

COVER

Food advertising targeted to Hispanic and Black youth: Contributing to health disparities

AUTHORS

Rudd Center for Food Policy & Obesity
University of Connecticut

Jennifer L. Harris, PhD, MBA
Director of Marketing Initiatives, Rudd Center for Food Policy & Obesity
Associate Professor, Allied Health Sciences

Catherine Shehan, MS
Research Associate, Rudd Center for Food Policy & Obesity

Renee Gross, JD
Coordinator of Legal Initiatives, Rudd Center for Food Policy & Obesity

AACORN
University of Pennsylvania Perelman School of Medicine

Shiriki Kumanyika, PhD, MPH
Emeritus Professor of Epidemiology
Founder and Chair, AACORN

Vikki Lassiter, MS
Executive Director, AACORN

Salud America!
University of Texas Health Science Center at San Antonio

Amelie G. Ramirez, DrPH, MPH
Director, Institute for Health Promotion Research
Professor, Department of Epidemiology and Biostatistics.

Kipling Gallion
Deputy Director, Salud America!
Deputy Director, Institute for Health Promotion Research

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report supports public health concerns that marketing of unhealthy foods and beverages targeted to communities of color contributes to health disparities.

Previous research has shown that Black and Hispanic youth receive a “double dose” of food marketing that promotes products high in sugar, saturated fat, and sodium. Compared to White non-Hispanic youth, they are exposed to more food advertising in the media, as well as more marketing messages in their communities. This food marketing exposure contributes to poor diet, including greater consumption of fast food and sugary drinks, and contributes to higher rates of obesity and other diet-related diseases in Black and Hispanic communities.

Public health experts have raised concerns that companies also may target marketing for nutritionally poor foods directly to Black and Hispanic youth, exacerbating health disparities. This research examined these targeted marketing practices. To identify targeted marketing for food and beverage products, researchers analyzed companies’ public statements about their targeted marketing, including traditional media advertising, product development, sponsorships, and philanthropic programs. They also conducted a comprehensive analysis of the amount of TV food advertising specifically targeted to and/or disproportionately viewed by Hispanic and Black consumers; youths’ exposure to this advertising; the brands and product categories promoted most often; and comparisons to exposure by White non-Hispanic youth. These findings will help identify opportunities to encourage companies to reduce disparities in food marketing aimed at youth of color.

Methods

We examined 26 restaurant, food, and beverage companies, including all companies with \$100 million or more in advertising spending in 2013 ($n=23$) and all companies participating in the Children’s Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative (CFBAI) industry self-regulatory program as of December 2014 ($n=17$). Systematic searches of marketing trade press and reports, companies’ annual reports, and press releases from 2012 to 2014 identified statements about their targeted marketing practices. To identify brands with TV advertising targeted to Black and Hispanic audiences, we utilized syndicated market research data from Nielsen. These data quantified media spending by brand, including advertising spending on Spanish-language and Black-targeted TV channels, as well as exposure to TV advertising by Black, Hispanic, and all children and adolescents in 2013. In addition to company-level advertising data, researchers also examined data for the 267 most-advertised brands (i.e. brands spending \$4.5 million or more in total advertising across all media and \$500,000 or more in TV advertising). Hispanic-targeted brands with advertising on Spanish-language TV were identified. In addition, Black-targeted brands included those with substantial advertising on TV networks with a high proportion of Black individuals in the audience and/or whose ads were viewed disproportionately more by Black teens relative to White teens. Youth-targeted brands that advertised disproportionately more to children and/or teens compared with adults also were identified.

Results

The companies in this analysis often made public statements about their targeted marketing practices. These statements identified three primary reasons for companies' targeted marketing strategies: business opportunity, cultural relevance, and corporate responsibility. Statements about targeted marketing primarily focused on the growing and increasingly important Hispanic consumer. Some beverage companies also noted their strategy to reach "multicultural" millennials through sponsorships and events. In addition, many of the large packaged-foods companies maintained Spanish-language versions of their websites, and one fast-food company (McDonald's) offered separate websites for Black, Hispanic, and Asian American consumers. The Nielsen data confirmed that most of the companies in our analysis targeted some advertising to Hispanic consumers. Overall, the 26 companies in this analysis spent \$675 million in food-related advertising on Spanish-language TV, 82% of all food advertising on this medium. Seven companies spent \$48 million or more in Spanish-language advertising, including McDonald's (\$75 million), Mars (\$72 million) and General Mills (\$66 million), while just four companies did not advertise on Spanish-language TV at all (Ferrero U.S.A., Inc., Roark Capital, dineEquity, and Dannon). Seven companies allocated more than 10% of their TV advertising budgets to Spanish-language programming (Post Foods, Dr Pepper Snapple Group, Wendy's, 3G Capital, Kraft Foods, and Kellogg). Mars spent 23.5% of its TV advertising budget on Spanish-language television, the highest proportion of any company in our analysis.

In contrast, just three companies (Coca-Cola, General Mills, and McDonald's) spoke publicly about marketing targeted directly to Black consumers. However, the Nielsen data indicated that most companies in this analysis placed some advertising on Black-targeted TV networks, totaling \$161 million and representing three-quarters of all food-related advertising on these networks. Only Dannon and ConAgra Foods spent less than \$100,000 to advertise on Black-targeted TV network. Black-targeted TV advertising spending was considerably lower than Spanish-language TV spending, but five companies spent more than \$10 million in advertising on primarily Black networks. The Hershey Company spent the most (\$23.0 million), followed by PepsiCo, Mars, Yum! Brands and Kellogg. In addition, four companies spent more than 4% of their TV advertising budgets on Black-targeted TV (compared with 2% on average for all companies in this analysis), including Ferrero, Unilever, Dr Pepper Snapple Group, and Hershey.

Targeted brands and categories

Of the 267 most-advertised brands from the 26 companies in our analysis, 92 (34%) Hispanic-targeted brands devoted more than \$100,000 in advertising on Spanish-language TV. Three of these brands did not advertise at all on English-language TV (7 Up, Kraft Mayonnaise, and Fuze Iced Tea). In addition, 148 brands (55%) spent more than \$100,000 on TV networks with a high proportion of Black individuals in the audience, and 90 of these brands (34%) were designated as Black-targeted because they spent more than \$500,000 on Black-targeted networks or had a high ratio of Black versus White teen exposure. There was also substantial overlap, with 44 brands (16%) targeting both Black and Hispanic consumers. Hispanic-targeted brands contributed 96% of food-related advertising on Spanish-language TV, and Black-targeted brands produced 87% of food advertising on Black-targeted TV networks.

Fast-food and other restaurants spent the most on advertising in targeted media, totaling \$244 million in Spanish-language television and \$61 million in Black-targeted television. All

restaurant companies targeted at least one of their brands to Black consumers, and all but two advertised on Spanish-language TV. Restaurants represented almost 37% of all food-related advertising on these networks, but restaurants' share of food-related advertising on all types of television programming was higher (43%). Wendy's, Olive Garden, and Burger King devoted a relatively high 11% to 12% of their TV advertising spending to Spanish-language advertising (compared to 8.5% on average for the companies in this analysis), and McDonald's devoted 10%. Wendy's also devoted the highest share of its TV advertising budget to Black-targeted TV at 3.7%.

Compared with other food and beverage categories, candy and gum/mint brands disproportionately targeted their advertising to both Black and Hispanic consumers. Candy brands represented 9.4% of all TV advertising spending for food-related brands, but this category represented 13.3% of food-related spending on Spanish-language TV and 18.3% of spending on Black-targeted TV. Of the candy brands examined, 78% targeted Black consumers and 31% targeted Hispanics. All Hispanic-targeted brands also targeted Black consumers. M&Ms, Snickers, Hershey's Candy Bar, and Twix ranked in the top-ten Hispanic-targeted packaged food brands (excluding restaurants) with \$12.8 million to \$17 million in Spanish-language advertising. On Black-targeted TV, Reese's Peanut Butter Cups, M&Ms, Hershey's Kisses, and Hershey's Candy Bar ranked in the top-ten packaged food brands, with \$2 to \$2.5 million in Black-targeted spending.

In other packaged food categories, there was greater variation in advertising targeted to Hispanic and Black consumers. Of note, just two fruit brands qualified for our analysis (i.e., they spent \$4.5 million or more in advertising); none of the vegetable brands qualified. Further, neither of the included fruit brands appeared to be targeted to Black or Hispanic consumers. Juice, plain water, yogurt, and other dairy brands also were less likely to be targeted to Black or Hispanic consumers. Of the 22 brands in these categories, just two fruit juice brands (V8 V-Fusion and Tropicana Farmstand) and four dairy brands (Yoplait Light, Yoplait, Philadelphia Cream Cheese, and Kraft Singles) advertised on Spanish-language TV, while only one yogurt (Yoplait Light) was targeted to Black consumers. Together, brands in these healthier categories represented 6% of all TV advertising spending, but just 4% of Spanish-language advertising spending and less than 1% of advertising spending on Black-targeted TV.

In contrast, some categories dedicated a disproportionately high amount of their overall TV advertising budgets to Spanish-language TV: nearly 12% of TV advertising spending for cereal and food preparation products and almost 17% of spending on regular soda was devoted to Spanish-language television (compared with 8.6% for all food products). Following restaurants and candy, cereal, regular soda, and prepared meal brands had the highest total spending on Spanish-language TV. Individual brands ranking in the top-10 packaged foods for Spanish-language TV advertising included Cheerios, Coca-Cola Classic and 7 Up regular sodas, Kraft Macaroni & Cheese, Kraft Singles Cheese, and Cinnamon Toast Crunch Cereal. On the other hand, sweet and savory snacks represented a disproportionately high proportion (14%) of Black-targeted TV spending (compared with 8% of overall TV spending), and these categories also spent the most in this medium after restaurants and candy. Other top-10 packaged food brands with \$1.8 to \$4.2 million in advertising spending on Black-targeted TV included Pop Tarts,

Tyson Frozen Entrees, Gatorade, Lay's Potato Chips, Coca-Cola Classic, and Tostitos Cantina Tortilla Chips.

Youth-targeted brands and youth exposure to food-related advertising

We also identified 48 youth-targeted brands (18% of all brands) that were advertised disproportionately more to children and/or adolescents compared with adults. These brands also were significantly more likely to be targeted to Black and/or Hispanic consumers. Youth-targeted brands with the highest advertising spending on Spanish-language TV (i.e., \$10 million or more) included McDonald's, Twix Candy Bar, Cinnamon Toast Crunch Cereal, and Orbit chewing gum. Youth-targeted brands spending \$2.4 million or more in advertising on Black-targeted television included McDonald's, Pop Tarts, Tyson Frozen Entrees, and Gatorade.

