

Running Head: TOBACCO CONTENT ON POPULAR TEEN TV SHOWS

They're Smoking too!

Monitoring Tobacco Content in Popular TV Storylines  
aimed at Multi-Cultural Teen Audiences

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Abstract

Teens are especially susceptible to experimentation with health-hazardous activities such as smoking tobacco. Theory suggests that media characters can influence the degree to which an audience will replicate or adopt an observed behavior. Recognizing this, tobacco companies have targeted specific racial groups, specially African-Americans, to a host of messages in the popular entertainment media that may influence their attitudes and behavior regarding smoking.

This research examines a content analysis study of smoking in the top-rated US TV shows watched by teens over the 2003 Spring season. The findings indicate that smoking depictions are still present, with the majority of them being ambiguous in their portrayals of effects. It is easier now to target specific niche audiences as different racial groups are watching quite different programming. African-American teens are especially exposed to messages that link smoking to health issues that have the potential to be glamorized, like alcohol and drug use.

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As the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) recent announcement trains the nation's focus on obesity as the second leading causality for death, tobacco retains the top spot in the analysis. The sheer impact of smoking on society is colossal, with smoking estimated to be the leading cause of 440,000 annual deaths, or 18.1% of all deaths, in the United States alone (Boston.com). The worldwide figures stand at a staggering 4.8 million deaths related to tobacco use, which translates to one in every ten adults (World Health Organization).

In the United States tobacco has a significant impact on health resources as an estimated 8.6 million people have serious smoking related illnesses (Schroeder, 2003). Tobacco use is associated with lung cancer, as well as with chronic lung diseases and cardiovascular diseases. The seriousness of this is seen in the fact that cigarette smoking causes 87% of lung cancer deaths (National Cancer Institute). This condition is not devoid of costs—the CDC estimates that the direct and indirect medical expenditures attributable to smoking exceed \$75 billion annually, while related productivity losses lead to another lost \$80 billion.

The costs borne by some exceed monetary valuations. The death-rates as a consequence of cardiovascular-disease, a risk-outcome from tobacco use, among African-American adults was 30% higher than that found among white adults. African American men are at least 50% more likely to develop lung cancer than white men. Additionally, for those that suffer from heart disease, whites gain more than an extra year of life expectancy compared to African-Americans (CDC).

It is no secret that the tobacco industry targeted specific minorities with products and promotions tailored to their tastes. The African-American community was targeted with

promotions that ranged from “Kool” jazz festivals to NASCAR sponsorships. A Phillip Morris internal memo states

Developing market plans specifically targeted to Black and Hispanic consumers presents a special challenge to traditional mainstream marketers. Phillip Morris’ current exposure with the Benson & Hedges and Virginia Slims’ Black Ethnic Programs and Marlboro’s Spanish Ethnic Program indicate favorable progress based on sales trends and field feedback. However, minority markets continue to exist in many ways as “virgin territories” with considerable untapped potential. (Cohen, Cody & Murphy, 2002)

More worrisome is the fact that the smoking of tobacco products continues to be an issue for the foreseeable future. Faced with declining sales in the adult market due to the rising awareness of adverse health effects in the population, combined with active campaigns to help smokers quit their addiction, tobacco companies turned to the youth segment to boost sales. And successfully too, since 4000 youth under the age of 18 experiments with smoking for the first time everyday. The World Health Organization (WHO) states that

Based on the experience of developed countries, most regular adult smokers begin smoking before age 18. In addition, as adults successfully quit smoking to improve their health, the number of smokers begins to shrink. As a result, promoting and marketing tobacco products to young people is essential to maintain or expand sales of tobacco - both replacing adult smokers who quit and by early exposure, increasing chance that the

experimenting young person of today will become a regular smoker as an adult.

The critical problem with tobacco use is that the introduction to tobacco use is easy—the health effects are delayed; hence are not a part of the consideration set when initiating smoking. According to the American Lung Association (1999), virtually all smokers begin when they are teenagers or young adults, but most of the serious health effects take years to develop. Craig & Moellinger (2001) reason that smoking is initiated in youth because teens are less rational about estimating the health effects since these typically occur at much later stages in life.

