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Creating the “desired mindset”: Philip Morris’s efforts to improve its corporate image among women

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Abstract

Through analysis of tobacco company documents, we explored how and why Philip Morris sought to enhance its corporate image among American women. Philip Morris regarded women as an influential group. To improve its image among women, while keeping tobacco off their organizational agendas, the company sponsored women’s groups and programs. It also sought to appeal to women it defined as “active moms” by advertising its commitment to domestic violence victims. It was more successful in securing women’s organizations as allies than active moms. Increasing tobacco’s visibility as a global women’s health issue may require addressing industry influence.

Introduction

Globally, approximately 250 million women smoke (Shafey et al. 2009). While men’s smoking rates have peaked or are declining, women’s rates continue to rise (Greaves 2007). The World Health Organization (WHO) predicts that 25% of women will smoke by 2025 (Greaves 2007). As a result, women will bear a significant burden of tobacco-caused disease, including a variety of cancers (e.g., cancers of the lung, mouth, throat, larynx, liver, bladder, kidney, stomach, cervix and pancreas), cardiovascular disease, cerebrovascular disease, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, stroke, ulcer, osteoporosis, and reduced fertility (Shafey et al. 2009). Although it has long been assumed that “women who smoke like men, die like men who smoke” (U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare 1979, p. i), recent research indicates that women smokers are at higher risk than men of developing lung cancer – one of the most deadly of cancers – and colon cancer at the same level of smoking (Payne 2001; American College of Gastroenterology October 6, 2008).

Marketing is key to the creation and spread of the tobacco epidemic among women. Tobacco companies first singled out women in higher income nations in the 1920s as an important target market, creating cigarette advertising imagery designed to appeal to women – including associations with women’s emancipation -- and introducing cigarette brands specifically for them (Amos and Haglund 2000; Ernster 1986; Campaign for Tobacco Free Kids et al. 2009). They have employed similar strategies when encouraging women in low and middle income countries to take up smoking (Greaves, Jategaonkar, and Sanchez 2006; Lee et al. 2009; Ernster et al. 2000). But while cigarette marketing efforts directed at women have received considerable scholarly attention (Anderson, Glantz, and Ling 2005; Toll and Ling 2005; O’Keefe and Pollay 1996; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2001; Boyd, Boyd, and Greenlee 2003; Barbeau, Leavy-Sperounis, and Balbach 2004), less attention has been

paid to how tobacco companies market *themselves* to women through image enhancement activities.

Image enhancement is important to tobacco companies because negative public opinion contributes to a climate supportive of tobacco control policies and programs (Chapman and Freeman 2008). Negativity toward the tobacco industry also has damaging effects on stock price, political influence, and employee morale (Smith and Malone 2003; McDaniel and Malone 2009), reduces the likelihood of smoking among youth and increases intentions to quit among adult smokers (Bauer et al. 2000; Farrelly et al. 2005; Pierce et al. 1998; Hammond et al. 2006). By contrast, a positive corporate image may distract public attention from the lethality of the industry's products, create opposition to tobacco control measures or support for tobacco industry positions, and increase the social acceptability of smoking (Rosenberg and Siegel 2001; Tuckson 1989). It may also discourage juries from holding tobacco companies liable for the harms caused by their products (Rosenberg and Siegel 2001). In this paper, we describe how and why Philip Morris (PM), the largest tobacco company in the U.S., sought to enhance its image among American women; we also discuss how this strategy is being repeated globally, and explore the implications for women's health and tobacco control.

Methods

Litigation against the tobacco industry has resulted in the release of more than 9 million previously undisclosed industry documents (Bero 2003; Malone and Balbach 2000). Scanned PDF versions of these documents are archived at the University of California San Francisco library in a full-text searchable electronic repository (<http://www.legacy.library.ucsf.edu/>). We searched the archives using a snowball sampling method, beginning with broad search terms ("women's organizations") and using retrieved documents to identify more specific search terms, including names of women's organizations ("Women Work"), tobacco company public relations initiatives directed at women ("the women's strategy"), file locations, and reference (Bates) numbers.. We identified approximately 350 documents, the majority from Philip Morris, spanning 1978–2002. More detailed information on tobacco industry documents websites and search strategies has been previously published (Malone and Balbach 2000; MacKenzie, Collin, and Lee 2003). We also searched the Internet for websites belonging to women's organizations funded by the tobacco industry.

We analyzed documents using a hermeneutic, interpretive approach (Hill 1993; Taylor 1985b, 1985a; Van Manen 1990). In this type of historical analysis, "the focus of attention is on meanings ... Each document [is] reviewed carefully and the 'taken for granted' assumptions and viewpoints of the author[s] drawn out" (Forster 1995, p. 151). Consistent with the analytic tradition within which we were working, we specified no pre-analytic conceptual schema and did not create a coding matrix (Packer 1985; Packer and Addison 1989; Benner 1994). To develop this interpretive account, the first author reviewed all documents, and both authors reviewed selected key documents and took detailed notes. We relied upon iterative reviews and discussions of documents and notes to identify common themes and "clusters of meaning" (Forster 1995).

