansen IS. Decisions on drug therapies by numbers needed to treat: a randomized trial. *Arch Intern Med*. 2005;165(10):1140–1146.
66. Sheridan SL, Pignone MP, Lewis CL. A randomized comparison of patients' understanding of number needed to treat and other common risk reduction formats. *J Gen Intern Med*. 2003;18(11): 884–892.
67. Grimes T. Mild auditory-visual dissonance in television news may exceed viewer attentional capacity. *Hum Commun Res*. 1991;18(2):268–298.
68. Gencarelli DM. *Average Wholesale Price for Prescription Drugs: Is There a More Appropriate Pricing Mechanism?* Washington DC: National Health Policy Forum; 2002. Issue Brief 775.
69. Saul S. Celebrex commercial draws criticism. *New York Times*. October 4, 2007. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/10/business/media/10celebrex.web.html?scp=1&sq=celebrex%20commercial%20draws%20criticism&st=cse>. Accessed October 2, 2008.
70. Huff D. *How to Lie With Statistics*. New York, NY: WW Norton; 1993.
71. Drazen JM. The consumer and the learned intermediary in health care. *N Engl J Med*. 2002;346(7):523–524.
72. Mechanic D, McAlpine DD, Rosenthal M. Are patients' office visits with physicians getting shorter? *N Engl J Med*. 2001;344(3):198–204.
73. Tai-Seale M, McGuire TG, Zhang W. Time allocation in primary care office visits. *Health Serv Res*. 2007;42(5): 1871–1894.
74. Shah MB, Bentley JP, McCaffrey DJ III. Evaluations of care by adults following a denial of an advertisement-related prescription drug request: the role of expectations, symptom severity, and physician communication style. *Soc Sci Med*. 2006;62(4):888–899.
75. Freudenheim M. Showdown looms in Congress over drug advertising on TV. *New York Times*. January 22, 2007:C1.

Branding the Rodeo: A Case Study of Tobacco Sports Sponsorship

| Pamela M. Ling, MD, MPH, Lawrence A. Haber, MD, and Stefani Wedl, MD

Rodeo is one of the few sports still sponsored by the tobacco industry, particularly the US Smokeless Tobacco Company. Rodeo is popular in rural communities, where smokeless tobacco use is more prevalent.

We used previously secret tobacco industry documents to examine the history and internal motivations for tobacco company rodeo sponsorship. Rodeos allow tobacco companies to reach rural audiences and young

people, enhance brand image, conduct market research, and generate positive press. Relationships with athletes and fans were used to fight proposed restrictions on tobacco sports sponsorship. Rodeo sponsorship was intended to enhance tobacco sales, not the sport.

Rural communities should question the tradition of tobacco sponsorship of rodeo sports and reject these predatory marketing practices. (*Am J Public Health*.

2010;100:32–41. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2008.144097)

SPORTS SPONSORSHIP HAS

been part of tobacco promotion since the industry invented baseball cards to associate cigarettes with sport,¹ and it continues to represent a challenge for tobacco control worldwide.^{2–5} Sports sponsorship is associated with smoking behavior⁴ and appeals to youths,² maintains presence on television in restricted markets,^{3,6,7} and recruits

third-party allies to fight marketing restrictions.⁸

Rodeo originated in the 1800s. The Cowboy's Turtle Association was formed in 1936 and became the Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association (PRCA) in 1975.⁹ Cigarette companies explored rodeo sponsorship during the early 1970s, when tobacco advertising was banned from broadcast media in the United States.^{3,5,6,10} The US Smokeless Tobacco Company (USST)^{11,12} has sponsored the PRCA



since 1986 and the National Intercollegiate Rodeo Association (NIRA) since 1974. The 1998 Smokeless Tobacco Master Settlement Agreement limits USST to 1 sponsorship per year bearing a product's brand name. In 2008 USST made Professional Bull Riding (PBR) its single branded sponsorship (Copenhagen).¹³ USST uses its PRCA corporate sponsorship to continue other marketing activities at rodeos.

Spending on advertising and promotion by the 5 major smokeless tobacco companies reached a record high of \$251 million in 2005, including \$15.8 million specifically on sports and sporting events.¹⁴ The PRCA stated in 2007 that it had 650 rodeos annually in 41 states, with more than 33 million attending, ranking it seventh in overall attendance among all sports.¹¹ Both PRCA and PBR events are televised.¹⁵ Although tobacco advertising on television is banned, television cameras may pick up branded banners, chute signs, scoreboards, and cowboys' vest patches during televised rodeo events.

Smokeless tobacco use is associated with oral cancer, gum disease, and nicotine addiction.^{16,17} Although the overall prevalence of smokeless tobacco use among adults and adolescents declined between 1986 and 2003,¹⁸ sales of moist snuff products (USST's main products) increased by 109% from 36.1 million pounds in 1986 to 75.7 million pounds in 2005, as did overall sales revenues.¹⁴ Rodeos provide tobacco companies access to rural audiences, which have higher rates of tobacco use¹⁹ and are reached less effectively by

anti-tobacco media campaigns.²⁰ Rodeos are also attended by and popular with children.

Previously secret tobacco industry documents can help guide tobacco control efforts by providing insights into how and why tobacco companies pursue marketing activities.²¹ We analyzed tobacco industry documents to address 3 questions: (1) What audiences did tobacco companies hope to reach at rodeos? (2) What marketing strategies were used to promote tobacco products at rodeos? (3) In addition to increasing sales, what other benefits did tobacco companies obtain through rodeo sponsorship?

METHODS

We searched tobacco industry document archives from the University of California, San Francisco Legacy Tobacco Documents Library (<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu>), and Tobacco Documents Online (<http://www.tobaccodocuments.org>) between August 2002 and August 2003, with supplemental searches in June 2006, after additional documents from USST were posted publicly. Initial search terms included "rodeo," "sponsorship," "plan," "budget," "market," "strategy," "sports," "PRCA," and "PBR." Initial searches yielded thousands of documents; we reviewed those pertaining to rodeo sponsorship and related marketing activities. Searches were repeated and focused by standard techniques.²² We conducted further snowball searches for contextual information on relevant

documents by names, project titles, brand names, document locations, dates, and reference (Bates) numbers.

We analyzed a final collection of 215 research reports, presentations, memoranda, advertisements, and plans. Information from documents was triangulated with data from published literature, tobacco company annual reports, official organization (such as USST or PRCA) Web sites, public Webcasts, and examination of promotional materials. Because of the large number of tobacco industry documents and the imperfect way in which some are indexed, we may not have identified all relevant documents.