While it may be debatable whether adults are better at critically evaluating their lifestyle choices than teens, it seems evident that access to information about the adverse effects of smoking are less available to teens than they are to adults (Glied, 2002). It is also likely that teen smokers are less able to comprehend the warning signs posted on cigarette packs as part of the Surgeon General's warning. (BCBS, 1998).

African-American teens are especially prey to the hard-hitting tactics of cigarette manufacturers. The smoking prevalence in teens has increased dramatically in the last decade of the twentieth century. The Institute for Social Research (2001) reports that overall smoking among African American teens has increased appreciably from 1992 to 2001. In 8<sup>th</sup> graders, the incidence of smoking has increased from 5.3 to 8.2 percent, from 6.6 to 11.1 percent among 10<sup>th</sup> graders, and among 12<sup>th</sup> graders, the increase has been from 8.7 to 13.3 percent. It is estimated that if these patterns continue, that 1.6 million African Americans now under 18 will become regular smokers, and that 31% of these, or 500,000, will die as a result of smoking.

It is no surprise that with such wide-ranging and pernicious effects that the smoking of tobacco products has risen to be high on the public, media and policy agendas (Wallace, 2004).

Heeding the call of health agencies and anti-smoking lobbies, federal legislators banned radio and television advertising of tobacco-related products in 1969, and this went into practice in January 1971 (Craig & Moellinger, 2001). The federal system however simultaneously put an end to federal funding of counter-advertising. This slack was picked up at the state level, as some states (California, Massachusetts, and Florida) conducted aggressive counter-advertising campaigns. (Schroeder, 2003). In 1998, the Tobacco Master Settlement Agreement was another legislative landmark in restricting the tobacco industry.

In addition, the Center for Disease Control supports tobacco prevention and control programs in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, seven territories, and seven tribal support centers. As a remedy to teen comprehension, organizations fund coordinated school health programs to increase awareness of the health effects of smoking. Strategies target both initiation of smoking as well as interventions to aid quitting. In support of the success of these efforts, Fichtenberg and Glantz (2000) found that a large dynamic tobacco-control program was associated with a reduction in deaths from heart disease in the short term.

Nonetheless, given the high prevalence of smoking, it is probable that the tobacco industry has historically been more successful in its efforts to turn youth on to smoking than the anti-smoking lobby has been able to accomplish the opposite. Banned from direct advertising of its products, the tobacco industry has utilized the media, especially visually appealing broadcast television, to portray smoking as a highly desirable and enjoyable activity. The desirability of smoking has been accomplished by linking it's appearance to the characterizations of media characters that smoke.

The media, for it's part, has historically depicted smoking more favorably than not, with media characters that smoke tending to be portrayed as attractive and successful. Depictions of

smoking have also traditionally been associated with enhanced status and greater satisfaction. Researchers like Rhodes & Jason (1988) and Leonard (1998) claim that these frequent depictions of positive attributes associated with smoking might encourage youth to initiate smoking.

The tobacco industry has good reason to want to use the media to target this vulnerable youth segment; especially one that has the potential to form the core of its future revenue. According to Roberts, Foehr and Rideout (1999), adolescents in the age group 14-18 years old watch an average of two and three quarter hours of television every day (Collins et al, 1999). A significant amount of this viewing may be unsupervised—the CSPI Teen Television Viewing Study (2002) reports that 62% of all teens have a television in their bedrooms. Figures from Nielsen Research (Fall 2002) suggest that this television viewing probably coincides with prime-time programming when teens are free from school. It seems likely that teens tend to watch programming that is saturated with smoking and alcohol depictions.

It has also been relatively easy to target certain racial groups because of the increasing fragmentation of the media landscape. In 1998, the top ten shows in Black households were completely different from the top ten in White households (Entman & Rojecki, 2000). The groups shared only four in common among the top twenty, and among the ten popular shows for Blacks, none rated higher than 98 among Whites, with most rated between 109 and 119.

Despite the recognition of the importance of initiation of smoking in the teen years, and of the frequent exposure to media depictions of smoking, many questions remain unanswered about the influence of the entertainment media on teen smoking. Some progress has been made using cultivation theory, the third-person effect and social cognition theory to understand propensity to indulge in a modeled behavior, from both negative and positive aspects of health communication effects.