Overall, Black children and teens viewed 70% more food-related TV advertising compared with their White peers, averaging 13.3 ads per day for Black children and 17.5 ads per day for Black teens (5.6 and 7.5 more ads per day compared with White children and teens). This disparity in ads viewed was even greater for product categories with the most Black-targeted products. Black children and teens saw at least twice as many ads for gum/mints, soda, and other sugary drinks compared with White children and teens, and Black children saw 2.1 times as many candy and regular soda ads and 2.3 times as many gum/mint ads. Fast-food and other restaurants comprised almost one-third of food-related ads viewed by Black and White youth in all age groups, while candy, gum/mints, snacks, soda, and other sugary drinks represented another 32% of food ads viewed by Black children and 39% of ads viewed by Black teens (vs. 28% and 36% of ads viewed by White children and teens).

On Spanish-language TV, Hispanic children viewed on average 2.2 food, beverage and restaurant ads per day and Hispanic teens averaged 1.8 ads per day in addition to advertising viewed on English-language TV. Fast-food and other restaurants comprised slightly more than one-third of Spanish-language ads viewed. For Hispanic children, this represented a somewhat higher proportion of ads viewed compared with food-related ads viewed by all children on English-language TV (35% vs. 31%). Candy and gum/mints comprised another 24% to 25% of Spanish-language ads viewed by Hispanic children and teens, compared with just 13% and 19% of food-related ads viewed by all children on English-language TV. The distribution of ads viewed by Hispanic youth on Spanish-language TV for other food categories was comparable to ads viewed on English-language TV with one exception: cereal represented 22% of food ads to children on English-language TV compared with just 11% of ads viewed by Hispanic children on Spanish-language TV.

Conclusions and recommendations

In evaluating companies' targeted marketing practices, it is important to recognize that food and beverage marketing designed to appeal directly to Hispanic and Black consumers is not problematic in and of itself. However, this research demonstrates that racial-ethnic targeted food marketing likely contributes to health disparities. Researchers did not conduct a nutritional analysis of targeted brands. However, the majority of advertising targeted to Hispanic and Black

consumers promoted food and beverage product categories comprised primarily of nutritionally poor products, and young people view substantial amounts of this advertising. For example, fast-food and other restaurants represented almost 40% of all TV advertising spending, as well as advertising on Spanish-language and Black-targeted TV networks, while other categories devoted a disproportionately higher amount of advertising on Spanish-language and/or Black-targeted TV. Of special concern is the exceptionally high amount of candy advertising targeted to Hispanic and Black consumers, as well as snack food brands targeting Black youth. In addition, some companies were noteworthy for the amount as well as the proportion of their advertising spending devoted to targeted media. For example, Hershey spent more than any other company in advertising on Black-targeted TV and also allocated the highest proportion of TV advertising to this medium. On Spanish-language TV, McDonald's, Mars, and General Mills each spent more than \$66 million in advertising, but Mars allocated almost one-quarter of its TV advertising budget to Spanish-language programming.

This research confirms public health concerns about food and beverage marketing targeted to Black and Hispanic consumers, especially children and adolescents. Due to their greater exposure to media and food marketing, proposals to reduce unhealthy food marketing to youth and/or increase marketing of nutritious foods would also greatly benefit Black and Hispanic youth. In addition, industry pledges to increase marketing of healthy products must include expansion of advertising in Black- and Hispanic-targeted media, where healthier categories are currently significantly underrepresented. Furthermore, public health advocacy campaigns should focus on improving marketing practices of companies that currently allocate disproportionately more of their advertising budgets to market unhealthy products to Black and Hispanic youth.

BACKGROUND

Exposure to unhealthy food marketing likely contributes to poor diet among all youth, including Black and Hispanic youth who also suffer from higher rates of obesity and other diet-related diseases.

High rates of overweight and obesity and poor diet among youth in Black and Hispanic communities present a public health crisis. In 2011-2012, more than one in five Hispanic and Black youth ages 2 to 19 suffered from obesity, significantly higher than rates among White non-Hispanic youth.¹ Rates for Hispanic and Black boys ages 6 to 11 were highest, exceeding 25%. Sugary drink and fast food consumption has been linked with higher energy, sugar, saturated fat and sodium consumption,^{2 3} and various studies have found Hispanic and Black adolescents consume these products more often than non-Hispanic White adolescents.^{4 5 6 7} Further, in 2013 the prevalence of not having consumed fruits or vegetables in the past week was higher among Black and Hispanic youth when compared with White youth.⁸ In addition, as acculturation level increases among Hispanic youth, diet quality decreases.⁹ As a result, Hispanic and Black youth also face higher risks of the severe lifelong health consequences of poor diet and obesity, including cardiovascular disease, asthma, diabetes, and cancer.^{10 11 12 13}

As for all youth, exposure to unhealthy food marketing is a likely contributor to poor diet among Black and Latino children and adolescents.^{14 15 16} In 2009, food and beverage companies spent \$1.8 billion in marketing directed specifically to youth under 18, with television advertising representing one-third of these expenditures.¹⁷ In 2014, on average, children ages 2 to 11 viewed 12.8 food and beverage ads per day on TV alone – almost 4,700 ads per year – and adolescents ages 12 to 17 viewed 15.2 ads per day.¹⁸ Fast-food restaurants represented more than one-quarter of food-related ads seen by children and almost one-third of those seen by adolescents. Other restaurants, candy, snack foods, and carbonated beverages contributed another third of food ads seen by all youth. Analyses of the nutrition content of TV food advertising demonstrated that 84% of ads viewed by children promoted products with high amounts of sugar, saturated fat and/or sodium.¹⁹ Despite industry pledges to improve food and beverage advertising to children,²⁰ studies document little progress in reducing unhealthy food advertising to children under age 12.^{21 22} In addition, food-related advertising to older youth (ages 12 to 17) increased by 25% from 2007 to 2014.²³

Research consistently demonstrates the harmful effects of unhealthy food marketing on young people's diets and health. In a comprehensive review of the literature, the Institute of Medicine concluded that food marketing to children increases preferences and requests to parents for the unhealthy foods advertised and likely contributes to poor diets, obesity, and related diseases.²⁴ More recent studies demonstrate that exposure to food advertising increases children's and teens' consumption of highly advertised food categories (including fast food and sugar-sweetened carbonated beverages),²⁵ increases snacking of any available food and total calories consumed,^{26 27 28} and increases taste preferences for advertised products.^{29 30} Further evidence demonstrates that it is extraordinarily difficult to counteract the influence of food marketing – even for adults – especially when it promotes highly palatable products high in sugar or saturated fat.^{31 32}

A double dose of food marketing

Public health experts have raised concerns that Hispanic and Black youth receive a “double dose” of unhealthy food marketing compared with White non-Hispanic youth, and this exposure likely contributes to or exacerbates health disparities in communities of color.³³ These youth may be disproportionately exposed to food-related marketing for at least three reasons: 1) They are more likely to live in communities where unhealthy food marketing is more prevalent; 2) They may be exposed to more of the media where food-related products are advertised; and 3) Food and beverage companies target marketing for unhealthy products specifically to Hispanic and Black consumers, including young people.

Research on community-level food marketing has found that marketing of unhealthy products is more prevalent in low-income and Black and Hispanic communities, including on billboards and other outdoor signage, in schools, and in retail establishments and fast-food restaurants.^{34 35 36 37}

³⁸ Due to higher levels of media usage, Hispanic and Black youth also are exposed to more of the advertising (including for unhealthy foods and beverages) that appear in these media. In a survey documenting young people’s media usage (ages 8-18), Black and Hispanic youth consumed on average four and one-half more hours of media per day compared with non-Hispanic White youth, including more than one additional hour of television viewing across all media platforms (including the internet and mobile devices).³⁹ According to syndicated market research data from Nielsen MarketBreaks,⁴⁰ Black children watch 42% more television and Black teens watched 68% more television than their White peers. Although Nielsen data shows similar amounts of television viewing (excluding viewing in digital media) for Hispanic and non-Hispanic youth overall, Hispanic preschoolers (ages 2-5) view 12% more television programming compared with non-Hispanic preschoolers.⁴¹ Of note, on average, in 2012 Hispanic preschoolers watched one hour per day of Spanish-language programming primarily intended for an older audience.

However, studies examining food-related advertising in media aimed primarily at Hispanic and Black audiences document that unhealthy products also are disproportionately advertised in these targeted media. For example, advertising in programming with high rates of Black viewership contained more food advertising overall⁴² and more unhealthy food advertising compared with programming aimed at a broader audience.^{43 44 45} Although studies have found significantly fewer food-related advertisements on Spanish- versus English-language children’s television programming,^{46 47} more than 84% of Spanish-language food ads promoted products of the lowest nutritional quality compared with 73% of English-language ads.⁴⁸ In addition, 44% to 47% of food advertising on Spanish-language children’s television promoted fast-food restaurants compared with 36% of food ads on English-language television.⁴⁹ Further, the Spanish-language television viewed by preschoolers and children contained a significantly greater proportion of ads for fast food than the English language television they viewed.⁵⁰ Research on food-related television advertising viewed by Black youth also demonstrates substantially greater exposure to ads for some unhealthy product categories. For example, Black children and teens saw more than

twice as many ads for energy drinks and regular soda compared with White children and teens,⁵¹ and 60% more fast-food ads.⁵²

As a whole, existing research strongly suggests that food and beverage companies market some products disproportionately more to Black and Hispanic youth, and this strategy may be more common for products in typically unhealthy categories, including sugary drinks and fast food.