Results

Funding Women's Organizations

American tobacco companies first turned their attention to women's organizations in the late 1970s, when women's political influence was growing amid the second wave of the women's movement (Bowling 1979). PM's corporate affairs department pointed out in 1978 that "the women's movement has the potential to affect us as a corporation—politically, economically, and socially" (Philip Morris 1978). As a result, PM planned to "establish mutually beneficial

relationships with leaders and members of major women's organizations" (Philip Morris 1978). That year, the company made a "first of its kind" donation to the National Organization of Women's (NOW) conference, to build "a foundation for continuing association with this increasingly influential group" (Philip Morris 1978), "increase PM's visibility among women" (Philip Morris 1978), and promote PM's image as a responsible corporation (Blake et al. 1984) that was "genuinely concerned" with women's progress (Philip Morris 1981b). In subsequent years, PM and other tobacco companies funded a variety of women's political and professional organizations (see table).

However, PM recognized a potential stumbling block with women's groups. PM's corporate affairs executive Jeannine Dowling asserted in 1984 that "women might be ... our natural enemies" due to their negative feelings about tobacco (Blake et al. 1984). Her strategy for converting this natural enmity into friendship was to mention PM's non-tobacco products (which, at the time, included beer and soft drinks), thereby "giv[ing] them a way to support [PM]" (Blake et al. 1984). Personal contacts also helped "put...a smile and a face on the name of the corporation" (Blake et al. 1984).

Funding women's organizations brought tobacco companies several benefits, including lasting gratitude from the organizations' leaders. In 1991, the executive director of the Women's Campaign Fund praised the tobacco industry for its early willingness to fund women's groups, stating that "they were there for us when nobody else was" (Williams 1991b). In 1997, Muriel Fox, a co-founder of NOW, personally thanked PM "for being such a dear and thoughtful friend" (Philip Morris 1997f).

An additional (and arguably more significant) benefit was the potential to influence groups' agendas. In 1979, PM's corporate affairs department described how the company had established "two-way communications" with women's organizations, including "agenda participation with the National Commission on Working Women's annual meeting" (Philip Morris 1979a). Similarly, PM vice president of corporate affairs Guy Smith noted that he was able to help set the agenda for the National Women's Political Caucus 20th anniversary conference in 1991 (Smith 1990).

It is unknown whether PM steered these groups' attention away from smoking as a women's health issue, or if smoking had not yet registered as an issue of concern (particularly in 1979). However, the tobacco industry's lobbying organization, the Tobacco Institute (TI), hinted that continued tobacco industry funding of at least some women's organizations was contingent on the organizations' ignoring the issue. The TI's vice president of corporate affairs Susan Stuntz reported in 1986 that during "intensive discussions with representatives of key women's organizations ... most have assured us that, for the time being, smoking is not a priority issue for them. We agreed to sponsor programs of the women's network of the National Council of State Legislators" (Stuntz 1986b). Some evidence suggests that smoking remains a low priority issue for women's organizations that have received funding from the tobacco industry: of 25 such organizations that addressed some aspect of women's health on their websites as of March 2009, only 7 mentioned tobacco or smoking (see table).

Another benefit of tobacco company contributions to women's organizations was the creation of allies who could be called upon to defend the industry from regulation. For example, in 1990, on behalf of PM, the National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women wrote letters to President Bush opposing an increase in the federal excise tax on cigarettes (Smith 1990). That same year, at the "behest" of PM and "out of gratitude" for the company's support, American Women in Radio and Television wrote letters to Congress opposing a bill to limit cigarette advertising (Gomez 1991; American Women in Radio and Television 1990). In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Tobacco Institute successfully enlisted the League

of Women Voters to join coalitions opposed to tobacco taxes in Illinois and clean indoor air ordinances in Beverly Hills, CA (Cole 1988; Ogilvy & Mather 1987; Strategy Group 1991).

If women's organizations could not be secured as outspoken allies, PM regarded it as important to "freeze" them in neutral mode so that they did not support policies, such as cigarette advertising bans, that conflicted with tobacco company business objectives (Philip Morris 1995f, 1995c). As a PM public affairs department memo explained in 1995, "Our businesses are threatened in the legislative/regulatory arena by [tobacco control advocates'] identification and promotion of 'victims' such as women ... these actions encourage the creation of a 'class to be protected.' NEUTRALIZE THAT THREAT BY NEUTRALIZING THE TARGETS" (capitalization in original) (Philip Morris 1995e) Funding women's organizations was regarded as key to "neutralizing" them (Philip Morris 1995e). For example, in 1990, according to a tobacco industry consultant, the National Women's Political Caucus took no official position on the issue of raising cigarette and alcohol taxes to help close New York state's budget gap "due to large contributions from Philip Morris" (Strategy Group 1990).

When a funded organization spoke out against PM, continued funding could be jeopardized, as was evident in 1999, when the national Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), whose local chapters had received more than \$70,000 in PM grants that year, signed a public letter calling on the company to change its cigarette marketing practices (YWCA 1999; Farlow 1999). PM's vice president of corporate affairs Ellen Merlo noted in an internal email that "[W]e certainly do not require that worthy recipients speak out for us, but if they are publicly against us, [I] would give thought to continued support" (Merlo 1999). PM continued to fund YWCA affiliates in 2000 and 2001 (Philip Morris 2000d, 2001a), but we found no evidence of funding of the national organization.