RESULTS

RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company (RJR) first sponsored PRCA rodeos in 1972 with the Winston Rodeo Series.²³ When tobacco sponsorship of rodeo started, concerns were raised because of youth attendance at rodeos and limits on commercialization of municipal facilities.²⁴ A 1981 strategic planning memo written to RJR executives by a marketing firm spelled out how RJR initially agreed not to advertise at the rodeo to establish a relationship with the PRCA:

When Winston entered its association with the PRCA, there was concern by some board members about a tobacco company tying [sic] in with the sport. These fears were quailed [sic] however, by Winston explaining that it cannot direct its advertising or promotional efforts to you.

Based on these concerns, rules were put on the books at that time stating that no advertising

would be allowed in the rodeo arena.²⁵

These rules were not enforced, however, and over time the PRCA increasingly cooperated with RJR's promotional activities.²⁴ RJR's sponsorship of PRCA rodeo continued until 1987, when US Tobacco (later USST) became the exclusive sponsor.^{26–28} Other tobacco companies, such as Brown & Williamson and Philip Morris, were involved with rodeo on a smaller scale.^{29–33}

Targeted Marketing

Rodeo marketing efforts have traditionally focused on males of low socioeconomic status. RJR sponsorship in the 1970s and 1980s^{23,34} focused on core Winston customers and young males.^{24,35–37} A 1979 Brown & Williamson marketing document described rodeo attendees as having "traditional values, to be middle class or lower, to be high school educated or less, to be hard-working, blue-collar types"—matching the marketing targets for the Raleigh cigarette brand.³⁸ US Tobacco's 1979 smokeless marketing plans for rodeo defined the company's "core" user as the "outdoorsman, farm worker, factory worker, [and] coal miner."³⁹

American Tobacco Company pursued bull-riding sponsorship for its Bull Durham cigarette brand in the early 1990s. Bull Durham was a discount cigarette targeted to low-income young men rather than to the typical older female purchasers of very low-priced cigarettes. Bull-riding sponsorship was viewed as 1 way to establish the discount brand's personality, and plans were to "increase carton buying patterns"



through sequential promotion of escalating purchase sizes, from 2 packs to a 5-pack minicarton, progressing to a full carton.⁴⁰

To a lesser extent, rodeo sponsorship allowed cigarette companies to target ethnic populations. In the early 1980s, RJR sponsored Hispanic rodeos in Los Angeles, California; New York City, New York; and Houston, Texas.⁴¹ Philip Morris's 1987 Marlboro marketing plans introduced the "Marlboro Charreada . . . a unique combination of rodeo and Hispanic entertainment" as part of plans to target the Hispanic population.⁴² In 1985 the Lorillard Tobacco Company sponsored Black World Championship Rodeo, which included 3 rodeos in the northeastern United States.⁴³ The same year, RJR sponsored the Bill Picket Invitational Rodeo, which celebrated the "talents and skills of the American black cowboy."⁴⁴

Rodeo and Marketing to Youths

Historically, rodeo promotions appealed to youths. A 1975 RJR campaign promising free Winston Rodeo bumper stickers prompted requests from youths younger than 21 years.^{45–47} RJR sent letters back to these children telling them how to get around the "company policy, voluntarily adopted, [that] we do not advertise or promote the sale of our cigarette brands to persons less than 21 years of age."⁴⁷ The letter advised,

Thank you for your note advising us that you are not 21 years of age or older, but that you would still like a WINSTON Rodeo Bumper Sticker. If you will have one of your parents sign their name on the below listed

statement, we will be happy to send them the WINSTON Rodeo Bumper Sticker.⁴⁵

RJR sponsored the Mesquite Championship Rodeo during the mid-1980s⁴⁸; an advertising solicitation from this rodeo from 1993 estimated that 20% of attendees were "children 12 and under" and the remaining 80% were "adults."⁴⁹ RJR public relations strategies⁵⁰ and correspondence with sports marketers⁵¹ from the 1990s discuss or acknowledge children's attendance at rodeos.

Other tobacco companies' documents also show awareness of children at rodeos; Brown & Williamson advertised in *Rodeo News* during the 1980s and estimated that 70% of rodeo attendees during that period were adults.^{52,53} A 1991 memo to the American Tobacco Company exploring rodeo magazine advertising for Bull Durham reported that almost 30% of readers of *Rodeo News* magazine were younger than 19 years.⁵⁴ An internal observer of a 1985 Lorillard-sponsored Black World Championship Rodeo estimated that approximately 70% of attendees were adults, with the balance made up of children.⁵⁵

Marketing Strategies for Rodeo Sponsorship

Building brand image. RJR enhanced its brand exposure at rodeos through free samples, branded merchandise, scoreboards, stadium signage, and cowboy and rodeo staff uniforms.^{23,29,56–63} Although rodeo cowboy events had never had scoreboards, RJR invented the Winston rodeo scoreboard for use at its sponsored

events (R.N. Proctor, PhD, unpublished data, 2009).⁶⁴ A 1981 strategic planning document written by a marketing firm for RJR states that the rodeo scoreboard was first introduced to circumvent RJR's original agreement with the PRCA not to advertise in the arena:

The Winston rodeo scoreboard, due to its extremely functional nature, was largely responsible for breaking through the no-advertising barrier. Although the rule remains on the books today, it is not enforced at all.²⁵

Winston scoreboards served as rolling billboards on the roads when transported between events,⁵⁹ and scoreboards created permanent signage at sports facilities during nonrodeo events.⁶¹

For the 1982 Winston Rodeo Series, RJR planned to produce a guide to help the media cover rodeo more effectively; the company also planned to place rodeo news stories in regional and national magazines, in-flight magazines, rodeo program inserts, and business papers.⁶⁵ During the late 1970s and early 1980s, RJR produced numerous press releases about rodeo cowboys participating in Winston-sponsored rodeos.^{66–81} It also placed rodeo-related stories in major Los Angeles newspapers and facilitated the appearance of cowboy Charlie Sampson, "the Professional Rodeo Cowboy Association's first black world-champion bull rider"⁸² on CNN.⁸³

Sampling. Distribution of free samples (sampling) was an important way to make both cigarettes and smokeless tobacco products appealing to new users. A 1983 financial analysis of US Tobacco Company noted,

Unlike many consumer products, one needs to be 'taught' how to use moist-snuff. Too large a 'dip' can cause an initial bad experience that can turn off the consumer forever. U.S. Tobacco, as the primary marketer, has invested heavily in sampling programs to 'teach' promising markets.⁸⁴

USST distributed free samples of spit tobacco at sponsored sporting events, including rodeo; its 1982 sales promotion annual report stated that 12 700 cans were distributed at 16 NIRA rodeos.⁸⁵ RJR also distributed free cigarettes at rodeos,⁵⁷ and a 1989 sports marketing summary noted that although sampling was becoming less acceptable to the general public, attendees at sponsored events "actively seek out the samplers."⁸⁶ Sampling also included "personal selling," which used paid spokespersons to promote tobacco products to friends and peers. In the 1980s, US Tobacco's comprehensive college marketing program hired students to promote its products on campus.^{87–89} The newsletters for this program contain numerous accounts of using sporting events, including college rodeo, to promote smokeless tobacco products.^{87,88}