Approaching the issue from the first theoretical perspective, it is argued that the effect of this high viewing on teens is enhanced by the third-person effect. Research by Brodie et al (2001) shows that early teens believe that cigarette advertising has greater effect on others than it has on them. This classic third-person effect arises from the ego-centric view of looking upon oneself as better off than others (Perloff, 2002). The subsequent discounting of the message content is likely to lead to greater susceptibility, especially in an audience, like teens, that is unaware of the counter-arguments.

On the other hand, cultivation theory (Gerbner et al, 2002) holds some promise for campaigners attempting to mitigate the positive associations of smoking that teens hold. If given the opportunity to view health messages in entertainment media, it is argued that audiences can be positively influenced. (Brodie et al, 2001) Since the seventies, concerted efforts to control smoking have had some success. The CDC reports that the percentage of high school youth that currently smoke tobacco has declined from a high of 36.4% in 1997 to 28.5% in 2001. Specific states have fared better; with California reporting that youth smoking declined by 43% from 1995 to 1999, with a positive impact on the state economy of \$8 billion in savings.

The importance of the media as a counteracting force against the pervasiveness of positive depictions of smoking is suggested in a number of studies. The CDC Healthstyles survey (2000) reports that television is cited by 88% of regular viewers of soap operas as the source from which they most often learned something about diseases or how to prevent them. Importantly, this effect does not limit itself to increasing knowledge but impacts subsequent behavior as well. More than one-third (34%) of these viewers took some action as a result. In terms of health news, Johnson (1998) reports similar results. The primary sources listed by

respondents were television (40%); of whom 58% said they had taken some kind of action as a result of a health news story in the media.

This strategy whereby entertainment media programs utilize educational content to influence and motivate the audience members' attitudes and behavior, as well as provide knowledge about health issues is known as entertainment-education (E-E) is a. Singhal and Rogers (2002) define E-E narrowly as "the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message both to entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members knowledge about an educational issue, create favorable attitudes, and change overt behavior." (p. 9)

The theoretical foundations of previous E-E studies have been based on linear effects taking place using Albert Bandura's (1977, 2002, 2003, 2004) social cognition theory. The theory of social cognition has become the preferred theoretical model for the development of health communication E-E programs. Bandura posits that behavior is environmentally conditioned through observation, and enhanced by perceiving reward-punishment outcomes. The application of theory to entertainment media lies in the observation of the behavior of media characters by audience members and their subsequent adoption of these behaviors. This vicarious ability allows humans to rapidly learn via observation rather than "re-inventing the wheel" every time they wish to try a new action. Vicarious learning has added significance due to the increased penetration of communication vehicles targeting the youth, as suggested by figures related to teen viewing of popular entertainment programs.

Furthermore, Bandura states that in para-social interaction an audience member forms a relationship with a media character that mirrors his/her daily interactions in social groups. Models can thus influence the adoption of a behavior by individuals, especially in serial programs that are repetitive and targeted to the audience members. The degree to which an

audience member identifies with a particular media character influences the degree to which that member will replicate or adopt an observed behavior. This study aims to explore both positive and negative messages that transfer from the media characters to the audience.

Smoking has been linked to other health issues as well. Schroeder (2003) says that “smoking rates have been reported to be over 80 percent among persons who have schizophrenia, 50 to 60 percent among persons with depression, 55 to 80 percent among those who have alcoholism, and 50 to 66 percent among those who have substance-abuse problems.” Apart from the medical associations between tobacco use and these other health problems, the media has been known to portray these in conjunction with each other. A study on perceptions of film found that teen participants recalled use of tobacco on-screen to be associated with “stress and anxiety, drug use, and seduction” (McCool, Cameron, and Petrie, 2003). Given the complementarities of tobacco use with other health problems, Dee (1999) suggests that public health programs aimed at controlling the use of tobacco products may lead to positive, though unintended, benefits by the impact on these other health issues.