Targeted marketing to Hispanic and Black youth

Targeted marketing is the practice of designing marketing programs that appeal specifically to a group of consumers whom a company has identified as particularly attractive for its business,⁵³ also known as “culturally specific” content or marketing. Methods developed by consumer behavior researchers to identify targeted marketing include measuring differences in the concentration of ad placements across different types of media (e.g., Spanish-language or Black-targeted media) and differences in exposure by viewers in different demographic groups, as well as identification of customized advertising content (e.g., cultural themes, actors).⁵⁴

Targeted marketing that appeals to Hispanic and Black consumers is a common practice that makes good business sense for many companies. Hispanic consumers spend more than an estimated \$1 trillion per year,⁵⁵ and they represent one of the largest and fastest growing demographic groups in the United States.⁵⁶ Hispanic households also tend to be larger and younger than other households, making them an especially attractive market for consumer goods, including food. To reach these consumers, companies spent \$8 billion on advertising in Hispanic media in 2013, representing an 8% increase over the previous year.⁵⁷ Although companies spent less to target their marketing to Black consumers – approximately \$2.6 billion in advertising on media focused on Black consumers in 2013 – spending in Black-targeted media also increased 7% over the previous year.⁵⁸ Companies increasingly focus their marketing on Black consumers due to the increasing buying power of this demographic group, which is forecasted to grow to \$1.3 trillion in 2018.⁵⁹ Furthermore, consumer research advises companies to capitalize on Black consumers’ appreciation of advertising that includes culturally relevant themes, depicts people of color and is placed in media and programming that is relevant to Black audiences.⁶⁰

It is important to recognize that marketing strategies designed to appeal directly to Hispanic and Black consumers in a culturally relevant manner is not in itself problematic. If a large multi-brand company does not market to a diverse set of consumers, it suggests that the company does not value some consumers and raises issues of social justice and equity.⁶¹ Targeted marketing can benefit communities of color and often is viewed positively by members of these communities. Targeted marketing may support Hispanic and Black culture through local events, music and sports sponsorships, and targeted media content. Targeted marketing also may provide opportunities for minority-owned businesses and employment, as well as scholarships for minority youth. This marketing benefits local communities in other ways, such as sponsoring youth activities and providing products, incentives and retail options tailored to communities’ specific tastes. There are few alternative sources of funding to replace these contributions to Hispanic and Black communities.

However, targeted marketing that promotes nutritionally-poor products that can be harmful to young people's health is problematic, especially when companies market these products disproportionately more to Hispanic and Black youth compared with White non-Hispanic youth and/or adults. As noted, previous research has documented the high incidence of marketing for unhealthy foods and beverages, including fast food and sugary drinks, to Hispanic and Black youth. Industry research also has identified food and beverage companies and brands with the most advertising in targeted media. Among all companies, McDonald's ranked fifth in spending in all Hispanic media in 2013, including television.⁶² Eight additional food companies (Mars, General Mills, Kellogg, Kraft Foods, Hershey, Yum! Brands, Nestlé and PepsiCo) ranked among the 50 companies purchasing the most Hispanic media. In Black media, food categories ranked among the industries with the greatest increase in spending from 2012 to 2013.⁶³ Furthermore, candy companies increased their Black-targeted advertising spending by 39% (totaling approximately \$140 million) and restaurants' spending increased 17% (to approximately \$343 million) in 2013. However, research has not examined the extent of Hispanic- and Black-targeted advertising for food-related products in total or how companies' spending in these media compared to their total advertising spending.

This report

To identify food-related marketing targeted to Black and Hispanic consumers, researchers first conducted a systematic search of marketing trade press and reports and companies' annual reports and press releases from 2012 to 2014. They searched for companies' statements about their marketing programs designed to reach and/or appeal to specific segments of the population, including children, teens, millennials, parents, or families and multicultural, Spanish/Hispanic/Latino, or Black/African-American populations. Three years were examined to as most companies made such statements infrequently. Researchers also utilized Nielsen syndicated data for 2013 to document the categories, companies, and brands with the most advertising on Black- and Hispanic-targeted television – including volume of spending and exposure as well as disproportionate spending – focusing on advertising viewed by young people under 18.

These analyses examined 26 restaurant, food, and beverage companies, comprising all companies with \$100 million or more in advertising spending in 2013 ($n=23$) and all companies participating in the Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative (CFBAI) industry self-regulatory program as of December 2014 ($n=18$) (15 CFBAI companies also spent more than \$100 million in total advertising). Nielsen data provided media spending by company and brand, including advertising spending on Spanish-language and Black-targeted TV channels, as well as exposure to TV advertising by Black, White, and all children and adolescents. Nielsen also provided data on exposure to advertising on Spanish-language TV for Hispanic children, adolescents, and adults. Due to the large number of brands advertised by the companies examined, we limited our analysis to brands with \$4.5 million or more in total advertising spending (across all media, including TV, print, radio, and digital) in 2013. Brands that made a relatively substantial investment in advertising to Hispanic or Black consumers were identified as targeted brands. Hispanic-targeted brands included those spending \$100,000 or more in advertising on Spanish-language TV, which equals approximately one ad viewed per year by

Hispanic youth. Black-targeted brands included those spending \$500,000 or more on TV networks with a high proportion (>50%) of Black individuals in the audience (equal to approximately one ad viewed per year by Black youth on Black-targeted TV), as well as brands spending more than \$100,000 on Black-targeted TV networks that also had a high ratio of exposure for Black teens relative to White teens (1.9 or higher) during all TV programming. Youth-targeted brands, defined as brands with a high ratio of child and/or teen exposure to TV advertising relative to adults (1.5 for children and 0.9 for teens), also were identified. Methods for data collection and analysis are detailed in Appendix A.

The purpose of this report is to identify and quantify food-related targeted marketing to Hispanic and Black consumers. We highlight targeted food advertising by company, brand, and product category, including those with the most targeted advertising as well as those investing a relatively high proportion of their advertising budgets to reach Hispanic and Black youth. We also identify opportunities to encourage companies to reduce disparities in unhealthy food marketing aimed at youth of color.

RESULTS

In this report, we identify targeted marketing practices and quantify advertising targeted to Black and Hispanic youth in 2013 of the largest restaurant, food, and beverage companies.

Our analysis examined all food-related companies that met at least one of two criteria: 1) they spent \$100 million or more to advertise their products in all media in 2013 ($n=23$), and/or 2) they belonged to the Children's Food & Beverage Advertising Initiative (CFBAI) – pledging to only advertise healthier choices in child-directed advertising – as of December 2014 ($n=17$).⁶⁴ There was substantial overlap between the two criteria. Out of 14 packaged food and beverage companies with \$100 million or more in advertising spending, all but two belonged to the CFBAI (Dr Pepper Snapple Group and Tyson Foods). In contrast, just two out of nine restaurants with more than \$100 million in spending participated in the CFBAI (McDonald's and 3G Capital [Burger King]). Three CFBAI companies spent less than \$100 million in advertising in 2013 (Post Foods, Dannon, and Ferrero).

McDonald's spent more in advertising than any other food-related company at almost \$1 billion (\$992.5 million). Three additional companies spent more than \$800 million each (Yum! Brands, PepsiCo, General Mills). In total, the 26 companies in this analysis spent \$97 billion on advertising, contributing 74% of all food-related advertising spending.

[Insert "The Companies" approximately here]

Public statements about targeted marketing

Companies often made public statements about their targeted marketing practices. Researchers identified such statements from all but two of the companies in this analysis (Ferrero and Dannon). From 2012 to 2014, all other companies publicly discussed marketing targeted to Hispanic, Black or other racial or ethnic audiences in their annual reports, press releases, or statements to the press. Appendix B details companies' specific statements. We identified three common themes in company statements describing the benefits and/or rationale for targeting marketing to specific racial-ethnic populations: 1) A business opportunity to capture spending of a large and/or growing segment of the population; 2) Development of products and campaigns designed to appeal to specific consumers through culturally relevant connections; and 3) Demonstration of corporate responsibility through employment opportunities and philanthropic efforts.

All the companies that publicized their racial-ethnic targeted marketing referenced strategies designed to appeal to Hispanic consumers, and nearly all highlighted the increasing size and spending power of Hispanic populations as an opportunity for future business growth. Many of the large packaged food companies offered Spanish-language websites aimed at Hispanic audiences, especially families and moms (e.g., QueRicaVida.com [General Mills], ComidaKraft.com [Kraft Foods], ElMejorNido.com [Nestle], DiasGrandiosos.com [Kellogg]). These companies frequently discussed their Spanish-language advertising campaigns and product flavors designed to be especially relevant to Hispanic consumers' tastes and interests. Beverage and snack food manufacturers often incorporated Hispanic music, celebrities, and

futbol into their advertising and utilized sponsorships and local events designed to appeal to younger Hispanic consumers. A few companies also discussed programs to benefit Hispanic communities, such as scholarships, hunger programs, and employment opportunities.

In contrast, just three companies (Coca-Cola Co., General Mills, and McDonald's) spoke publicly about their marketing designed to appeal directly to Black consumers. Coca-Cola commented on Black consumers as a business opportunity, noting that Black teens spend more than other teens. General Mills and McDonald's both commented on the trendsetting influence of African-Americans on the "general market" as a reason to create Black-targeted campaigns. Both companies also highlighted corporate responsibility initiatives to benefit Black communities. On the other hand, PepsiCo noted its focus on "multicultural" millennials (including both Black and Hispanic youth) through celebrity spokespersons, sponsorships, and events, stating that this strategy reinforces the cultural relevance of its products to all youth. Similarly, Dr Pepper Snapple Group commented that its Hispanic celebrities, sponsorships and events were also designed to have "crossover" appeal to a broader youth audience. Beyond marketing aimed at Hispanic and Black consumers, McDonald's Asian-targeted website (MyInspirAsian.com) was the only publicly available example found that referenced marketing targeted specifically to any other racial or ethnic audience within the United States.

[Insert "Highest-spending food advertisers in Hispanic- and Black-targeted media" approximately here]

Major advertisers in Hispanic and Black media

Advertising Age has identified restaurant, food, and beverage companies as some of the biggest spenders in Hispanic media.⁶⁵ In 2013, three food-related companies ranked among the top-20 companies spending the most to advertise in Hispanic media (including television, magazines, newspaper, and websites): McDonald's (#5), Mars (#15), and General Mills (#17). Among the top-50 Hispanic advertisers, Kellogg and Kraft Foods ranked 29th and 30th, Hershey and Yum! Brands ranked 34th and 35th, Nestle ranked #45, and PepsiCo was 50th. Notably, some of these companies substantially increased their Hispanic media spending from 2012 to 2013. During this time total advertising spending in Hispanic media increased 14%, while Hershey's Hispanic-targeted media budget almost doubled (+91%), PepsiCo spending went up 59%, Mars spending increased 49%, and Yum! Brands increased its spending by 30%. The majority of Hispanic-targeted advertising was devoted to broadcast, cable, and network TV. However, Unilever, Mars, and Kellogg ranked third, fourth, and tenth among companies in all categories in advertising in Spanish-language magazines.