Rewards of Rodeo Sponsorship

Research conducted for RJR showed that the Winston Professional Rodeo program increased Winston purchases.⁹⁰ As fans attended more rodeos, their trials of Winston cigarettes increased, they associated Winston and rodeo more frequently, their perceptions of the Winston image improved (such as rating it as a more satisfying cigarette), and they were more likely to



be Winston smokers.^{23,91} A US Tobacco document from 1979 reported that sales of the company's moist smokeless products grew more than 10% per year during the previous 5 years, attributable in part to its sponsorship of Rodeo Superstars and its College Rodeo Scholarship Program.³⁹

Conducting market research. RJR collected names and contact information from rodeo attendees for future marketing research; the company concealed this by hiring a third-party market research company to collect the data.⁹² A 1973 letter from a G.E. Harlow of the RJR Marketing Research Department to manager Richard Dilworth outlines a plan to collect contact information from fans covertly at the Red River Rodeo in Wichita Falls, Texas. Female employees of a market research firm would "ask a couple of dummy questions" and then ask for name, address, and telephone number "in case my supervisor wishes to check my work."⁹² The arena manager was to "know as little as possible about what we are doing. Certainly he should not tell his employees that RJR or Winston is doing any research."⁹²

Entertaining and influencing important guests. Sponsorship of major sporting events, including rodeo, gave RJR the opportunity to entertain important guests, such as politicians, sales force members, and potential allies.⁶¹ In a 1989 RJR speech about special events (including rodeos), the speaker explains how sports marketing makes political allies:

[T]he political contacts we have made in sports marketing have proved invaluable. Just think

about it, Reynolds sponsors over 2,400 events a year. That translates into 2,400 opportunities to put a politician in front of anywhere from 3,000 to 200,000 potential voters. An opportunity provided by Reynolds that's too good to be true for the politician.⁸⁶

He points out that sports facility owners and players in their events have lobbied on RJR's behalf when unfavorable legislation is introduced: "NASCAR alone has been instrumental in killing tax increases in both Florida and Alabama." He goes on to say that the tobacco interests "intend to call on these people with increasing frequency [to support RJR's political position] as the environment gets tougher."⁸⁶

Influencing legislation. In 1988 both Canada and Australia considered national restrictions on tobacco advertising that included a ban on sports sponsorship (although the sports sponsorship bans were not enacted at that time).^{93,94} In 1985 staff of the US House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment, chaired by Henry Waxman (D-CA), discussed oversight hearings on tobacco advertising and promotional practices, and many health groups called for a total ban on tobacco advertising and promotion.⁹⁵

RJR and the Tobacco Institute (the trade and lobbying organization for the tobacco industry) reacted by using allies formed through sports sponsorship to fight potential sports marketing restrictions.^{96,97} In 1985, members of the Tobacco Institute, RJR, and sports promotion groups, "ranging from racing cars to rodeo cowboys," came together in the Committee for Affordable Sports and

Entertainment (CASE)^{98,99} to "oppose measures to prohibit or restrict sponsorship of events."⁹⁸

The Tobacco Institute planned to support CASE by providing information and research designed to show that banning sports sponsorship would have wide-ranging effects on the economies of small towns.¹⁰⁰ Although CASE appeared to be a separate organization, internally the Tobacco Institute stated that it established CASE with help from RJR.¹⁰¹ The Tobacco Institute planned to poll registered voters at sporting events to show support for sponsorship; the opinion researcher hired to carry out the polling wrote to institute vice president Fred Panzer that although broad regions would be surveyed for national applicability,

the specific businesses interviewed will be determined in close consultation with you and Jim in order to identify those establishments which stand to lose the most if the subject sporting events are cut back or eliminated.¹⁰²

The Tobacco Institute continued to support and expand CASE between 1986 and 1988 to testify on the industry's behalf.^{103,104} CASE submitted a statement "on behalf of the industry" to the Interagency Committee on Smoking and Health hearing on the effects of tobacco sponsorship of sporting events, held on October 28, 1988.¹⁰⁴⁻¹⁰⁶

In early 1993, Philip Morris became a founding member of the American Coalition for Entertainment and Sports Sponsorship (ACCESS), a 501(c)(6) organization (a tax-exempt business league that may engage in limited political activities), which

included RJR, US Tobacco, Penske, and International Speedway Corporation.¹⁰⁷ The organization presented itself as a broad coalition of sport sponsors and event promoters,¹⁰⁸ but internally, the stated goal of the organization was "to defend tobacco sponsorship."¹⁰⁷ Although ACCESS focused on racing sponsorship, it included rodeo organizers on its advisory board, including Lewis Cryer, president of the PRCA.¹⁰⁹⁻¹¹¹ The group opposed a mid-1990s proposal for the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) to regulate tobacco, which included restrictions on sport sponsorships,^{111,112} by encouraging sports fans to write letters to the FDA against this legislation^{111,113} and sponsoring studies showing public support for corporate sport sponsorship.¹¹⁴

In 1994 the Federal Trade Commission proposed regulations requiring smokeless tobacco warnings on rodeo promotional materials.¹¹⁵ US Tobacco prepared petitions and instructions for fans on how to write letters opposing these restrictions¹¹⁶⁻¹¹⁸ and paid for their collection.¹¹⁹⁻¹²² A letter from US Tobacco to ACCESS thanked it for its help during the public comment period and noted that the trade commission documented more than 59 000 responses in opposition to the regulations, which were never passed.¹²³ In 1996, Phillip Morris and US Tobacco proposed an alternative plan to the proposed FDA ban on sports sponsorship that would have allowed continued sponsorship of rodeo and motor sports.¹²⁴ The tobacco companies filed lawsuits challenging the FDA proposal, ultimately prevailing in a 2000 US Supreme



An anti-tobacco counteradvertisement. The background is a photograph of a cowboy in a dark hat and denim shirt, looking down at a tin of 'The Boot' tobacco. The tin is open, and the text 'CHEW' is visible on the lid. In the top right corner, there are two warning labels: a circular one that says 'WARNING: CANCER-CAUSING PRODUCTS AND RODEO DON'T MIX' and a diamond-shaped one that says 'BUCK TOBACCO Sponsorship DON'T BUY IT'. The main text in the center reads 'Addictive. Deadly. Disgusting. And it's being promoted at a rodeo near you.' Below that, it says 'Tobacco sponsorship. It stinks.' At the bottom, the logo for 'GIVE TOBACCO THE BOOT' is displayed, featuring a cowboy on a horse and the text 'BUCK TOBACCO Sponsorship'. The website 'WWW.GIVETOBACCOtheBOOT.ORG' is at the bottom right. A small vertical text on the right edge reads '© 2007 Buck Tobacco Sponsorship'.