### *Study Purpose*

The research draws upon a content analysis study conducted for the 2003 television season by Hollywood, Health and Society, a CDC-funded program at the USC Annenberg Norman Lear Center. This is supplemented with ratings data from Nielsen reports. This paper aims to answer questions related to:

- Differences in the incidence of messages regarding health issues, specifically tobacco-related and complementary health issues, targeted at specific ethnicities (Hispanic, African American and general audiences)

- The relative importance of the message itself—visual cues, mentions in dialogue or integrated in major or minor storylines
- Cultural differences in the types of portrayals / character depictions

The specific research questions are:

- Incidence of health depictions:
  - Tobacco use
  - Alcohol abuse, substance (illicit drugs) abuse, cancer, mental health, obesity, teen-sex and teen pregnancy
- Variance in smoking depictions:
  - Across ethnicity (general vs. Hispanic vs. African-American)
  - Across gender (male vs. female)
- Are depictions of smoking related to complementary health issues:
  - All these across ethnicity, and
  - Across gender
- Is smoking depicted positively or negatively

## Method

### *Sample*

The study sample consisted of the top rated teen shows as indicated by the Nielsen Television National People Meter for the Fall season of 2002. The shows selected were broadcast from January to May 2003.

The analysis was divided into three ethnic groups—a general audience, a Hispanic audience and an African-American audience. For each ethnic group, the top three shows for both genders were chosen. For the male general audience, the shows selected were *Simpsons* (Fox), *King of the Hill* (Fox), and *Malcolm in the Middle* (Fox); while the shows for the female audience were *Friends* (NBC), *7<sup>th</sup> Heaven* (WB), and *CSI* (CBS). The top 3 ranked shows among Hispanic females were *Friends* (NBC), *George Lopez* (ABC), and *Malcolm in the Middle* (Fox). Hispanic males share the last in their most viewed shows, along with the *Simpsons* (Fox) and *King of the Hill* (Fox). The African American audience shares the top two shows, *One on One* (UPN) and *Girlfriends* (UPN), across the genders. The third ranked show for African American males was *Half and Half* (UPN) while it was *The Parkers* (UPN) for females. Additional shows used in the analysis included *My Wife and Kids* (ABC).

### *Procedure*

Content analysis was done for shows were taken from the 2003 season. Data was coded from each show on two levels—character representation and depiction of specific health issues, including tobacco use. The coding of media characters tracked demographic data for each episode, like age, ethnicity, gender, socio-economic status, and dramatic role. The data concerning the health issues recorded 28 public health issues (as well as 8 issues related to on-screen violence) that were dramatized, the dramatic context of these characterizations, the health outcomes, and perceived efficacy of the message, i.e., whether it was portrayed in a positive or negative fashion.

Coding manuals were developed both for the general data as well as for the specific health issues. The reliability of the coding was checked by double-coding 20% of the entire sample of programs. Inter-coder agreement ranged from 54% to 100%, with a median percentage

agreement of 81% for the variables under analysis. Specifically, the kappa for tobacco use, mental health and obesity was 0.615; the kappa was 0.783 for alcohol abuse, 1.0 for gender, and 0.704 for youth portrayals.

### *Data Analysis*

Chi-square and correlation analysis was used for the analysis of data.

## Results

### *Demographics*

A two-way contingency table analysis showed that there was a significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 315, p < .01$ ) in the ethnic depictions between the general, Hispanic, and African American prime-time shows. Follow-up pairwise comparisons were conducted to evaluate the differences among the proportions for the three ethnic groups and are displayed in Table 2. All three groups are significantly different from each other in terms of the predominance of certain ethnicities on the shows watched .

Thirty-nine percent of the general prime-time shows exclusively featured Caucasian major characters, while 48.5% featured at least one main ethnic minority character. In contrast, the African-American prime-time audience mainly (94.2%) watched shows with primarily Black characters. The Hispanic audience tastes were similar to the general audience, with 33.7% of the shows watched exclusively featuring Caucasian major characters, and 46.5% featuring at least one main ethnic minority character. However, Hispanic audiences also watched some shows (14.9%) that contained primarily Hispanic characters, which led to significant differences.

Table 2 shows the character ages depicted across the three ethnic groups. The depiction of adults was similar, with frequencies in the high nineties for the three groups. However, there were significant differences in the inclusion of teen media characters for the African American

shows (31%), which was significantly less than for the general audience shows (53%,  $\chi^2 = 38.4$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and Hispanic shows (65%,  $\chi^2 = 45.5$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

A two-way contingency table analysis showed that there was a significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 42.3$ ,  $p < .01$ ) in the gender representations of media characters between the general, Hispanic, and African American prime-time shows. Follow-up pairwise comparisons were conducted to evaluate the differences among the proportions for the three ethnic groups and are displayed in Table 2. The African-American shows are significantly different from the general audience shows ( $\chi^2 = 27$ ,  $p < .01$ .) and Hispanic shows ( $\chi^2 = 28$ ,  $p < .01$ ) in terms of gender depictions. The African-American audience watches 14.4% of the shows with a predominantly female cast, while general audience and Hispanic shows are quite the opposite, with 11.7% and 12.9% of the shows watched having a predominantly male cast.