Participating in Women's Organizations

While continued funding was regarded as key to "neutralizing" groups, in 1995, PM's public affairs department also recommended supporting "projects which more deeply involve us with each target group organization -- making ourselves impossible to replace with money alone" (Philip Morris 1995e). PM implemented a "Women's Strategy," to "extend PM's reach into the foremost professional women's organizations" (Philip Morris 1995a). Plans to implement this strategy included buying memberships in women's organizations (e.g., New York Women's Agenda, a coalition of professional women's and community activist organizations, and the American Association of University Women) for PM and Dede Thompson Bartlett, vice president of corporate affairs programs, and buying seats or tables at organization events (e.g., the Financial Women's Association annual meeting) (Philip Morris 1995a), where, presumably, PM executives could socialize with organization members. The Women's Strategy also involved securing recognition for the "significant achievements" of PM's female executives (Philip Morris 1995a). Between 1996 and 2001, six female senior managers at PM were inducted into the New York City YWCA's Academy of Women Leaders (YWCA New York City 2009). The accolades also brought a greater level of organizational involvement. According to the YWCA, members of the Academy of Women Leaders served on advisory committees (YWCA New York City 2001).

PM also sought opportunities for its representatives to speak on women's issues and to host organizational meetings. For example, in 2000, Bartlett co-chaired meetings on domestic violence for New York Women's Agenda (Philip Morris 2000a) and co-hosted various conferences, including the Women Entrepreneurs' Forum (Philip Morris 2000a). She also regularly hosted dinners on behalf of the New York Women's Agenda and the Financial Women's Association at PM's corporate headquarters in New York (Bartlett 1997) and addressed smaller women's organizations, such as the Duke University's Women's Studies program (Philip Morris 2000a).

Because there are a limited number of Women's Strategy documents, we cannot determine the extent to which PM benefited from its involvements in women's organizations. However, the organizations themselves advertise several benefits of corporate or individual membership. According to the Financial Women's Association, member companies receive "increased recognition for their support of women's leadership" (Financial Women's Association 2008); members of the New York Women's Agenda are promised "the opportunity to have a personal impact on [our] policy agendas" (New York Women's Agenda 2009a).

Seeking Additional Allies

In 2001, PM launched a new "Women's Initiative" to broaden its base of allied women's organizations (Philip Morris 2001c). PM sought to identify women's organizations who would "feel comfortable working with us," "provide unsolicited endorsements" of the company, "invite Philip Morris to speak at their events," and "work with Philip Morris on programs of mutual interest" (Philip Morris 2001c). PM was particularly interested in alliances with respected, credible women's organizations that influenced public policy or philanthropy and, if possible, had "shared opportunity intersects" with PM (e.g., concerns with issues like underage drinking, nutrition, domestic violence, food safety) (Philip Morris 2001d).

During the first year, PM planned to develop, test (first with focus groups, then in test markets) and evaluate "three model programs of some kind" to reach women's organizations (Philip Morris 2001b). It is unknown whether this plan was implemented. However, in early 2002, Women's Initiative planners sought legal approval for letters to be sent to women (presumably those active in a women's organization) inviting participation in one-on-one interviews with a PM representative (Bilodeau 2002; Berlind 2002; Abruzzo 2002); the intent was to determine what types of women-centered programs the company should support (Bilodeau 2002).

Co-opting "Active Moms"

In addition to trying to create positive relationships with women's organizations, in 2000, PM also sought to improve its image among particular groups of women. That year, PM added white, African American, and Hispanic "active moms" -- socially or politically active mothers who "have an influential voice in their community" -- as target audiences for its ongoing image enhancement program Philip Morris in the 21st Century (PM21) (Rosen 2000; Philip Morris 2000e). Initiated in 1997, PM21 was a response to a changing legal, regulatory, and public relations environment (Tesler and Malone 2008; Yang and Malone 2008).

In the mid- to late 1990s, the tobacco industry faced numerous state lawsuits to recover Medicaid costs related to tobacco-caused disease, a Department of Justice lawsuit accusing the tobacco industry of engaging in a conspiracy to deceive the public about the health effects of smoking, the Food and Drug Administration attempt to regulate nicotine as a drug and tobacco products as drug-delivery devices, and the public release of damaging internal tobacco company documents and whistleblower accounts of tobacco industry wrongdoing (Brandt 2007; Kessler 2000; Kessler 2006). PM21 initially targeted all adults (Roper Starch Worldwide 2001). In 2000, the campaign began targeting specific adult subgroups whose opinions PM considered influential and open to change, including "active moms," who were regarded as a "critical group for politicians; ultimately reasonable and not ideological" (Philip Morris 1999c, 2000b).

Advertisements showcasing the company's charitable contributions to various organizations, including those serving domestic violence victims, were a centerpiece of the PM21 campaign (Tesler and Malone 2008). With its new focus on "active moms," PM sought ways to communicate to them its leadership on this important women's issue (Philip Morris 2000f). According to PM21 planners, "active moms'" "current mindset" about the company consisted

of a vague awareness of and appreciation for PM's domestic violence efforts, overridden by the conviction that the company was "just trying to improve its image" (Philip Morris 2000g). The "desired mindset" that PM hoped to achieve through PM21 media efforts was one in which an active mom ignored the company's dangerous products and focused instead on its sincere commitment to the important problem of domestic violence: "PM seems more open and responsible. ... Even though they make products that concern me, they're doing good things around d[omestic] v[iolence] and other issues I care about. D[omestic] v[iolence] is such a prevalent problem .... I get the feeling that PM really cares about it" (Philip Morris 2000g).