FIGURE 1—Anti-tobacco sponsorship counteradvertisement published in the special rodeo issue of the *Clovis Independent*, April 20, 2007. Reprinted with the permission of the Public Health Institute.



Court decision overturning the regulation.^{125,126}

DISCUSSION

To the best of our knowledge, this is the first investigation of tobacco industry advertising and sponsorship in the rodeo industry and the way the tobacco industry used its connections to rodeo to support its larger political agenda. To date, the majority of literature on tobacco sponsorship has focused on motor sports, which receive 70% of all tobacco sport sponsorship.^{2,3,5,7,127} Many of the benefits tobacco companies obtain from motor sports sponsorship are also found in rodeo sponsorship. Rodeo is an increasingly important sponsorship for smokeless tobacco: in 2008 USST used its single Copenhagen brand sponsorship for the Professional Bull Riders, and the company remains a major corporate sponsor of NIRA and PRCA, with the company name, rather than a brand name, appearing in its sponsorship materials.

Policy makers could address tobacco sponsorship by adopting tobacco-free rodeo policies or eliminating distribution of tobacco samples. Tobacco sponsors inappropriately target young, rural males with low socioeconomic status; tobacco rodeo sponsorship is not traditional (it began in the 1970s); and many of the economic arguments raised against sponsorship bans were public relations efforts funded by tobacco companies and organized by their lobbyists.

Rodeo sponsorship has also facilitated tobacco companies' access to children. The tobacco industry correctly argues that the

majority of rodeo attendees are adults, but their internal documents also note that as many as 25% to 30% of rodeo attendees are younger than 18 years. Rodeo is promoted as a family event that features special activities for children.^{128–131} The PRCA and PBR Web sites have sections devoted to children's clothing, games, and toys,^{11,15} and both rodeo associations offer discounts to children at select rodeo events.

Several studies have shown a link between tobacco sport sponsorship and increased smoking rates in children,^{2,4,132} although none have focused specifically on rodeo sponsorship. For example, smoking rates among adolescents aged 13 to 17 years increased from 2.4% to 11.1% after viewing a 1996 cricket series in India that was sponsored by Wills cigarettes.¹³² Tobacco sponsorship of sports increases smoking rates by creating a positive association between sports and smoking.⁴ A 2006 literature review concluded that tobacco promotions that include brand name sport sponsorship increase rates of smoking initiation in a dose-dependent manner.¹³³

Our analysis illustrated how the tobacco industry was able to use rodeo sponsorship to affect tobacco legislation by building political relationships and by creating third-party organizations such as CASE and ACCESS to lobby on their behalf. These tactics were effective; it was not until 2001 that sport sponsorship was restricted to 1 major sporting event per company (as part of the Master Settlement Agreements, not legislation or regulation), and it has yet to be completely banned.⁵ Fear of losing financial support and

premium items such as scoreboards makes individual rodeos reluctant to give up tobacco sponsorship. These fears are not unfounded: after Montana State University decided not to allow the distribution of free tobacco samples at their 1998 rodeo, NIRA dropped them as the site of the College National Finals Rodeo, which moved to Casper, Wyoming.¹³⁴

Public health groups are working to support tobacco-free rodeos. The Buck Tobacco Sponsorship Project and the related National Tobacco Free Rodeo Project at the Public Health Institute, a nonprofit public health organization, work to encourage rodeos to prohibit tobacco sponsorship and to provide technical assistance, such as model policies, success stories, and fact sheets.¹³⁵ More tobacco-free rodeo policies are being adopted: in March 2008, Casper Baca Rodeo Company, an independent rodeo promoter that produces 50 rodeos per year throughout the Southwest, adopted a policy that banned tobacco advertising, sponsorship, and sampling at its rodeos.¹³⁶ Local ordinances restricting tobacco sampling have been adopted in Greeley, Colorado; Chico, California; and Pendleton, Oregon, and numerous policies restricting tobacco sponsorship have been adopted throughout California, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and South Dakota.¹³⁵ These efforts have included media advocacy and public engagement counteradvertising campaigns urging rodeos to reject tobacco sponsorship (Figure 1).

Tobacco industry sponsorship of rodeo sports has been pursued primarily to increase tobacco sales, not to enhance the sport or the

local community. The promotion of deadly tobacco products has no place in family-oriented community events and should be eliminated. Sponsorship also helps tobacco companies build allegiances with rodeo fans and government officials, which are then exploited for lobbying purposes. Rodeo sports also represent an opportunity for public health intervention, particularly to address health disparities in rural tobacco use. Alternative partnerships that promote community health should be explored. ■

About the Authors

At the time of the study, Pamela M. Ling and Stefani Wedl were with the Department of Medicine, University of California, San Francisco. Lawrence A. Haber was with Weill Medical College of Cornell University, New York, NY.

Correspondence should be sent to Pamela Ling, 530 Parnassus Ave, Suite 366; UCSF Box 1390, University of California San Francisco, San Francisco, CA 94143-1390 (e-mail: pling@medicine.ucsf.edu). Reprints can be ordered at <http://www.ajph.org> by clicking the "Reprints/Eprints" link.

This article was accepted April 29, 2009.

Contributors

P. M. Ling originated the study, obtained funding, and supervised all aspects of its implementation, data analysis, and writing. L. A. Haber conducted data collection and analyses and wrote research memos. S. Wedl conducted additional data collection and analyses and led writing the first draft of the article. All authors contributed to interpretation of findings and to revision and review of drafts of the article.

Acknowledgments

This work was supported by National Cancer Institute (grant CA-87472) and the Flight Attendant Medical Research Institute.

The authors thank Andrea Craig Dodge, Stanton A. Glantz, and Adrienne Mejia for helpful comments on the article.



Note. The funding agencies had no involvement in the conduct of the research or preparation of the article.

Human Participant Protection

No protocol approval was required because no human participants were involved in this study.