Another recent industry publication also highlighted some food-related companies with relatively high spending on advertising in media aimed at Black consumers in 2013, including Hershey (\$41 million), McDonald's (\$33 million), and PepsiCo (\$31 million).⁶⁶ Notably, from 2012 to 2013 Hershey increased its spending in Black-targeted media by 31% and PepsiCo increased its spending 10%, while McDonald's reduced its advertising in Black-targeted media by 31%. Among the industries purchasing advertising in Black-targeted media, restaurant spending totaled \$49.8 million and candy companies spent \$40.2 million. In comparison, insurance

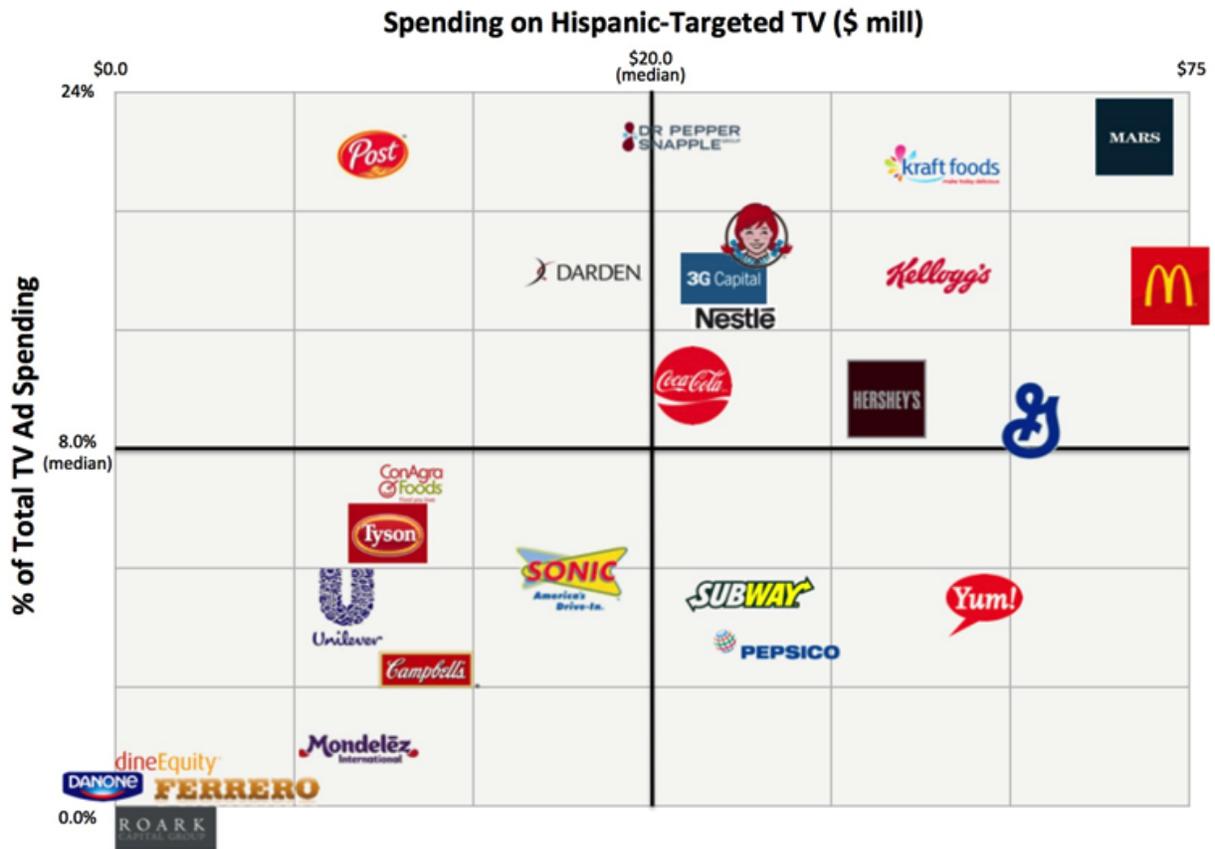
companies spent \$47 million, supermarkets spent \$28.5 million, and hair care products spent \$25 million. From 2012 to 2013, candy companies also increased their advertising in Black-targeted media by 39% and restaurants' spending increased 17%.

Hispanic and Black-targeted TV advertising by company

Our analyses of Nielsen data on advertising spending confirmed that most of the companies in this report targeted some advertising to Hispanic consumers on Spanish-language television (see **Appendix Table C1**). In total, these companies spent \$675 million on Spanish-language TV advertising in 2013, which represented 96% of all food-related advertising spending on Spanish-language TV. Just four companies did not advertise at all or spent less than \$10,000 on Spanish-language TV (Roark Capital Group, dineEquity, Dannon, and Ferrero). Most of the companies analyzed also purchased some advertising on TV channels with average audiences comprising 50% or more Black viewers. Only ConAgra did not advertise on these channels. However, most companies spent far less to advertise on Black-targeted TV than on Spanish-language TV, totaling \$161 million in 2013. The companies in this analysis contributed 76% of all food-related advertising spending on Black-targeted TV.

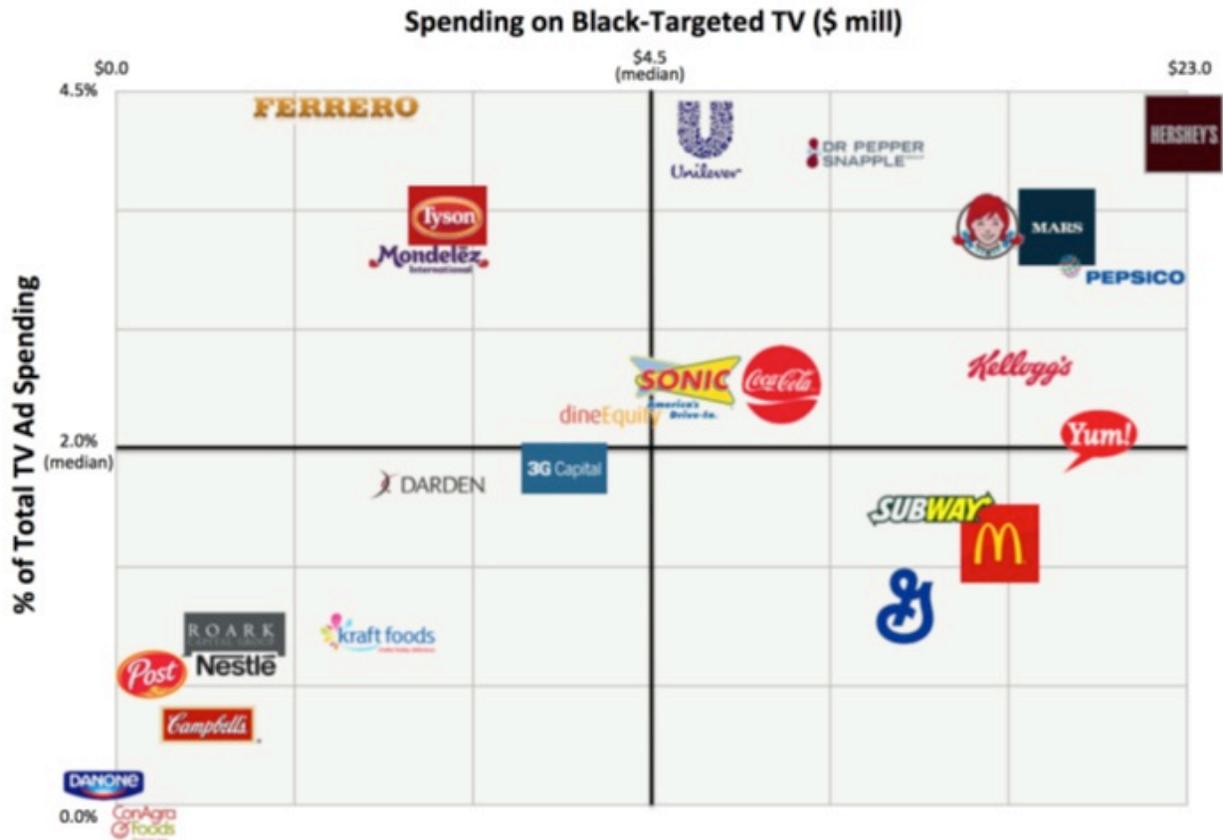
Among the companies that advertised on Spanish-language TV, there was wide variation in the amount of spending as well as the proportion of advertising budgets allocated to the medium (see **Figure 1**). Seven companies spent \$48 million or more, including McDonald's (\$75 million), Mars (\$72 million), and General Mills (\$66 million). In addition, seven companies invested 10% or more of their TV advertising spending to Spanish-language, compared to an average of 8.5% for all the companies in this analysis. Mars spent almost one-quarter of its TV advertising budget on Spanish-language advertising, while Dr Pepper Snapple Group, Post Foods, and Kraft Foods each allocated approximately 13% to 14% of TV advertising to Spanish-language programming.

Figure 1. Company investments in Hispanic-targeted advertising



Companies also varied widely in the amounts and proportions of advertising budgets spent on Black-targeted TV channels (see **Figure 2**). Hershey stood out for spending the most in Black-targeted advertising (\$23 million) and for allocating a high proportion of its TV advertising budget to the medium (4.4%), compared to an average of 2.0% for all the companies in this analysis. PepsiCo and Yum! Brands each spent \$16 to \$18 million in advertising on Black-targeted TV, followed by Mars and Kellogg at \$10 to \$11 million. Additional companies allocating more than 4% of their TV advertising spending to Black-targeted channels included Ferrero, Unilever, and Dr Pepper Snapple Group.