To help achieve this "desired mindset," PM21 planners sought input from a market research firm about how to communicate to "active moms" that domestic violence was an important problem (Abruzzo et al. 2000). Based on focus group interviews, the firm advised PM that its communications should include statistics about the prevalence of the problem (e.g., "domestic violence is the leading cause of injury to women between the ages of 15 and 44 in the U.S.") (KRC Research and Consulting 2000) and information about domestic violence in the workplace, should emphasize that domestic violence was "a problem that could affect anyone," and should mention its impact on children (Abruzzo et al. 2000). Ironically, the same guidance could apply to efforts to communicate to active moms that *tobacco* is an important women's health problem.

To reach "active moms," PM relied on print and television advertisements showcasing survivors of domestic violence who received assistance from PM-sponsored programs (Philip Morris 2000b; Szczypka et al. 2007). In addition, the company sought to capitalize on earned media such as local newspaper and television coverage of check presentations to battered women shelters (Philip Morris 2000f). PM also created a brochure, "The Philip Morris Campaign against Domestic Violence" (Essential Action 2002) to be distributed at events and conferences attended by women (Echevarria 2000).

After learning about the company's commitment to domestic violence programs, PM planners hoped that "active moms" would participate in these programs, endorse PM's actions, and recognize PM as "a partner and leader in responding to D[omestic] V[iolence]" (Philip Morris 2000g). While it is unknown whether these goals were achieved, PM's opinion polling suggested that the company's widely advertised concern for domestic violence victims was only modestly successful. While there was a slight increase in the percentage of "active moms" viewing PM favorably the year after the advertising campaign began (37%, compared to 32% the year before), most "active moms" (44%) continued to view the company unfavorably (Roper Starch Worldwide 2001).

PM21 ended in 2001, replaced with a broader corporate responsibility initiative (Hirschhorn 2004). "Active moms" remained a key target audience (Hollis 2002). But rather than try to appeal to this group by showcasing its domestic violence programs, PM planned to focus on children, another issue important to active moms, by highlighting PM's "responsible" marketing practices and "youth smoking prevention" program – a demonstrably ineffective program whose larger purpose is to curry favor with policymakers and prevent regulation (Philip Morris 2002b; Landman, Ling, and Glantz 2002; Wakefield et al. 2006). According to the company, a measure of success in five years would be an increase in the percentage of active moms who were "reasonably indifferent to tobacco issues" or who thought that tobacco issues had "been taken care of" (Philip Morris 2002b). We found no data on whether this goal was achieved.

PM's Global Women-focused Initiatives

Although PM committed in 2000 to "end" domestic violence, in 2007 the company apparently stopped funding domestic violence programs in the U.S. (Philip Morris USA 2007). (Altria,

its parent company, followed suit in 2008 (Altria 2009)). Instead, PM International (PMI) has taken up the challenge. PMI currently funds domestic violence programs in Switzerland, Italy, and “across the world” (Philip Morris International 2008). PMI also appears to be emulating PM’s strategy of seeking to establish relationships with influential women. In 2008, its Middle East affiliate was a major sponsor of the second annual New Arab Woman Forum, a conference that explored Arab women’s leadership in politics, business and society (Al-Iktissad Wal-Aamal Group 2008).

Discussion

Our study had limitations. The sheer size of the document databases meant that we may not have retrieved every relevant document. Some may have been destroyed or concealed by tobacco companies (Lieberman 2002); others may have never been obtained in the legal discovery process. In addition, because only a limited number of documents existed concerning several recent women-focused PM initiatives, the full scope of these plans and the extent to which they were implemented were unknown. Nonetheless, our findings are consistent with previous research investigating the tobacco industry’s efforts to establish relationships with racial and ethnic minorities (Yerger and Malone 2002; Muggli et al. 2002; Portugal et al. 2004), gays and lesbians (Offen, Smith, and Malone 2003), and organized labor (Balbach, Herzberg, and Barbeau 2006). With these groups, as with women, tobacco companies used donations to leadership groups and charitable contributions to causes important to the targeted groups to establish strategic relationships intended to influence policy and improve corporate image.

Since the 1970s, PM has had a sustained interest in convincing women that it is a responsible corporation. Women’s organizations, the initial focus of PM’s image enhancement efforts, proved willing to accept both tobacco industry funding and the implied obligations it apparently entailed, including de-prioritizing smoking as a women’s health issue, and helping to maintain a policy climate favorable to the tobacco industry. That many of the women’s organizations receiving tobacco industry funding in the past continue today to largely ignore smoking as a women’s health issue suggests that the tobacco industry’s “investment” paid long-term dividends, with potentially devastating results for women’s health.

PM was less successful in burnishing its image among “active moms.” Despite its involvement with domestic violence, an issue important to many women, PM was unable to definitively improve “active moms” view of the company. “Active moms” may have recognized that the company’s outrage over the widespread problem of domestic violence contrasted markedly with its silence regarding its role as the vector of tobacco-caused disease among women or its longstanding targeting of children. They may also have read or seen media reports criticizing PM for spending in 2000 more money advertising its commitment to preventing domestic violence than funding domestic violence programs (Weiss 2001; Big tobacco’s latest smoke screen 2000; Stossel 2001).

PM’s attempts to divert women’s attention from tobacco by supporting domestic violence organizations may have only been possible because of the broader perception that tobacco was not a women’s health issue (Haviland 2004). As our research showed, many women’s organizations devoted to health issues ignored tobacco. In addition, studies indicate that women’s magazines have devoted most of their attention to breast cancer, despite the fact that, in 1987, lung cancer, a cancer caused almost exclusively by tobacco smoking, surpassed breast cancer as the leading cancer-related cause of death among women (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2001; Tobler, Wilson, and Napolitano 2009; Hoffman-Goetz et al. 1997; Hoffman-Goetz and MacDonald 1999). Because the media are a key source of health information for women, perhaps this inattention explains why women underestimate the

disease effects of tobacco use (Moran, Glazier, and Armstrong 2003; Oncken et al. 2005; Luker et al. 1996; Meischke et al. 2002).