References

1. Glantz SA. *Tobacco Biology and Politics*. 3rd ed. Waco, TX: Health Edco; 2003.
2. Charlton A, While D, Kelly S. Boys' smoking and cigarette-brand-sponsored motor racing. *Lancet*. 1997;350(9089):1474.
3. Dewhurst T, Hunter A. Tobacco sponsorship of Formula One and CART auto racing: tobacco brand exposure and enhanced symbolic imagery through co-sponsors' third party advertising. *Tob Control*. 2002;11(2):146–150.
4. Vaidya SG, Naik UD, Vaidya JS. Effect of sports sponsorship by tobacco companies on children's experimentation with tobacco. *BMJ*. 1996;313(7054):400.
5. Siegel M. Counteracting tobacco motor sports sponsorship as a promotional tool: is the tobacco settlement enough? *Am J Public Health*. 2001;91(7):1100–1106.
6. Blum A. The Marlboro Grand Prix. Circumvention of the television ban on tobacco advertising. *N Engl J Med*. 1991;324(13):913–917.
7. Collin J, Muggli M, Carlyle J, Lee K, Hurt R. A race to the death: British American Tobacco and the Chinese Grand Prix. *Lancet*. 2004;364(9440):1107–1108.
8. Carlyle J, Collin J, Muggli M, Hurt RD. British American Tobacco and Formula One motor racing. *BMJ*. 2004;329(7457):104–106.
9. Quaid R. A tip of the hat to the vaqueros. 1996. Available at: <http://www.silcom.com/~imago/sbnp/rodeohist.html>. Accessed June 22, 2006.
10. Blum A. Tobacco in sport: an endless addiction? *Tob Control*. 2005;14(1):1–2.
11. Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association. PRCA Pro Rodeo Web site. 2007 PRCA media guide. Available at: <http://www.prorodeo.com>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
12. US Tobacco. UST: quality brands in growing categories: rodeo/bull riding. Available at: <http://www.ustinc.com/smokeless/rodeo>. Accessed May 20, 2008.
13. US Tobacco. Investor's conference. 2007. Available at: <http://www.ustinc.com>. Accessed January 14, 2008.
14. *Federal Trade Commission Smokeless Tobacco Report for the Years 2002–2005*. Washington DC: Federal Trade Commission; 2007.
15. Professional Bull Riders, Inc. Available at: <http://www.pbrnow.com>. Accessed June 27, 2006.
16. International Agency for Research on Cancer (IARC). Summaries and evaluations—tobacco products, smokeless. 1987. Available at: <http://www.inchem.org/documents/iarc/suppl7/tobaccosmokeless.html>. Accessed April 14, 2008.
17. US Public Health Service. The health consequences of using smokeless tobacco. A report of the advisory committee to the surgeon general. 1986. Available at: <http://profiles.nlm.nih.gov/NN/B/B/F/C/segments.html>. Accessed April 14, 2008.
18. Nelson DE, Mowery P, Tomar S, Marcus S, Giovino G, Zhao L. Trends in smokeless tobacco use among adults and adolescents in the United States. *Am J Public Health*. 2006;96(5):897–905.
19. Lutfiyya MN, Shah KK, Johnson M, et al. Adolescent daily cigarette smoking: is rural residency a risk factor? *Rural Remote Health*. 2008;8(1):875.
20. Zollinger TW, Saywell RM Jr, Overgaard AD, Przybylski MJ, Dutta-Bergman M. Antitobacco media awareness of rural youth compared to suburban and urban youth in Indiana. *J Rural Health*. 2006;22(2):119–123.
21. Ling PM, Glantz SA. Using tobacco industry marketing research to design more effective tobacco control campaigns. *JAMA*. 2002;287(22):2983–2989.
22. Malone RE, Balbach ED. Tobacco industry documents: treasure trove or quagmire? *Tob Control*. 2000;9(3):334–338.
23. McCarthy J. Winston rodeo series. October 1, 1979. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 500138938/8944. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/cbt89d00>. Accessed June 14, 2006.
24. Adams DN. Long Haymes & Carr Inc. Special events strategic planning rodeo series. 1981. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 503732552/2556. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/bmk85d00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
25. Adams DN. Long Haymes & Carr Inc. Strategic planning. April 14, 1981. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 502434368/4418. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/plz09d00>. Accessed April 9, 2008.
26. Powell RA. Richard Dilworth has passed along your package pertaining to the pendleton roundup to me for consideration. August 17, 1988. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507404449. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/oxy24d00>. Accessed May 21, 2008.
27. Winebrenner JT. Rodeo sponsorship. September 12, 1988. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 506787640. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/yah44d00>. Accessed May 21, 2008.
28. Media status report 861100. November 1986. Philip Morris. Bates no. 2040937349/7363. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/swv35e00>. Accessed May 21, 2008.
29. Chambers R. Raleigh rodeo trip report. July 31, 1979. Brown & Williamson. Bates no. 660016723/6725. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/fmt89e00>. Accessed June 14, 2006.
30. Chaudry P. Raleigh rodeo A&U study final report. December 9, 1982. Brown & Williamson. Bates no. 677071500/1628. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/uva73f00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
31. Berner V. Marlboro regional event marketing Cheyenne Frontier Days. June 4, 1990. Philip Morris. Bates no. 2048494636/4641. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/ysf92e00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
32. Author unknown. Community marketing. 1992. Philip Morris. Bates no. 2040583232/3236. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/ctm72e00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
33. Wolfson L. A Madison Square Garden proposal for Philip Morris: the World's Toughest Rodeo, Madison Square Garden, title sponsorship package. November 1, 1991. Philip Morris. Bates no. 2047800123/0134. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/gvq36e00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
34. Hill N. Letter from Ketchum MacLeod & Grove public relations. September 23, 1981. Brown & Williamson. Bates no. 660053860/3870. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/nsp89e00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
35. Perry C. Consumer research report. Winston racing and rodeo programs consumer attitude and awareness study. May 10, 1974. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 501098262/8269. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/cbe59d00>. Accessed June 14, 2006.
36. Special Events Winston Nascar and Rodeo. April 1976. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 501380634/0637. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/fih49d00>. Accessed January 22, 2008.
37. Riley J. Winston rodeo series 1981 presentation. October 13, 1981. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 503890712/0716. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/kfu75d00>. Accessed June 14, 2006.
38. Schreiner CD, Steele H. Raleigh sponsorship of rodeo. March 26, 1979. Brown & Williamson. Bates no. 660006780/6782. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/dqu89e00>. Accessed June 14, 2006.
39. Gauvain RR. US Tobacco intra company correspondence. August 24, 1979. Bates no. 3274082/4089. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/fpa21b00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
40. Clarion M. Communications. Bull Durham promotion program. March 27, 1991. Brown & Williamson. Bates no. 634321201/1221. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/osm80f00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
41. Sharp C. Hispanic fiestas program. April 28, 1981. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 501507022/7025. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/pyw39d00>. Accessed June 14, 2006.
42. Brennan N. Marlboro 1987 marketing plan. September 17, 1986. Philip Morris. Bates no. 2026307096/7168. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/lt81f00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
43. Blair GE, Lawless PA. Lorillard. Black world championship rodeo. April 23, 1985. Lorillard. Bates no. 87541689/1691. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/pmj43a00>. Accessed June 1, 2006.
44. Moskowitz S. Press release. May 27, 1986. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507740253/0256. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/cjv28c00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
45. Williams S. Thank you for your letter requesting Winston rodeo bumper stickers. June 27, 1975. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 500165210. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/orp89d00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.