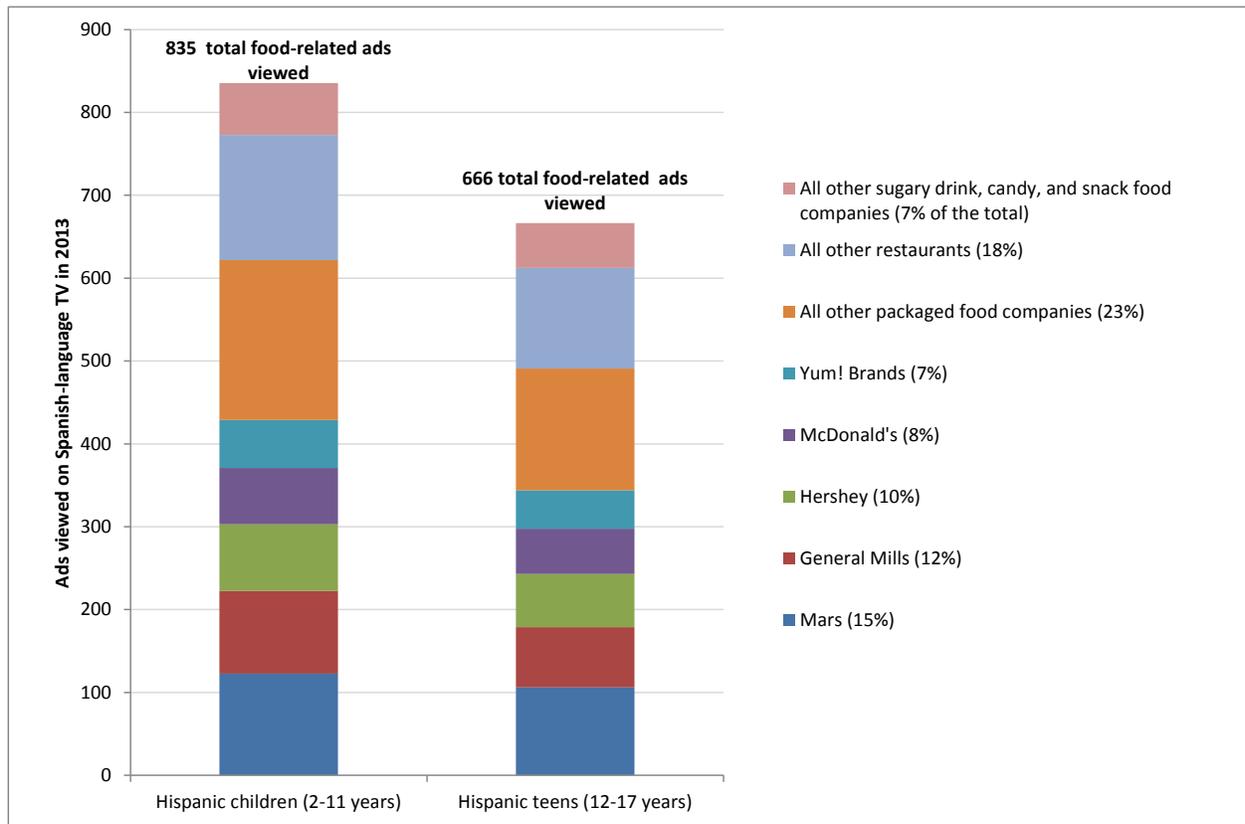
Figure 2. Company investments in Black-targeted TV



Hispanic and Black youths' exposure to TV advertising by company

Examining children's and teens' exposure to TV advertising for these companies confirms that a few companies were responsible for the majority of food-related ads viewed by Black youth on all TV and by Hispanic youth on Spanish-language TV. On Spanish-language TV, Hispanic children viewed on average 2.2 food-related ads per day from the companies in this analysis and Hispanic teens averaged 1.8 Spanish-language ads per day (representing 96% of all food-related ads viewed by youth on Spanish-language TV). Five companies (Mars, General Mills, Hershey, McDonald's, and Yum! Brands) were responsible for just over half of food-related ads viewed by Hispanic children and teens on Spanish-language TV (see **Figure 3**). The remaining packaged food companies (led by Kellogg and Kraft Foods) as well as the remaining restaurants together contributed almost 20% of ads viewed each.

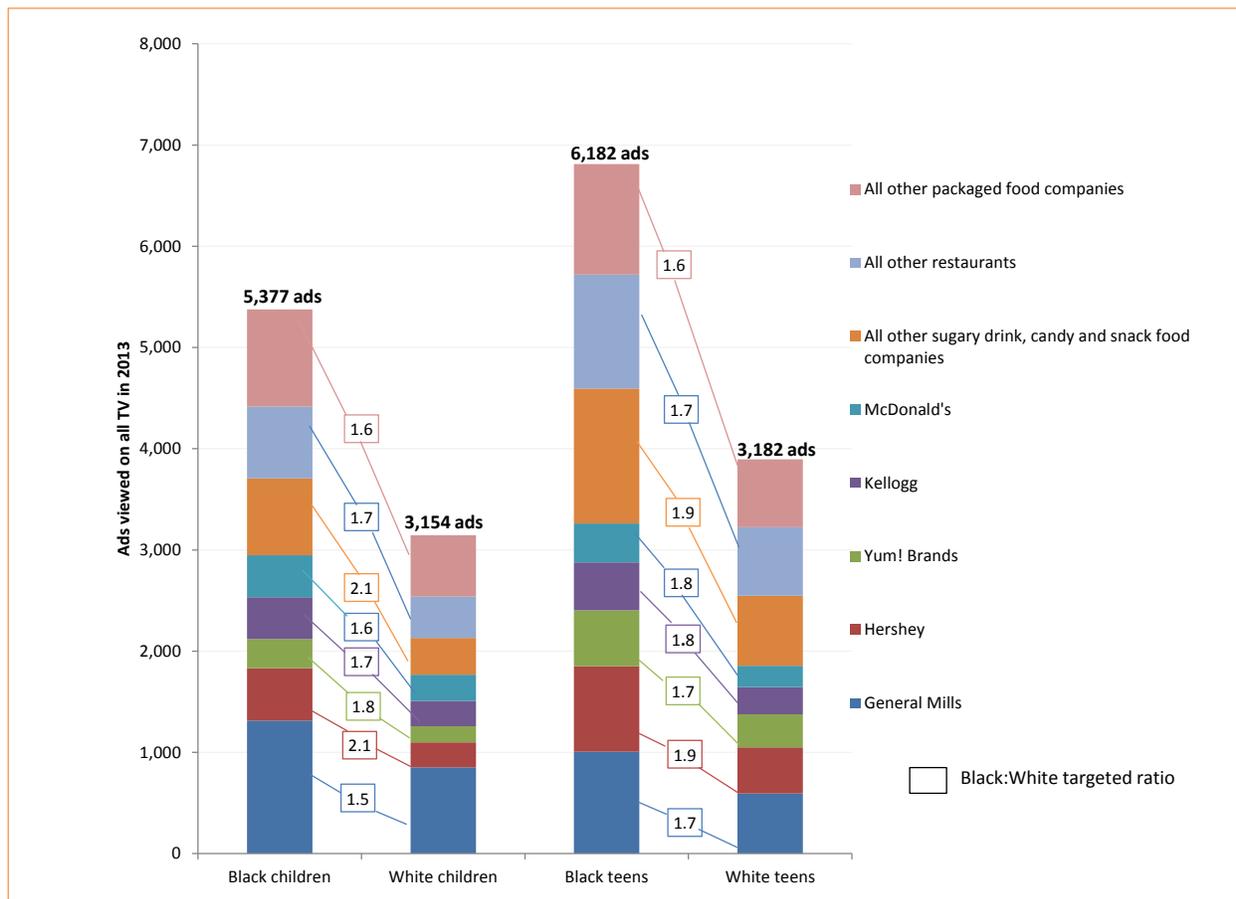
Figure 3. Hispanic youths' exposure to advertising on Spanish-language TV by company in 2013



Source: Nielsen (2015)

Across all television programming, Black children viewed on average 13.3 food-related ads per day from the companies in our analysis and Black teens averaged 17.5 ads per day in 2013. Five companies (General Mills, McDonald's, Hershey, Kellogg, and Yum! Brands) were responsible for 55% of all TV ads viewed by Black children and 49% of all ads viewed by Black teens (see **Figure 4**). Of note, Hershey ranked second in TV ads viewed by Black children and teens, but fourth in ads viewed by White children. Ads from other sugary drink, candy and snack food companies comprised another 23% of the TV ads viewed by Black teens and 17% of those seen by Black children.

Figure 4. Black and White youths' exposure to advertising on all TV programming in 2013 by company



Source: Nielsen (2015)

Figure 4 also illustrates the disparity in food-related ads viewed by Black compared with White youth. In 2013, Black children watched 43% more minutes of television compared with White children, but they were exposed to 71% more food-related ads. Black teens watched 68% more television and were exposed to 75% more food-related ads compared with White teens. As a result, Black children viewed 5.6 more food-related ads daily than White children viewed, and Black teens viewed 7.5 more ads per day compared with White teens. Further examination revealed that a few companies contributed disproportionately to this disparity. Compared with White children and teens, Black children and teens saw more than twice as many ads for Mars, Coca-Cola, and Unilever products. Black children also saw more than twice as many ads for PepsiCo, Hershey, and Dr Pepper Snapple Group products than White children saw.

[Insert “TV advertising targeted to Hispanic and Black youth by CFBAI companies” approximately here]

Summary of targeted marketing by company

Companies rarely publicized their marketing strategies, but 24 of the 26 companies in this analysis made public statements about their targeted marketing to Hispanic consumers. Most of these statements discussed the business opportunity of attracting this growing segment of the population and/or companies' attempts to develop culturally relevant products and marketing campaigns, often aimed at Hispanic families and moms. Dr Pepper Snapple Group widely publicized its strategy to appeal to multicultural youth through music and other themes that resonate with young Latinos. Examination of Nielsen data on companies' advertising on Spanish-language TV demonstrated a wide range of investment in Hispanic-targeted media. All but four companies spent at least \$4 million on Spanish-language advertising. McDonald's, Mars, and General Mills spent the most at \$66 to \$75 million, while Yum! Brands, Kellogg, and Kraft Foods also ranked among the top advertisers on Spanish-language TV. Mars and General Mills also ranked first and second in number of ads viewed by Hispanic children and teens on Spanish-language TV, while Hershey surpassed the other top spenders (including McDonald's) in number of ads viewed by Hispanic youth. Some companies also invested disproportionately more on Hispanic-targeted TV advertising, including Burger King, Kellogg, Wendy's, Kraft Foods, Post Foods, and Dr Pepper Snapple Group. However, Mars was unique in allocating nearly one-quarter of its TV advertising spending to Spanish-language TV.

In contrast to the large number of companies that publicly discussed their Hispanic-targeted marketing, just three companies (Coca-Cola, General Mills, and McDonald's) publicized marketing programs to appeal to Black consumers. PepsiCo also discussed its strategy to use celebrities and sponsorship to appeal to "multicultural" millennials and to reinforce the cultural relevance of its products with all youth. Nearly all companies analyzed spent some portion of their TV advertising budgets on Black-targeted TV channels, but a small number of companies spent a relatively large amount and/or high percentage of their advertising on this medium. Hershey spent the most (\$23 million), representing a relatively high 4.4% (vs. the median of 2.0%) of its TV advertising budget. PepsiCo, Yum! Brands, Kellogg, and Mars completed the list of companies spending the most on Black-targeted TV advertising, while Mars as well as Unilever, Wendy's, and Ferrero, allocated the highest proportions of their TV advertising budgets to the medium. Hershey was also notable for contributing the second highest amount of food-related TV advertising to Black youth, exceeded only by General Mills.