To frame tobacco as a women's health issue, the 2001 U.S. Surgeon General's report on women and smoking called for emulating the breast cancer campaign, with celebrities, women's magazines, women's organizations, women affected by tobacco-caused disease, and women's advocates all calling attention to the impact of smoking on women's health (including secondhand smoke effects) and supporting policies to reduce tobacco use and exposure among women (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2001). Counter-industry advertising, similar to that employed by the state of Massachusetts in 2001 highlighting the hypocrisy of PM's claims to care about women victims of domestic violence while ignoring women victims of tobacco, might also be a useful part of such a campaign (Rountree 2001). Because women have tended to be more supportive of tobacco control policies than men (Wilson, Duncan, and Nicholson 2004; Gilpin, Lee, and Pierce 2004; Doucet, Velicer, and Laforge 2007) and may be a "critical group for politicians" (Philip Morris 2000b), a women-centered campaign might serve as a means of gaining support for and enacting tobacco control policies previously regarded as politically unfeasible.

Raising tobacco's visibility as a *global* women's health issue should include addressing tobacco companies' ties to influential women's groups and developing alternative funding sources. Our study results suggest that an important tobacco industry strategy for increasing cigarette sales among women in developing nations (where only 9% are estimated to be current smokers) (Collin 2005; Shafey et al. 2009) will be to establish relationships with women's organizations. These relationships may not only help weaken cultural taboos against women smoking (World Health Organization 2008, p. 17), but also create allies or "neutrals" who will oppose or fail to support tobacco control measures. The Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, an international treaty developed in response to the globalization of the tobacco epidemic, offers a remedy to counter this strategy. Article 13 requires signatories to ban or restrict tobacco marketing (World Health Organization 2003), and the implementation guidelines explicitly list tobacco industry corporate social responsibility donations and activities as forms of tobacco marketing (Conference of the Parties to the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control 2009). In the more than 164 countries which have now ratified this treaty, implementation should include restricting tobacco industry philanthropy and image management strategies aimed at women and women's groups.

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Table 1

Examples of women's organizations supported by the tobacco industry, by year

Political or Public Policy Organizations	Tobacco Company Supporter, Year(s) of Support, Contribution	Health Issues Addressed on Current Website
American Association of University Women	RJR: 1982, \$5,000 (Horrigan Jr. 1982); 1990, \$22,000 (RJ Reynolds 1990); 1991, \$22,000 (RJ Reynolds 1991a)	None
Catalyst for Women	PM: 1995, \$24,000 (Lai 1995); 1996, \$31,000 (Philip Morris 1995a); 1998, amount unspecified (Williams 2001); 1999, amount unspecified (Rosenberg and Sigel 2001) RJR: 1997, amount unspecified (Rosenberg and Sigel 2001)	None
Center for the American Woman and Politics	RJR: 1991, amount unspecified (Williams 1991b) PM: 1991, amount unspecified (Williams 1991b); 1995, \$55.26 (Philip Morris 1995b)	None
Center for Women's Policy Studies	PM: \$25,000, year unspecified (Williams 1991b; The Advocacy Institute 1998)	Reproductive rights and AIDS (Center for Women's Policy Studies 2006)
Emily's List	PM: 1991, \$25,000 (shared with the Women's Campaign Fund and the National Women's Political Caucus) (Williams 1991a)	None
Illinois Women in Government	PM: 1991, \$5,000 (Wolfe 1993)	None
International Center for Research on Women	Altria: 2009, amount unspecified (aInternational Center for Research on Women 2009a)	HIV/AIDS, nutrition, reproductive health, and violence against women. (bInternational Center for Research on Women 2009b) (Smoking mentioned in passing in reports on HIV and domestic violence.)
League of Women Voters	PM: 1991, \$2,000 (Wolfe 1993)	Health care reform (League of Women Voters 2009)
Ms. Foundation for Women	PM: 1991, \$5,000 (Wolfe 1993); 1995, \$5,000 (Lai 1995)	Reproductive rights, gender- based violence, and AIDS (Ms. Foundation for Women 2009)
National Commission on Working Women	RJR: 1982, \$3,000 (Horrigan Jr. 1982); 1990, \$10,000 (RJ Reynolds 1990); 1991, \$10,000 (RJ Reynolds 1991a); 1992, \$10,000 (RJ Reynolds 1993b); 1993, \$10,000 (proposed) (RJ Reynolds 1993b)	No website found
National Conference of State Legislatures Women's Network	RJR: 1987, amount unspecified (Ainsworth 1987a); 1998, \$1,000 (Durlam 1997) PM: 1981, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1981b); 1999, \$500 (Philip Morris 1999a) TI: 1986, amount unspecified (Stuntz 1986a); 1989, \$2,000 (Tobacco Institute 1989)	Women's health across the lifespan, including nutrition, immunization, and tobacco use. Website provides links to sources of information on variety of tobacco issues. (National Conference for State Legislatures 2009)
National Council for Research on Women	PM: 1999, amount unspecified (Rosenberg and Sigel 2001)	Health care access, health disparities, health insurance, reproductive health, girls' health (including tobacco use). (The National Council for Research on Women 2007)
National Order of Women Legislators/National Foundation for Women Legislators	PM: 1981, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1981b); 1988, \$1,500 (Philip Morris 1989c); 1997, \$20,000 (Philip Morris 1999a); 2000, amount unspecified (McDaniel 2000) TI: 1983, \$2,000 (Wells 1983); 1984, \$500 (Tobacco Institute 1985); 1986, \$1,000 (Wells 1986); 1993, \$500 (National Order Of Women Legislators 1993)	Alternative and complimentary medicine; nutritional deficiencies in children, adults and seniors; and treating and preventing child sexual abuse. (National Foundation for Women Legislators 2007)
National Organization for Women	PM: 1978, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1978); 1991, \$2,000 (Wolfe 1993)	Priority health issues are reproductive rights and violence against women; (National Organization for Women 2009)links to fact sheets on women's health issues, including tobacco use. (National Organization for Women Foundation 2007)
National Organization for Women Legal Defense and Education Fund (now known as Legal Momentum)	RJR: 1983, \$2,500 (proposed) (RJ Reynolds 1983); 1987, \$3,000 (Bass 1987a); 1990,\$3,500 (RJ Reynolds 1990); 1991, \$5,000 (RJ Reynolds 1991a)	Reproductive rights and violence against women (Legal Momentum 2009)