46. Williams S. Thank you for your note advising us that you are not 21 years of age or older, but that you would still like a Winston rodeo bumper sticker. May 12, 1975. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 500165201. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/irp89d00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
47. Williams S. Thank you for your letter advising us that you are not 21 years of age or older, but that you would still like a Winston rodeo bumper sticker. December 5, 1975. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 500165138. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/icq89d00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
48. Rodeo discount coupons. Mesquite championship rodeo. November 1982. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 505473062. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/emn13a00>. Accessed April 28, 2008.
49. Go out of the chutes in '93 with the world's biggest & most famous rodeo. 1993. Philip Morris. Bates no. 2062221558/1573. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/hhg81a00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
50. Lockhart & Pettus Inc. Call report. Discuss status of agency work and RJR public relations program commitment for 1991. November 9, 1990. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507475486. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/fno24d00>. Accessed May 21, 2008.
51. Jones R. Strategic sports specialists. Thank you for your letter of August 14th concerning professional rodeo sponsorships for Dakota cigarettes. September 6, 1990. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507519686/9688. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/zzl24d00>. Accessed June 14, 2006.
52. Rodeo presentation. November 13, 1980. Brown & Williamson. Bates no. 666027217/7257. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/ome83f00>. Accessed April 26, 2008.
53. Fourth quarter work plan. September 6, 1980. Brown & Williamson. Bates no. 680272144/2191. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/dbk40f00>. Accessed April 26, 2008.
54. Muck J. Laurence Charles Free & Lawson Inc. Bull Durham—rodeo magazines. May 10, 1991. Brown & Williamson. Bates no. 634120150. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/hxp80f00>. Accessed June 14, 2006.
55. Magid B. Black world championship rodeo. June 18, 1985. Lorillard. Bates no. 85596677. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/vno58c00>. Accessed April 28, 2008.
56. RJ Reynolds. Winston pro rodeo hall of champions exhibit program. 1982. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 503890902/0904. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/qfu75d00>. Accessed June 14 2006.
57. RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company brand marketing department. Actionline. November 1982. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 505473043/3066. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/ios15d00>. Accessed June 14, 2006.
58. RJ Reynolds. Winston rodeo series 1981 program. 1981. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 502383529/3536. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/qtd19d00>. Accessed June 14, 2006.
59. RJ Reynolds. Winston drag racing. July 12, 1979. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 503890688/0694. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/iok10d00>. Accessed June 14, 2006.
60. Riley J. Winston rodeo series. 1984 RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company special events operations field sales handbook. 1984. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 503993997. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/pcr13a00>. Accessed June 2, 2006.
61. Powell R. Presented to: Algerian monopoly visitors Winston Salem, NC. March 25, 1986. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 505410590/0598. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/bnx56a00>. Accessed June 2, 2006.
62. Hobson Barnes & Associates Inc. Raleigh rodeo 820000 activity report. 1982. Brown & Williamson. Bates no. 676098829/9191. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/vqg73f00>. Accessed June 14, 2006.
63. Steele H. IFR and Raleigh. January 22, 1979. Brown & Williamson. Bates no. 660040099. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/zfn14f00>. Accessed June 14, 2006.
64. RJ Reynolds. Special events operations. Major budget categories. Bates no. 503993471/3473. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/oes77c00>. Accessed September 17, 2009.
65. Moore R. [Inferred.] 1982. Special events PR plan. Revamped February 15, 1982. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 500834564/4580. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/wce69d00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
66. RJ Reynolds. News about Winston sports. For immediate release [press release]. Mesquite, TX. Most businesses begin as a result of careful planning, but for rodeo cowboy Bob Blackwood all it took was a thief. November 14, 1975. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507441412/1414. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/whk13a00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
67. RJ Reynolds. Winston pro rodeo news. For immediate release [press release]. Mesquite, TX. Dramatics and saddle bronc riding would seem to be two completely separate professions. August 10, 1976. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507443284/3286. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/ohk13a00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
68. RJ Reynolds. Don Gay is all smiles as he thinks positive thoughts about his quest for a third consecutive bull riding championship on the Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association [press release]. 1976. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507482096/2099. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/dyn24d00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
69. RJ Reynolds. Winston pro rodeo news. For immediate release. Mesquite, TX. The power of positive thinking could have been written by Don Gay, for the bull riding champion is as firm a believer in the philosophy as Dr. Norman Vincent Peale [press release]. May 18, 1976. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507443197/3199. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/phk13a00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
70. RJ Reynolds. Winston pro rodeo news. Winston Salem, NC. When all around champion Tom Ferguson became the first cowboy to top the \$100,000 mark in season earnings last year, RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company took particular pride in the accomplishment [press release]. February 21, 1977. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507449511/9513. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/yhn87c00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
71. RJ Reynolds. Winston pro rodeo news. Winston Salem, N.C. Bobby Berger believes a cowboy's mental attitude is more important than his size when riding a bull or horse [press release]. March 30, 1977. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507449452/9453. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/bhk13a00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
72. RJ Reynolds. Winston pro rodeo news. Denver, CO. You can bet no bull rider will ever tell Quail Dobbs to quit clowning around, for if Dobbs did it might mean that cowboy's life [press release]. March 21, 1979. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507440625/0628. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/bik13a00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
73. RJ Reynolds. Winston pro rodeo news. Winston Salem, NC. World champion cowboys Donnie Gay and Bruce Ford, each of whom set single season earnings records in their events, were also the big winners of regular season bonuses from the Winston rodeo awards program in 1979 [press release]. December 18, 1979. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507440895/0897. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/cwm87c00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
74. RJ Reynolds. Winston pro rodeo news. Branson, MO. In an era of specialization in the professional sports world, rodeo cowboy Lyle Sankey is a throwback to those versatile days when every baseball team had a switch hitter and two platoon was a football innovation [press release]. 1980. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507442016/2018. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/thk13a00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
75. RJ Reynolds. Winston pro rodeo news. Mesquite, TX. After losing the world bull riding championship for the first time in five years in 1978, cowboy Donnie Gay bounced back last season with the new earnings record for the event and his fifth world title [press release]. 1980. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507442305/2308. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/bwm87c00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
76. RJ Reynolds. Winston pro rodeo news. Mesquite, TX. A series of injuries made the 1980 rodeo season one of the most frustrating in bull rider Donnie Gay's career [press release]. January 20, 1981. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507483462/3465. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/kek13a00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
77. RJ Reynolds. Winston pro rodeo news. Joseph, OR. Jimmie Cooper has been the steer wrestling leader on the Winston rodeo series for the entire season and he hopes to maintain that role for the rest of the year [press release]. July 16, 1981. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507450368/0372. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/xcu56a00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.