In terms of gender differences, alcohol was the only health issue with a significant ( $\chi^2 = 4.57$ ,  $p < .05$ ) difference across the genders, with males exposed to 10.9% of alcohol depictions in the shows they watch, versus only 1.6% for females.

### *Tobacco Depictions*

Overall, 5.3% of the shows contained portrayals of tobacco or smoking, evenly spread across the various level of depictions. Thirty percent of the tobacco depictions could be classified as brief visual cues, a demonstrated behavior or a minor or major storylines, and 40% of the depictions were either brief mentions or occurred as dialogue between the media characters. Incidence of depictions of complementary health issues are listed in table 5 under the total column. Alcohol usage (7%) is by far the most frequent health issue depicted on popular television shows followed by mental health (5.9%).

In terms of influencing change in the knowledge, attitude, beliefs or behaviors of the audience, 30% of the depictions were positive while only 10% were negative. The rest were either neutral or difficult to decipher, given the parameters of the coding manual.

#### *Depictions of Complementary Diseases*

Tobacco was significantly correlated to the complementary health issues of alcohol abuse, illegal drugs, mental health and obesity on African American shows while it was significantly correlated with cancer for the general audience shows. The results can be seen in table 3. In terms of differences across ethnic audiences, which can be seen in table 4, African American shows were significantly different from general audience shows in terms of their portrayals of mental health ( $\chi^2 = 15, p < .05$ ), obesity ( $\chi^2 = 6, p < .05$ ) and teen pregnancies ( $\chi^2 = 8, p < .01$ ). Similarly, Black shows were significantly different from Hispanic shows for portrayals of mental health ( $\chi^2 = 15, p < .01$ ), obesity ( $\chi^2 = 10, p < .01$ ) and teen pregnancies ( $\chi^2 = 8, p < .01$ ).

Black shows portrayed these issues far more frequently—mental health (16.3%), obesity (9.6%) and teen pregnancies (7.7%), compared to general audience and Hispanic shows, where these health issues were treated very marginally, if at all. Results for frequencies of portrayals of these complementary health issues to tobacco can be found in table 5. One difference that can be found is that of cancer portrayals, which are significantly higher ( $\chi^2 = 5, p < .05$ ) for general audience shows than for African American shows (4.9% vs. 0%). Another difference is that Hispanic shows had significantly less (57%) portrayal of health issues versus general audience shows (62%,  $\chi^2 = 5, p < .05$ ) and African American shows (62%,  $\chi^2 = 5, p < .05$ ).

## Discussion

The results of the study show that the use of tobacco and discussion of smoking, despite all efforts to the contrary, are still present in popular shows watched by teen audiences from all ethnic groups. The range of dramatic presentation varies from marginal visual cues to whole-hearted discussions, with smoking being the main story line in the latter depiction.

The encouraging signs are that, where a value judgment occurs, positive depictions of smoking, i.e., those containing messages about the harmful effects, outnumber the negative portrayals in which smoking is depicted as cool. What is not encouraging is that the majority of the depictions leave viewers with an ambiguous feeling about smoking and its effects. This may be particularly harmful to teens, who have less information about the insidious effects of tobacco use. It leaves them open to interpreting the message content by themselves, and being influenced by extraneous sources such as cigarette company promotions, and peers that smoke.

As a policy issue, ambiguity in portrayals needs to be avoided in shows that target a significant teen audience, as this may be as harmful as blatantly negative portrayals. Future research should analyze the media characters involved in these scene where smoking is portrayed ambiguously to see whether it is positive or negative role models who indulge in this behavior. Additional content analysis should look at individual outcomes of media characters in the storyline, to see if they end up successfully or are punished in their roles; as this, though unrelated to smoking effects and outcomes, may provide clues as to the influence they may exert on teen audiences.