Targeted brands and categories

These company-level analyses demonstrate a wide range of corporate investment in marketing targeted to Hispanic and Black consumers. However, nearly all targeted marketing occurs at the brand level, and targeting strategies differ widely even between brands within the same company. Most companies in this analysis aimed different brands at different age groups (children, teens/youth, parents or adults) and most appeared to target just a subset of their brands to Hispanic and/or Black consumers.

The 26 companies in this analysis supported 267 different brands with at least \$4.5 million in total advertising and \$500,000 in TV advertising in 2013. One-third of these brands ($n=92$) spent at least \$100,000 to advertise on Spanish-language TV. These brands devoted on average 12.7% of their TV advertising budgets to Spanish-language TV, while three brands (7 Up, Kraft Mayonnaise, and Fuze Iced Tea) only advertised on Spanish-language TV. In addition, 55% of brands ($n=148$) spent more than \$100,000 to advertise on TV channels with a majority of Black viewers. One-third of all brands ($n=90$) were designated as Black-targeted because they spent more than \$500,000 on Black-targeted channels and/or had a high ratio of Black versus White teen exposure. On average, Black-targeted brands devoted 2.7% of their TV advertising budgets to Black-targeted TV channels, with the highest relative investment by Sun Drop regular soda and 7Up Ten diet soda at 22%. There was substantial overlap, with 16% of brands ($n=44$) targeting both Hispanic and Black consumers. A relatively small number of brands ($n=48$, 18%) were targeted to children and/or teens as evidenced by disproportionately higher numbers of ads viewed by youth compared with adults. Just five packaged-food brands (Cinnamon Toast Crunch, Lucky Charms, Krave cereal, Frosted Flakes, and Oscar Mayer Lunchables), as well as McDonald's and Burger King, offered products that were approved by CFBAI companies to advertise on child-directed media. However, youth-targeted brands were significantly more likely to also be targeted to Hispanic and/or Black consumers: 71% of youth-targeted brands compared with 47% of other brands.

[Insert "Targeted brands by company" approximately here]

Targeted brands by company and category

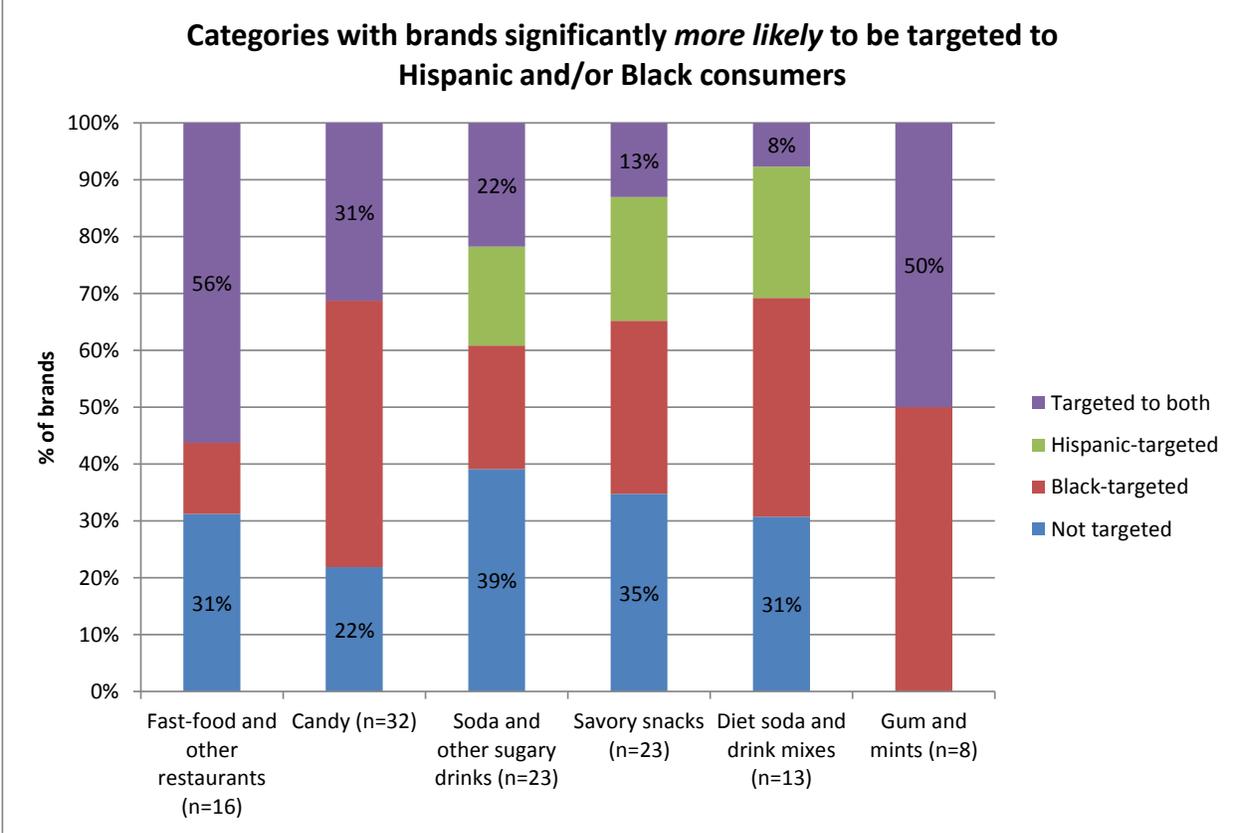
Fast-food and other restaurants were most likely to target a high proportion of their brands to Hispanic and Black consumers. All but three fast-food brands from companies in this analysis (Tim Horton's from 3G Capital, Carl's Jr and Hardee's from Roark Capital Group) advertised on Black-targeted TV. All Black-targeted fast-food brands, except Arby's, also advertised on Spanish-language TV. In addition, the two other restaurant companies in this analysis advertised one of their two major brands on Black-targeted TV (Applebee's and Olive Garden), and Olive Garden also advertised on Spanish-language TV.

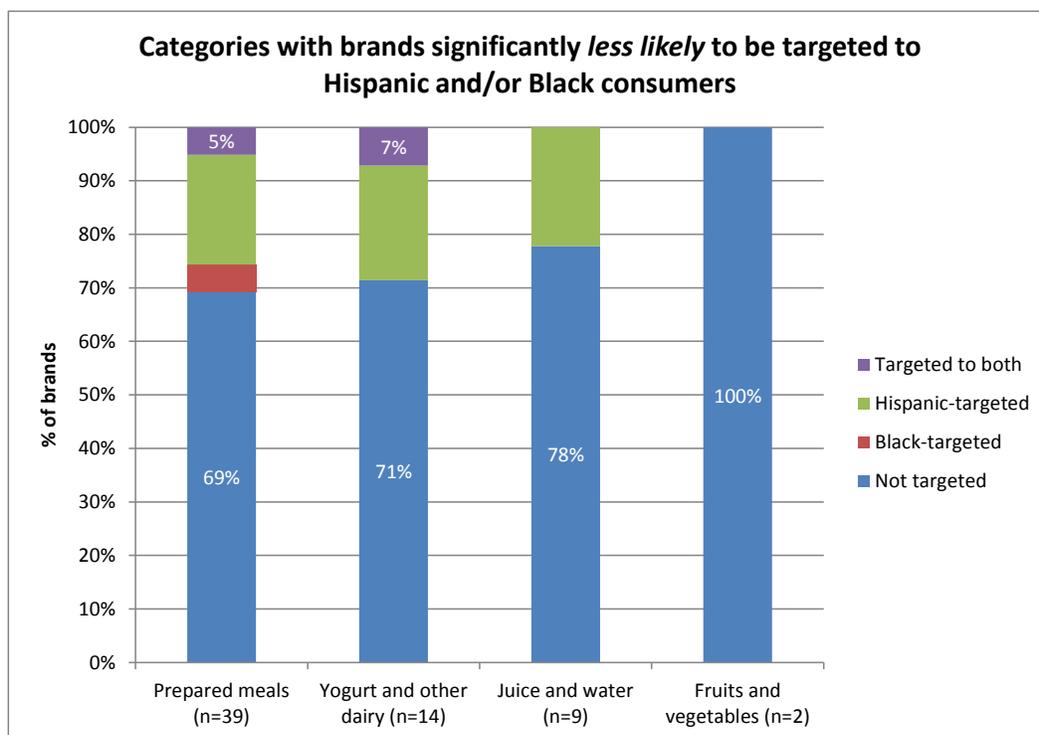
In contrast, there was wide variation in the proportion of packaged food and beverage brands with TV advertising targeted to Hispanic or Black consumers, as well as those disproportionately advertised to children and/or teens. Mars stood out for its targeted advertising; seven of the company's 12 major brands (58%) targeted their advertising to teens *and* to Black consumers, and six of these brands also targeted Hispanic consumers. Only two Mars brands did not target any of these audiences. Beverage and snack companies also targeted a relatively large proportion of their brands to Hispanic and Black consumers, as well as teens. Approximately one-half to two-thirds of PepsiCo, Dr Pepper Snapple Group, and Mondelez brands aimed their advertising at Black consumers, as well as one-third of Coca-Cola Co. brands. One-third or more of brands from these companies also targeted Hispanic consumers, and one-quarter to one-third targeted teens. The three largest packaged-food companies (General Mills, Kellogg, and Kraft Foods) all targeted advertising for one-third or more of their brands to Hispanic consumers, but fewer than 20% of their brands targeted Black consumers. Each of these companies also maintained three

Hispanic- and/or Black-targeted brands that also targeted children or teens. Although Hershey targeted more than 90% of its major brands to Black consumers, youth and adults saw comparably large numbers of these ads so the brands did not qualify as youth-targeted according to our criteria. Three additional companies had some Black- or Hispanic-targeted brands in this analysis of most-advertised brands (i.e., those with \$4.5 million or more in total advertising), but their most-advertised brands did not appear to target youth (ConAgra, Post Foods, and Ferrero). Dannon did not target any of its brands in this analysis to these audiences.

The proportion of brands targeted to Hispanic and/or Black consumers also varied widely by category. Brands in six categories were significantly more likely to be targeted (fast-food and other restaurants, candy, soda and sugary drinks, savory snacks, diet soda and drink mixes, and gum and mints), while just four categories (including healthier dairy, juice and water, and fruit and vegetable brands) were significantly *less likely* to target Hispanic and/or Black consumers (see **Figure 5**). Approximately one-half of restaurant and gum/mint brands were targeted to both Hispanic and Black consumers, while the other half of gum/mint brands and one-half of candy brands targeted Black consumers only. In contrast, at least two-thirds of brands of prepared meals, yogurt and other dairy, juice and water, and fruits and vegetables were not targeted. Of note, just two brands in these categories were targeted to Black consumers only. The majority of these targeted brands were aimed at Hispanic consumers only.