78. RJ Reynolds. Winston pro rodeo news. Montgomery, AL. In 1981, Winston rodeo series bare back champion J.C. Trujillo enjoyed a healthy advantage over his nearest competitors by mid season and went on to establish a new Winston record for total points scored in any event [press release]. 1982. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507443529/3537. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/sec20d00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
79. RJ Reynolds. Winston pro rodeo news. Jasper, TX. After his absence from the Winston rodeo series standings for much of the early part of the season, Mesquite's Don Gay is making a determined bid to regain his familiar perch at the top of the pro rodeo's bull riding class [press release]. May 5, 1982. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507445854/5862. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/hhk13a00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
80. RJ Reynolds. Winston pro rodeo news. Most athletes who excel at a sport when they are in their teens especially those already in the professional ranks anticipate a prosperous, lengthy career [press release]. August 27, 1982. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507482343/2350. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/qqm61d00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
81. RJ Reynolds. Winston pro rodeo news. Mesquite, TX. Three time world saddle bronc champion Monty Henson has committed himself to professional rodeo for 11 years [press release]. July 5, 1983. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507441601/1604. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/vhk13a00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
82. Houston—the heritage, talents and skills of the American Black cowboy will be celebrated in Houston Saturday and Sunday when Winston and Salem cigarettes help bring the Bill Pickett invitational rodeo to the Triangle 7 Rodeo Arena at 8001 Parker Road [press release]. May 27, 1986. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507740253/0256. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/cjv28c00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
83. Author unknown. Quarterly report domestic tobacco. January 1, 1982. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 500834444/4447. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/tce69d00>. Accessed June 16, 2006.
84. Barfield B. First Boston research. U.S. Tobacco Company. June 27, 1983. US Smokeless Tobacco. Bates no. 3166291-6314. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/try11b00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
85. US Tobacco. U.S. Tobacco sales promotion annual report—1982. January 20, 1983. Bates no. 2520760/0762. Available at: http://www2.tobaccodocuments.org/smokeless/MA22_1588.pdf. Accessed May 19, 2008.
86. RJ Reynolds. In the early 1970's, special events was not noted for its sophistication. 1989. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507270078/0094. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/vtg54d00>. Accessed June 14, 2006.
87. US Tobacco. *Smokeless Signals*: Hats Off! [second issue]. 1982. Bates no. 2849710-2849733. Available at: http://tobaccodocuments.org/smokeless/MA42_0755.html. Accessed February 28, 2008.
88. US Tobacco. *Smokeless Signals*: U.S. Tobacco college program shines from coast to coast [third issue]. 1982. Bates no. 3545910-3545921. Available at: http://tobaccodocuments.org/smokeless/MA46_0565.html. Accessed February 29, 2008.
89. US Tobacco. *Smokeless Signals*: U.S. Tobacco welcomes you to fall semester '82 [fourth issue]. 1982. Bates no. 3087661/7672. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/nuy11b00>. Accessed September 17, 2009.
90. TH Land Research Group. Trial of RJR brands. Study of the effects of Winston professional rodeo program at the national finals rodeo. January 10, 1979. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 500687651/7657. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/pyf76a00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
91. TH Land Research Group. Study of the effects of Winston professional rodeo program at the national finals rodeo. February 23, 1979. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 503474918/4980. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/cef95d00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
92. Harlow GE. Winston rodeo program consumer research. May 31, 1973. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 500791617. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/yvj18c00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
93. Wyckham RG. Regulating the marketing of tobacco products and controlling smoking in Canada. *Can J Adm Sci/Revue Canadienne des Sciences de l'Administration*. 1997;14(2):141–164.
94. Scollo MM, Winstanley MH, eds. *Tobacco in Australia: Facts and Issues*. 3rd ed. Melbourne, Australia: Cancer Council Victoria; 2008. Available at: <http://www.tobaccoinustralia.org.au>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
95. Bayer R. Tobacco, commercial speech, and libertarian values: the end of the line for restrictions on advertising? *Am J Public Health*. 2002;92(3):356–359.
96. Sparber PG. [Untitled letter to Ed Youngblood on tobacco sports sponsorship.] February 4, 1985. Tobacco Institute. Bates no. TIMN0140487. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/yha92f00>. Accessed March 11, 2008.
97. Author unknown. [Bans on sports sponsorship.] February 1985. Tobacco Institute. Bates no. TIMN0140488/0489. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/zha92f00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
98. Sparber P. Support to new coalition of sports promoters. March 29, 1985. Tobacco Institute. Bates no. TITX0035529/5530. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/fgx32f00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
99. Youngblood E. Association AM. Please let me take this opportunity to report to you on a meeting in Daytona Beach on February 14 that I think will have a significant effect on our coalition project. February 18, 1985. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507425466. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/bcu24d00>. Accessed June 20, 2006.
100. The Tobacco Institute Public Affairs Division proposed budget and operating plan 1989. Tobacco Institute. Bates no. TIMN0366674/6895. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/rgj52f00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
101. Public Relations Division. Public Relations Division report. December 12, 1985. Tobacco Institute. Bates no. TIFL0512953/2966. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/alu02f00>. Accessed May 20, 2008.
102. Fingerhut Madison Opinion Research Communications. Letter. September 6, 1985. Tobacco Institute. Bates no. TIMN0333776/3779. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/jlq52f00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
103. Chilcote S. The Tobacco Institute. Chairman Henry Waxman of the House Health and Environment Subcommittee has scheduled oversight hearings July 21 on tobacco advertising and promotional practices. June 24, 1986. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 504986626/6630. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/yil96a00>. Accessed June 20, 2006.
104. Author unknown. Sports sponsorship: a plan to respond to the October 27 meeting of the Interagency Committee on Smoking and Health. September 1988. Tobacco Institute. Bates no. TIMN0361116/1126. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/ggd52f00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
105. Chilcote SD. Interagency Committee on Smoking and Health hearing on the effects of tobacco sponsorship of sporting events. October 27, 1988. Tobacco Institute. Bates no. TIMN0400030/0032. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/byd62f00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
106. Youngblood E. Statement of Committee for Affordable Sports and Entertainment submitted to the Interagency Committee on Smoking and Health hearing on the effects of tobacco sponsorship of sporting events. October 27, 1988. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 507786367/6368. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/mkw28c00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
107. Slavitt J. For your information. February 10, 1993. Philip Morris. Bates no. 2043690395. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/bnf18a00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
108. American Coalition for Entertainment and Sport Sponsorship [informational pamphlet about ACCESS]. 1993. Philip Morris. Bates no. 2047131304/1311. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/enf60b00>. Accessed March 11, 2008.
109. Author unknown. American Coalition for Entertainment & Sports Sponsorship economic impact study. March 24, 1995. Philip Morris. Bates no. 2044700538/0539. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/wkq18d00>. Accessed June 20, 2006.
110. Davis N. Sports marketing enterprises supports the goals of the American Coalition for Entertainment & Sports Sponsorship, Inc (ACCESS). January 1991. RJ Reynolds. Bates no. 515119261/9262. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/jzd03d00>. Accessed June 20, 2006.
111. Czarnecki W. ACCESS [letter]. September 8, 1995. Philip Morris. Bates no. 2047579017. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/try11b00>.