Interestingly, there is a significant difference in the types of shows that various ethnic groups, and in the health issues that are presented in these shows. It is easier now to target specific teen minority audiences, be they Hispanic or African-American, although the former

teen audience may be easier to influence than the former. African American teen audiences have far fewer teen media characters to relate to than general or Hispanic audiences. The implications of this hold as true for tobacco companies as they do for health agencies, who need to recognize that commercial interests have long targeted different ethnicities, and will do so again; the imperative to reach out to these audiences with customized health messages is clear.

The differences in targeting specific health issues does not constrain itself purely to smoking or to ethnicities. The fact that male teens watch a significantly higher percentage of shows that portray alcohol usage than female teens shows that other industries are aware of the importance of niche marketing. While the frequencies of depictions are informative, further research is required about the manner of these depictions, and of the consequent interpretation of them by the teen audience.

The analysis of complementary health issues indicates a clear instance of the interpretations that might be intended. Shows watched by the general audience link tobacco use to a risk outcome, cancer, that may be a very useful communication device to warn teens about the causal effect of smoking. African American teens, on the other hand, watch shows that depict links between health issues accompanying smoking, like mental health, obesity and teen pregnancies, which are much more nebulous in forging this link. These complementary depictions, though realistic, possibly miss making the point.

The goal of this research was to examine the health message content, specifically smoking, of popular television programming watched by teens. The study finds that although tobacco use is being examined in these shows, much can be done to improve the knowledge that is being imparted to teens. This needs to be addressed specially in terms of having non-ambiguous

portrayals, linking smoking to the correct health effects, and tailoring messages appropriately for different ethnic audiences and genders.

Specific strategies for advocacy groups would be to applaud TV storylines and writers who show the negative impact of tobacco on health, with awards and letters to the executive producer. Secondly, they could provide writers with examples of the negative effects of smoking, and how they can use these in their storylines. They should also provide information to writers about the disease burden among different ethnic/racial audiences that have high rates of tobacco use. Last, writers should be asked to avoid glamorization of smoking, instead link it to diseases like cancer rather than alcohol and drug use

Finally, it is particularly worrying that certain audiences, like Hispanic teens, are exposed to a much lower level of health messages via their viewing choices. A plethora of literature suggests that entertainment-education programs can make a difference in the health choices of individuals. This researcher believes that it may be particularly useful when engaging youth audiences. It is incumbent upon health agencies, lobbyists and producers to utilize the opportunities afforded them by the vast reach of popular television.

## Tables

**Table 1***Results for the Pairwise Comparisons (n=101)*

Representations / $\chi^2$	General vs. Hispanic	General vs. Black	Hispanic vs. Black
Ethnic representations	19.1*	190.6*	194.1*
Age representations - Teen	7.8	38.4*	45.5*
Gender representations	0.07	27*	28*

\*  $p$  value < .01

**Table 2***Major character age representations (n=101)*

	General audience	Hispanic Audience	African-American audience
Teen	53%	65%	31%
Adult	98%	99%	94%

**Table 3***Correlations of Tobacco with Complementary Health Issues (n=101)*

	General	Hispanic	Black
Alcohol			0.45*
Cancer	0.33*		
Illegal drugs			0.57*
Mental health			0.34*
Obesity			0.34*
Teen pregnancy			
No health issues			

\* $p$  value < .01, \*\* $p$  value < .05

**Table 4***Results for the Pairwise Comparisons (n=101)*

	Overall	General vs. Hispanic	General vs. Black	Hispanic vs. Black
Alcohol	1.57	0.35	1.55	0.43
Cancer	5.55	1.27	5.17**	2.08
Illegal drugs	1.45	0.48	1.36	0.23
Mental health	28.10*	0	15.41*	15.08*
Obesity	14.23*	1.98	5.58**	10.21*
Teen pregnancy	16.11*	-	8.24*	8.08*
No health issues	7.01**	5.32**	0.01	4.85**

\**p* value < .01, \*\**p* value < .05

**Table 5***Percentage depictions of Complementary Health Issues (n=101)*

	Total depictions	General	Hispanic	Black
Alcohol	7.0	5.8	7.9	10.3
Cancer	3.2	4.9	2.0	0.0
Illicit drugs	3.2	4.9	3.0	1.9
Mental health	5.9	1.0	1.0	16.3
Obesity	4.3	1.9	0.0	9.6
Teen sex	3.7	0	0	1.9
Teen pregnancy	3.7	0.0	0.0	7.7
No health issues	30.5	27.2	42.6	27.9

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