Figure 5. Proportion of brands targeted to Hispanic and Black consumers by category



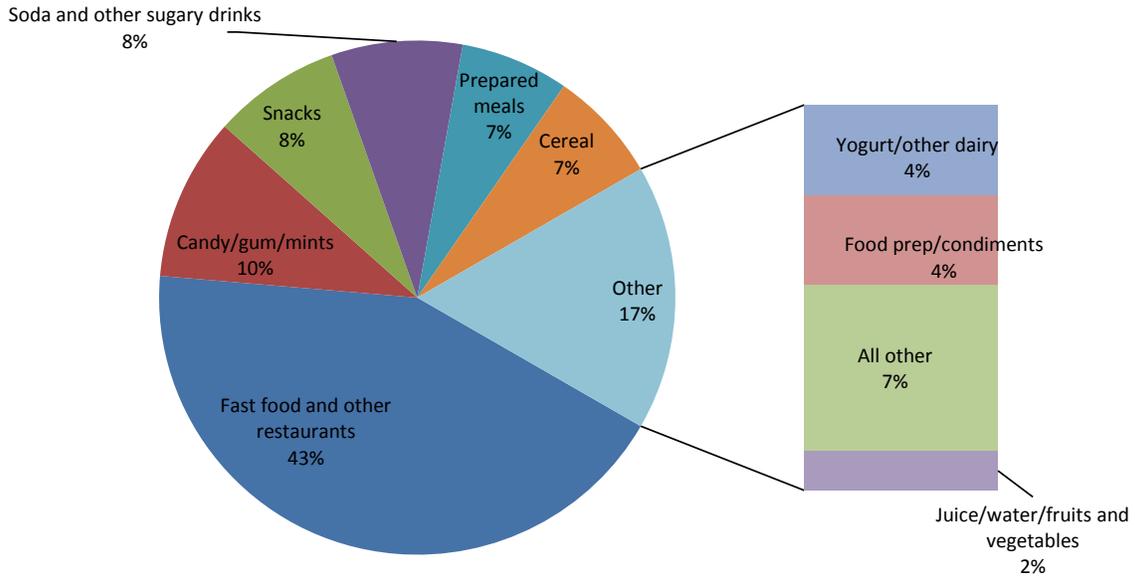


Source: Nielsen (2015)

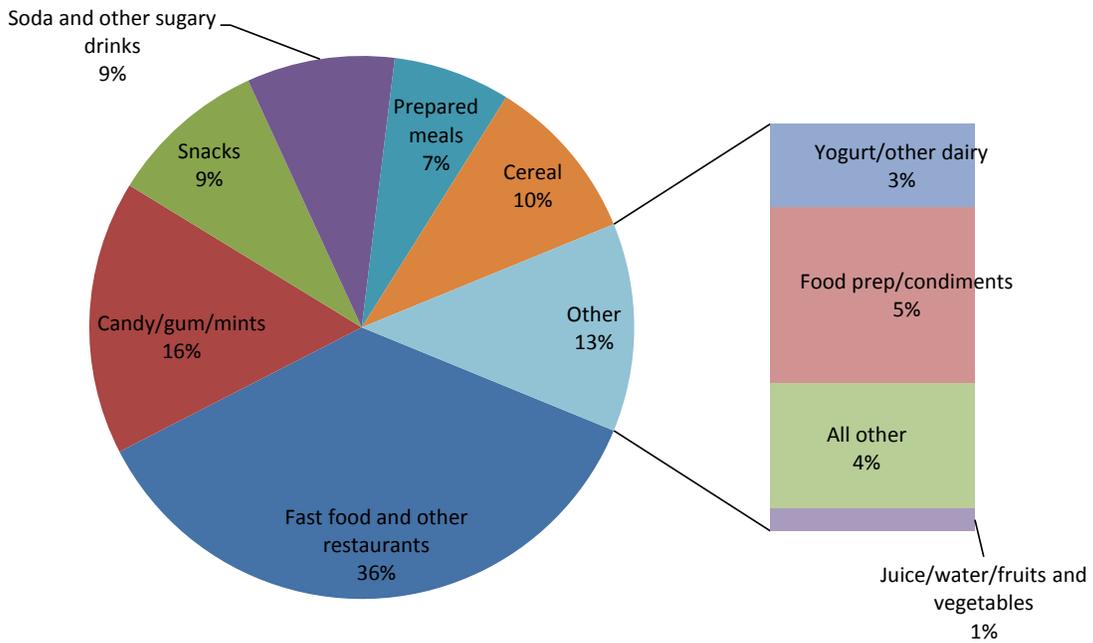
The proportions of TV advertising spending devoted to Spanish-language and Black-targeted TV also varied widely by category (see **Figure 6**). Fast-food and other restaurant brands spent the most to advertise in targeted media, totaling \$244 million in Spanish-language TV and \$62 million in Black-targeted TV. However, restaurants comprised less than 40% of advertising spending on targeted TV channels, compared with 43% of advertising spending on all TV. In contrast, candy and gum brands were responsible for a significantly higher proportion of advertising spending on Spanish-language and Black-targeted TV compared with all TV: 10% of total TV advertising spending versus 16% of advertising on Spanish-language TV and 22% of spending on Black-targeted TV. Snack food brands also spent disproportionately more on Black-targeted TV advertising: the category represented 8% of all TV spending versus 14% of Black-targeted TV spending. In total, candy, gum, snacks, soda, and other sugary drinks (i.e., primarily nutritionally poor products) represented 46% of all TV advertising spending for packaged foods, 54% of spending on Spanish-language TV, and 74% of spending on Black-targeted TV. In contrast, the most nutritious categories (yogurt, other dairy, juice, water, and fruits and vegetables) comprised 10% of advertising spending on all TV, 5% of spending on Spanish-language TV, and 2% of spending on Black-targeted TV.

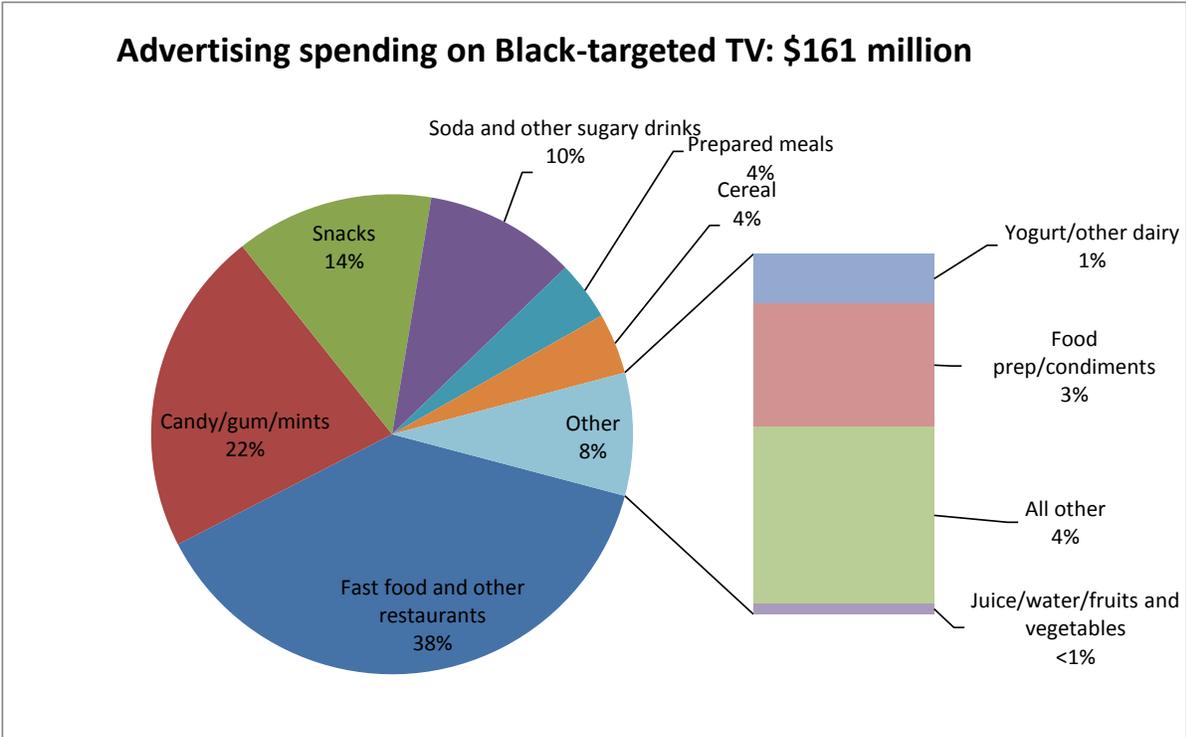
Figure 6. Proportion of TV advertising spending by category