Political or Public Policy Organizations	Tobacco Company Supporter, Year(s) of Support, Contribution	Health Issues Addressed on Current Website
	PM: 1991,\$5,000 (Wolfe 1993); 1995, \$500 (Philip Morris 1995a)	
National Women's Law Center	PM: 1991, \$5,000 (Wolfe 1993)	Health care and reproductive rights; site includes 2003 report "Women and Smoking : A National and State-by-State Report Card." (National Women's Law Center 2003)
National Women's Political Caucus	PM: 1977, \$600 (National Women's Political Caucus 1977); 1979, amount unspecified (Goldsmith, Millhiser, and Weissman 1979); 1981, amount unspecified (Knox 1988); 1983, amount unspecified (Bowling 1983); 1985, amount unspecified (Knox 1988); 1987 amount unspecified (Knox 1988); 1989, amount unspecified (Knox 1988); 1993, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1993); 1994, \$25,000 (Philip Morris 1994b); 1995, \$76,466.62 (Philip Morris 1995b) RJR: 1990, \$10,000 (RJ Reynolds 1990) TI: 1986, amount unspecified (Stuntz 1986c)	None
New York Women's Agenda	PM: 1994, \$2,500 (Philip Morris 1995a); 1995, \$16,500 (Philip Morris 1995a); 1996, \$3,500 (Philip Morris 1995a)	Reproductive freedom (New York Women's Agenda 2009b)
Republican Women's Leadership Forum	US Tobacco: 1998, amount unspecified (Rosenberg and Sigel 2001)	No website found
Wider Opportunities for Women	PM: 1991, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1991)	None
Women in Government Relations Leader Foundation	PM: 1995, \$5,000 (Lai 1995)	No website found
Women Work	PM: 1995, \$7,500 (Philip Morris 1995b)	None
Women's Campaign Fund	RJR: 2000, amount unspecified (Williams 2001) PM: 1992, amount unspecified (The Advocacy Institute 1998) TI: 1997, \$5,000 (Tobacco Institute 1997); 1998, \$5,000 (Tobacco Institute 1998)	None
Women Executives in Government	RJR: 1990, \$35,000 (RJ Reynolds 1990); 1993, \$10,000 (recommended) (RJ Reynolds 1993a)	No website found
Women Executives in State Government	RJR: 1986, amount unspecified (Ainsworth 1986); 1987, \$30,000 (Williams 1991a); 1988, \$30,000 (Williams 1991a); 1989, \$30,000 (Williams 1991a); 1990, \$35,000 (RJ Reynolds 1990); 1991, \$35,000 (RJ Reynolds 1991a) 1995, amount unspecified (Shore 1995); 1996, amount unspecified (Shore 1996); 1997, \$1,000 (Shore 1997) PM: 1994, \$10,000 (Chann and Walls 1994); 1995, \$5,150 (Philip Morris 1995b); 1998, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1998); 1999, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1999d)	No website found
Women's Research and Education Institute (affiliate of Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues)	PM: 1995, \$30,000 (Philip Morris 1995b) RJR: 1982, \$22,000 (Horrigan Jr. 1982); 1989, \$75,000 (Williams 1991a); 1990, \$75,000 (RJ Reynolds 1990); 1991, \$75,000 (RJ Reynolds 1991a); 1993, \$56,000 (proposed) (RJ Reynolds 1993b) TI: 1992, \$1,500 (Tobacco Institute 1992)	Mentions women's health in general – no specific mention of tobacco. (Women's Research and Education Institute 2009)
Business/professional		
American Business Women's Association	PM: 1978, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1978)	None
American Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs	Company and amount unspecified (Williams 1991b)	No website found
American Women in Radio and Television	PM: 1991, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1991); 1994, \$5,000 (American Women in Radio and Television 1994); 1995, \$7,620 (Philip Morris 1995b); 1996, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1996); 1998, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1998)	None
Business and Professional Women's Foundation	RJR: 1983, amount unspecified (RJ Reynolds 1983); 1985, \$5,000 (Bass 1985); 1987, \$5,000 (Bass 1987b) PM 1989, \$6,500 (Jones-Rimple 1989); 1990, samples (Moore 1990)	Legislative priorities include HEART for Women Act (to improve the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of heart disease and stroke) and reproductive rights; no mention of