- library.ucsf.edu/tid/eam18d00. Accessed June 20, 2006.
112. Food and Drug Administration. Regulations restricting the sale and distribution of cigarettes and smokeless tobacco to protect children and adolescents; final rule. August 28, 1996. *Fed Regist*. 1996; 61(168):44395–44445. Available at: <http://www.gpoaccess.gov/fr/index.html>. Accessed December 12, 2007.
113. ACCESS. Stop big government from meddling in sports sponsorship. August 30, 1995. Philip Morris. Bates no. 2041216531. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/hdt18d00>. Accessed June 20, 2006.
114. deButts R. Walt Klein & Associates. Re: final Roper study. October 6, 1993. US Smokeless Tobacco. Bates no. USTC6054097-4149. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/ald21b00>. Accessed September 16, 2009.
115. Author unknown. Proposed amendments to smokeless tobacco regulations. US Smokeless Tobacco. Bates no. USTC6090983-1006. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/gvc21b00>. Accessed September 18, 2009.
116. Author unknown. Thank you for support and assistance! As you know—this is an issue of great significance... 1993 [inferred]. Bates no. USTC_6090738_6090739. Available at: http://tobaccodocuments.org/smokeless/S04_1247.html. Accessed July 10, 2007.
117. Barron DUS. Tobacco [Letter from Darrell Barron to Karen Johnson thanking her for help collecting signature cards at rodeo and payment.] February 2, 1994. Bates no. USTC_6090662_6090670. Available at: http://tobaccodocuments.org/smokeless/S04_1170.html. Accessed July 10, 2007.
118. US Tobacco. [Draft national finals rodeo checklist.] 1993 [inferred]. Bates no. USTC_6090694_6090717. Available at: http://tobaccodocuments.org/smokeless/S04_1203.html. Accessed July 11, 2007.
119. Garrison W. 1993 NFR Itinerary. 28 Oct 1993. US Smokeless Tobacco. Bates no. USTC6090690-0752. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/rsc21b00>. Accessed September 17, 2009.
120. Elks Recreation Incorporated, Santa Maria Elks Rodeo Committee. [Letter to Donald S Clark regarding FTC's proposed regulation of the placement of warning labels on rodeo scoreboards sponsored by the smokeless tobacco industry.] February 2, 1994. US Smokeless Tobacco. Bates no. USTC6091197. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/pyc21b00>. Accessed 18 Sep 2009.
121. Polhamus B. [Letter from Boyd Polhamus to Donald S Clark regarding proposed amendments to smokeless tobacco regulations.] December 22, 1993. US Smokeless Tobacco. Bates no. USTC6091082-1083. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/ksc21b00>. Accessed September 18, 2009.
122. Fields J. [Letter to Chair of FTC opposing new regulations on rodeo sponsorship.] November 23, 1993. Bates no. 6090842. Available at: http://tobaccodocuments.org/smokeless/S04_1351.html. Accessed March 11, 2008.
123. Hagen G. [Letter from US Tobacco thanking ACCESS for help with FTC regulation.] March 28, 1994. Philip Morris. Bates no. 2044702197/2198. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/oqc16e00>. Accessed March 11, 2008.
124. Arnold & Porter. The Philip Morris United States tobacco legislative plan takes a sensible approach to sports sponsorship. June 7, 1996. Philip Morris. Bates no. 2065410073/0074. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/gev43a00>. Accessed June 1, 2006.
125. Cohen M. Goldman Sachs. Tobacco industry lawsuit to block FDA regulation filed. August 10, 1995. Philip Morris. Bates no. 2047774475. Available at: <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/zes36c00>. Accessed March 12, 2008.
126. Gostin LO. *FDA vs Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp*. 529 US 120(2000). Available at: http://www.publichealthlaw.net/Reader/docs/FDA_BW.pdf. Accessed March 11, 2008.
127. Morris K. Report points to Formula 1 role in teen smoking. *Lancet*. 1998; 352(9123):205.
128. Cowboys and kids. Welcome to cowboys and kids! 2006. Available at: <http://www.reachkids.com>. Accessed June 27, 2006.
129. Reno rodeo. Special kids rodeo. 2006. Available at: <http://www.renorodeo.com/content/view/106/113>. Accessed June 27, 2006.
130. Kids Farm Inc. Mutton busting. 2006. Available at: <http://www.kidsfarm.com/rodeomutton1.htm>. Accessed June 28, 2006.
131. Thunder Mountain pro-rodeo. Mutton busting 2006. 2006. Available at: <http://www.co.cowlitz.wa.us/expo/rodeo/mutton.html>. Accessed June 28, 2006.
132. Vaidya SG, Vaidya JS, Naik UD. Sports sponsorship by cigarette companies influences the adolescent children's mind and helps initiate smoking: results of a national study in India. *J Indian Med Assoc*. 1999;97(9):354–356, 359.
133. DiFranza JR, Wellman RJ, Sargent JD, et al. Tobacco promotion and the initiation of tobacco use: assessing the evidence for causality. *Pediatrics*. 2006;117(6):e1237–e1248.
134. Associated Press. School nixes give-away of tobacco, so rodeo leaves—college in Montana refused sponsor plan. *Seattle Times*. September 4, 1998. Available at: <http://community.seattletimes.nwsourc.com/archive/?date=19980904&slug=2770159>. Accessed October 28, 2009.
135. Buck Tobacco Sponsorship Project. Buck Tobacco sponsorship, 2008. Available at: <http://www.bucktobacco.org>. Accessed April 13, 2008.
136. *New Mexico Business Weekly*. Rodeo promoter rejects tobacco sponsorships. 2008. Available at: <http://www.bucktobacco.org/media/bizwkly/index.html>. Accessed April 13, 2008.

Health Capability: Conceptualization and Operationalization

Jennifer Prah Ruger, PhD

Current theoretical approaches to bioethics and public health ethics propose varied justifications as the basis for health care and public health, yet none captures a fundamental reality: people seek good health *and* the ability to pursue it. Existing models do not effectively address these twin goals.

The approach I espouse captures both of these orientations through a concept here called health capability. Conceptually, health capability illuminates the conditions that affect health and one's ability to make health choices. By respecting the health consequences individuals face and their health

agency, health capability offers promise for finding a balance between paternalism and autonomy.

I offer a conceptual model of health capability and present a health capability profile to identify and address health capability gaps. (*Am J Public Health*. 2010;100:41–49. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2008.143651)

VARIOUS ETHICAL

approaches provide different justifications that underlie health care and public health. Some models assert consumer rationality in health behaviors and a willingness to forgo care beyond the individual's means. Other approaches focus on fair processes, equality of opportunity, utilitarianism, or