Political or Public Policy Organizations	Tobacco Company Supporter, Year(s) of Support, Contribution	Health Issues Addressed on Current Website
		tobacco. (Business and Professional Women's Foundation 2009)
Executive Women International	PM: 1998, amount unspecified (Gannon 1999); 2001, \$3,500 (Philip Morris 2001a); 2002, \$3,500 (Philip Morris 2000d); 2003, \$3,500 (Philip Morris 2002a)	None
Financial Women's Association	PM: 1996, up to \$15,000 (Philip Morris 1995a); 1997, amount unspecified (Bartlett 1997)	None
International Women's Media Foundation	PM: 1997, \$6,000 (Philip Morris 1997e); 2000, \$5,000 (Philip Morris 2000d)	Brief mention of tobacco advertising in profile of health journalist. (Henk 2005)
National Association of Women Business Owners	PM: 1991, conducted workshop (Philip Morris 1991); 1997, \$1,000 (Philip Morris 1997e); 2000, \$1,000 (Philip Morris 2000d); 2002, \$11,000 (Philip Morris 2002a); 2003, \$1,000 (Philip Morris 2002a)	None
Society of Women Engineers	PM: 2001, \$5,000 (Philip Morris 2001a)	None
Women's Business Council	PM: 1995, \$1,3097.70 (Philip Morris 1995b)	None
Women in Communications	Lorillard: 1982, \$1,000 (Ridgway 1982)	No website found
Minority women		
Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority (national and local chapters)	BW: 1979, samples (McKeown 1979); 1984, samples (Bateman 1984); 1986, samples (Bateman 1986) PM: 1981, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1981a); 1984–1990, samples (Johnson 1990); 1997, \$2,500 (Philip Morris 1997b); 2003, \$2,500 (Philip Morris 2002a) RJR: 1974–1983, amount unspecified (Smitherman 1983); 1984, samples (RJ Reynolds 1984); 1985, \$250 (Lewis 1985a); 1986, amount unspecified (RJ Reynolds 1986); 1987, samples (Spainhour 1987); 1988, amount unspecified (RJ Reynolds 1988)	Obesity, fitness, cancer research, hypertension and diabetes prevention, and domestic violence. (Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority 2009)
Asian Pacific American Women's Leadership Institute	PM: 1995–1997, \$45,000 (Philip Morris 1997b)	None
Black Women In Publishing	PM: 1988, \$1,000 and samples (Philip Morris 1989b)	No website found
Black Women's Agenda	PM: 2000, \$5,000 (Philip Morris 2000c)	No website found
Coalition of 100 Black Women (local and national chapters)	PM: 1979, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1979b); 1985, amount unspecified (Maxwell 1985); 1988, \$5,000 and samples (Philip Morris 1989b); 1989, \$200 (Philip Morris 1989a); 1994, \$5,000 (Bell-Stevens 1994); 1995, \$3,534.36 (Philip Morris 1995b); 1999, \$7,692 (Philip Morris 2000c); 2000, amount unspecified (Dowdell 2000); 2001, amount unspecified (Washington 2000) RJR: 1991, \$3,000 (RJ Reynolds 1991b); 1993, amount unspecified (Rixter 1993); 1997, \$500 (Rixter and Suggs 1997) BW: 1995, \$300 (Brown & Williamson 1995)	HIV (National Coalition of 100 Black Women 2008)
Coro Foundation Leadership Program	PM: 1985, amount unspecified (Maxwell 1985)	None
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority (national and local chapters)	BW: 1979, samples (McKeown 1979); 1985, samples (Bateman 1985) Lorillard: 1984, samples (Lorillard 1983) PM: 1988, \$26,600 and samples (Philip Morris 1989b); 1999, \$2,500 (Keenan 1999); 2000, \$500 (Philip Morris 2002a) RJR: 1983, samples (Sharp 1983); 1984, samples (RJ Reynolds 1984); 1985, amount unspecified (Lewis 1985b); 1990, \$500 (RJ Reynolds 1989); 1997, \$600 (RJ Reynolds 1997)	Physical and mental health; heart disease; no mention of smoking. (Delta Sigma Theta Sorority 2009)
Las Mujeres of the League of United Latin American Citizens	PM: 1988, \$5,000 (Philip Morris 1989b)	No website found
Latin Women in Action	PM: 1997, \$1,500 (Philip Morris 1997c)	Drug and alcohol abuse; suicide, depression, troubled youth and their families, HIV; domestic violence;

Political or Public Policy Organizations	Tobacco Company Supporter, Year(s) of Support, Contribution	Health Issues Addressed on Current Website
		prenatal care. (Latin Women in Action 2009)
Mexican American Women's National Association	PM: 1988, \$1,000 and samples (Philip Morris 1989b); 1995, \$500 (Philip Morris 1995b); 1998, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1998); 2000, \$15,000 (Echevarria 2000)	None
National Association of Black Women Attorneys	PM: 1978, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1978)	No website found
National Association of Minority Women in Business	PM: 1988, \$500 (Philip Morris 1989b)	No website found
National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs	PM: 1986, amount unspecified (Hopkins 1986); 1988, \$12,000 and samples (Philip Morris 1989b); 1993, amount unspecified (Fuller 1993); 1995, \$500 (Philip Morris 1995b); 1998, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1998) RJR: 1993, amount unspecified (Ogburn 1993)	None
National Association of University Women	RJR: 1984, samples (RJ Reynolds 1984); 1986, amount unspecified (Lewis 1986)	None
National Black Caucus of State Legislators Women's Caucus	PM: 1988, \$1,000 (Philip Morris 1989b)	No website found
National Council of Jewish Women	PM: 1995, \$1,000 (Lai 1995)	Reproductive health, domestic violence, healthcare reform, mental health; no mention of tobacco and health. (National Council of Jewish Women 2009)
National Council of Negro Women (national and local chapters)	RJR: 1982, \$3000 (Horrigan Jr. 1982); 1983, \$3000 (RJ Reynolds 1983); 1986, \$400 (Washington 1985); 1990, \$8,000 (RJ Reynolds 1990); 1991, amount unspecified (Ruffin 1991); 1997, \$1,000 (Bond et al. 1997) PM: 1988, \$1,900 and samples (Philip Morris 1989b); 1990, \$1,000 (Harrington 1990); 1991, \$1,000 (Ison 1991); 1992, \$4,000 (Philip Morris 1992); 1998, \$21,000 (Philip Morris 1997d); 1999, \$37,500 (Philip Morris 1999b); 2000, \$34,000 (Philip Morris 2000c); 2001, \$500 (Philip Morris 2001a); 2002, \$1,000 (Philip Morris 2002a); 2003, \$4,000 (Philip Morris 2002a) BW: 1995, (Brown & Williamson 1995)	Obesity, heart disease, diabetes, HIV, HPV, fibroids; no mention of tobacco. (National Council of Negro Women 2009)
National Federation of Black Women Business Owners	PM: 1995, (Philip Morris 1995b); 2000, \$8,000 (Philip Morris 2000c)	No website found
National Hispana Leadership Institute	RJR: 1993, \$10,000 (proposed) (RJ Reynolds 1993b); 1994, amount unspecified (RJ Reynolds 1994); 1995, amount unspecified (Jackson 1995); 1997, amount unspecified (Rosenberg and Sigel 2001)	None
National Political Congress of Black Women	PM: 1988, samples (Philip Morris 1989b); 1994, \$2,500 (Philip Morris 1994a); 1995, amount unspecified (Philip Morris 1995d); 1997, \$2,500 (Philip Morris 1997a); 2000, \$5,000 (Philip Morris 2000c)	No website found
Organization of Chinese American Women	PM: 1997, \$500 (Philip Morris 1997e)	None
US Hispanic Women's Chamber of Commerce	PM: 1991, amount unspecified (Gomez 1991)	Recommends screenings for cholesterol, blood pressure, vision, skin, breast and cervical cancer. (U.S. Hispanic Women's Chamber of Commerce 2009) No mention of tobacco.
Zeta Delta Phi Sorority	RJR: 1984, samples (RJ Reynolds 1984)	No website found
Zeta Phi Beta Sorority	Lorillard: 1987, samples (Griffen 1987) RJR: 1984, samples (RJ Reynolds 1984); 1985, samples (Fishel 1985); 1986, \$100 (Fishel 1986); 1987, \$100 (Fishel 1987)	Prenatal care (Zeta Phi Beta Sorority 2005)
Community Development		

Political or Public Policy Organizations	Tobacco Company Supporter, Year(s) of Support, Contribution	Health Issues Addressed on Current Website
Midwest Women's Center	PM: 1991, \$2,000 (Wolfe 1993)	No website found
National Council of Jewish Women, New York	PM: 1995, \$1,000 (Lai 1995)	Reproductive choice and domestic violence (National Council of Jewish Women New York 2009)
New York Women's Foundation	PM: 1995, \$5,500 (Lai 1995)	Supports organizations and programs that treat health as a fundamental right, including those that "protect and promote the right to clean indoor and outdoor environments." (The New York Women's Foundation 2009)
YWCA (local and national chapters)	BW: 1995, \$750 (Brown & Williamson 1995) PM 1995, \$25,000 (Philip Morris 1995a); 1996, \$25,000 (Philip Morris 1995a); 2000, \$42,900 (Philip Morris 2000d); 2001, \$11,500 (Philip Morris 2001a); 2002, \$5,000 (Philip Morris 2002a); 2003, \$6,000 (Philip Morris 2002a)	Report "Beauty at Any Cost" mentions that smoking causes lung cancer. (YWCA 2008)
Women's Action Alliance	RJR: 1982, \$3,500 (Horrigan Jr. 1982); 1987, \$4,000 (Bass 1987c)	Organization dissolved in 1997
Women in Action	RJR: 1997, \$1,000 (RJ Reynolds 1997)	None
Equal Rights		
National Women's Law Center	PM: 1991, \$5,000 (Wolfe 1993) RJR: 1990, \$500 (RJ Reynolds 1990)	Affordable health care; reproductive choices, women and smoking . (National Women's Law Center 2009)
Women's Legal Defense Fund	PM: 1995, \$5,000 (Lai 1995)	No website found
Leadership network		
Women's Forum (national, international and local branches)	RJR: 1987, amount unspecified (Ainsworth 1987b); 1997, \$200 (Shore and Smith 1997) PM: 1988, \$100,000 (Philip Morris 1988)	None

Abbreviations: BW, Brown and Williamson; PM, Philip Morris; RJR, RJ Reynolds; TI, Tobacco Institute