Total TV advertising spending: \$9.7 billion



Advertising spending on Spanish-language TV: \$675 million



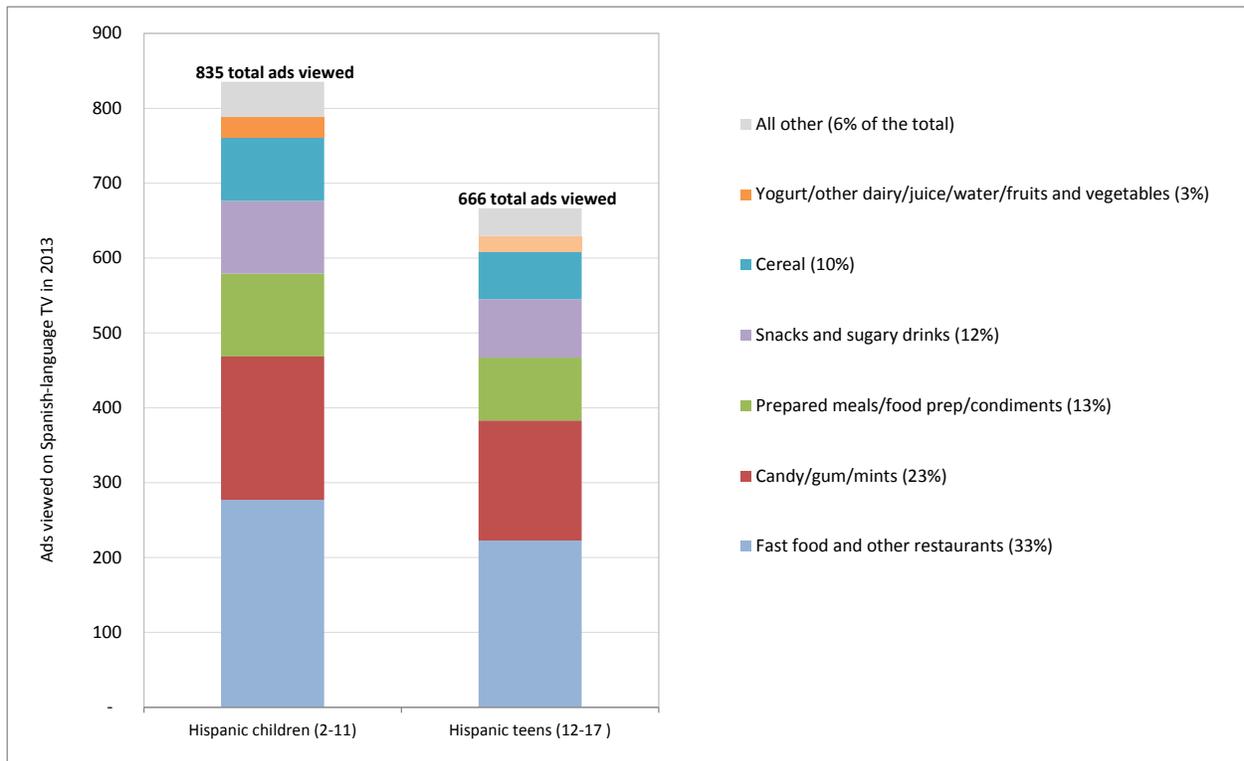


Source: Nielsen (2015)

Hispanic and Black youth exposure to TV advertising by category

Similar to spending on food-related advertising on Spanish-language TV, Hispanic youth also viewed disproportionately more Spanish-language advertisements for nutritionally poor foods and beverages (see **Figure 7**). In total, 68% of food-related ads viewed by Hispanic children on Spanish-language TV and 69% of ads viewed by Hispanic teens promoted fast-food and other restaurants, candy, gum, snack foods, and sugary drinks. By comparison, 3% of ads viewed promoted yogurt, other dairy, juice, water, or fruits and vegetables.

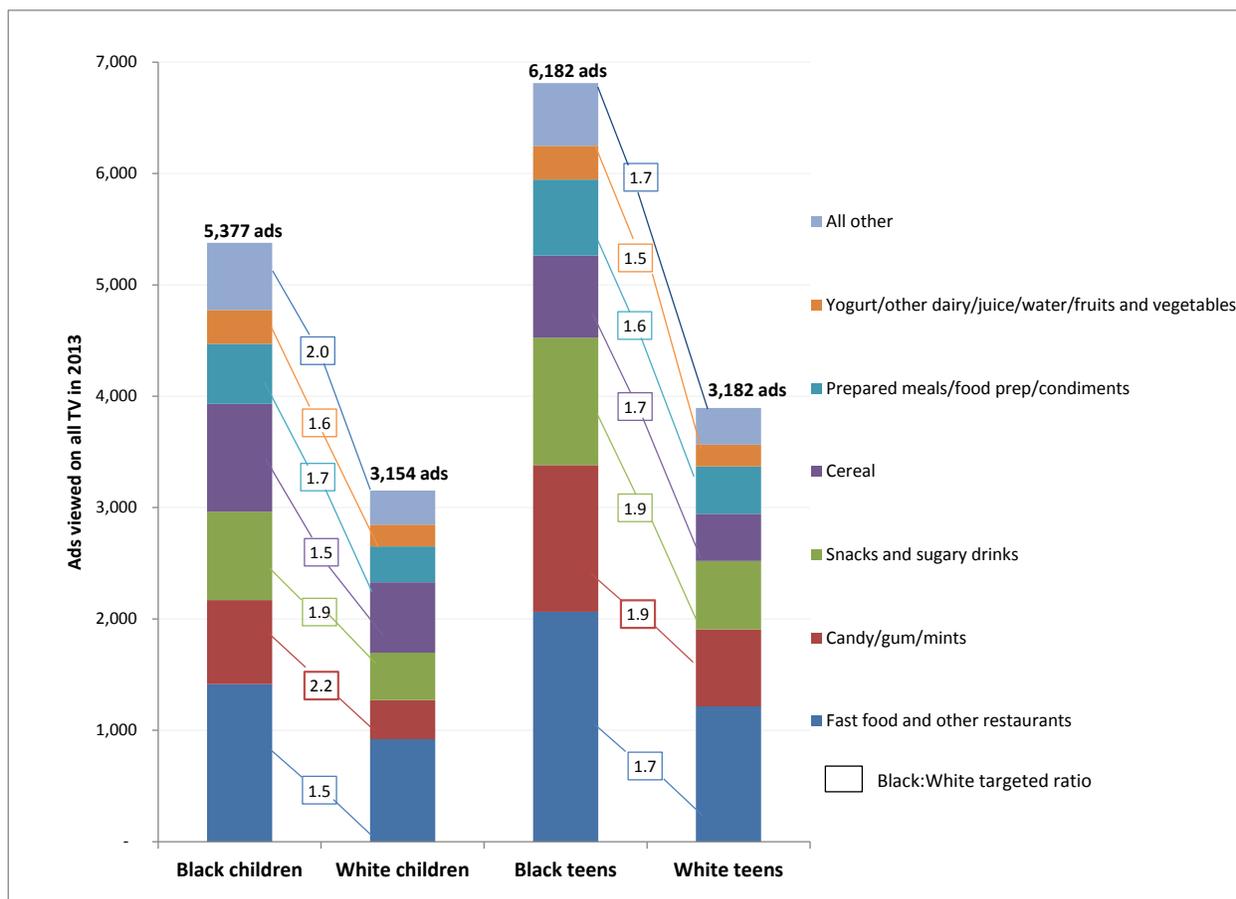
Figure 7. Hispanic youth exposure to ads on Spanish-language TV by category in 2013



Source: Nielsen (2015)

In comparing exposure to all food-related TV advertising by Black and White youth, Black children and teens viewed 70% more ads than White children and teens viewed (see **Figure 8**). However, a few product categories (including fast-food and other restaurants, candy, gum, snacks, and sugary drinks) comprised a similarly high proportion of food-related TV ads viewed by all youth: 55% and 54% of ads viewed by Black and White children, respectively, and 66% and 65% of Black and White teens. Further, healthier categories (including yogurt, other dairy, juice, water, fruits and vegetables) comprised 6% of food-related TV ads viewed by both Black and White children, 4% of ads viewed by Black teens, and 5% of ads viewed by White teens. Yet some categories advertised disproportionately more to Black versus White children and teens. Black children saw 2.2 times as many ads for candy and gum compared with White children, and Black teens saw almost twice as many of these ads compared with White teens. In addition, Black children and teens viewed 90% more ads for snacks and sugary drinks compared with White children and teens.

Figure 8. Black and White youth exposure to advertising on all TV programming by category in 2013



Source: Nielsen (2015)

[Insert “Top Hispanic-targeted brands” and “Top Black-targeted brands” approximately here]

Top targeted brands

Six fast-food restaurant brands (McDonald’s, Wendy’s, Subway, Burger King, Taco Bell, and KFC) and one other restaurant (Olive Garden) ranked among the most-targeted food brands on Spanish-language TV, primarily because of the high amount they spent on Spanish-language advertising (ranging from \$15 to \$75 million). All of these restaurants, except KFC, also ranked among the top-10 brands in TV ads viewed by Hispanic children. These same restaurants, as well as Pizza Hut, Sonic, and Applebee’s, also appeared on the list of the 10 brands spending the most in advertising on Black-targeted TV (ranging from \$3.4 to \$9.6 million). Although McDonald’s spent more than twice as much to advertise in Spanish-language TV than Wendy’s, Wendy’s outspent McDonald’s in advertising on Black-targeted TV.

Three packaged-food brands also ranked among the 10 brands with the most spending on Spanish-language TV advertising: Cheerios, M&Ms, and Coca-Cola Classic. Cheerios and M&Ms also ranked among the top-10 brands for the most advertisements viewed by Hispanic children on Spanish-language TV, as well as Snickers and Hershey Candy Bar. The 10 brands devoting the highest proportion of their TV advertising spending to Spanish-language TV included three candy brands (Snickers, Twix, and Jolly Rancher), two chewing gum brands (Orbit and 5 Chewing Gum), four Kraft Foods brands (Macaroni & Cheese, Kraft Singles, Mayonnaise, and Oscar Mayer Deli Fresh cold cuts), and 7 Up regular soda, Hershey's Chocolate Syrup, and Tyson Frozen Entrees.

Kellogg's Pop Tarts was the only packaged-food brand that ranked among the 10 most advertised brands on Black-targeted TV. However, packaged foods and beverages were more likely to rank among the 10 brands devoting the highest proportion of their TV advertising to Black-targeted TV (7% or more) and/or advertising disproportionately more to Black compared with White teens (2.25 times or higher). These brands included four candy and sweet snack brands (Pop Tarts, Fruttare, Starburst, and Skittles); three sugary drinks (Coca-Cola Classic, Snapple, and Sun Drop) as well as 7 Up Ten diet soda; and three savory snack brands (Lay's Potato Chips, Doritos, and Ruffles Ultimate Potato Chips, all from PepsiCo); plus Tyson Frozen Entrees and Knorr Pasta Sides.

Summary of targeted marketing by category and brand

Of the 267 most-advertised brands from the 26 companies in our analysis, we identified 92 (34%) Hispanic-targeted brands and 90 (34%) Black-targeted brands. There was substantial overlap, with 44 brands (16%) targeting both Black and Hispanic consumers. Fast-food and other restaurant brands spent the most to advertise in all media, including targeted media, contributing more than one-third of advertising spending on Spanish-language and Black-targeted television. However, brands in other categories advertised disproportionately more in targeted media. Candy and gum/mint brands represented almost one-quarter of food-related ads viewed by Hispanic youth on Spanish-language TV and 22% of advertising spending on Black-targeted TV. Snacks, soda, and other sugary drinks comprised an additional 18% of spending on Spanish-language TV and 24% of spending on Black-targeted TV. In contrast, the most nutritious categories (yogurt, other dairy, juice, water, and fruits and vegetables) represented just 3% of ads viewed by Hispanic youth on Spanish-language TV and 2% of spending on Black-targeted TV. A few categories also advertised disproportionately more to Black versus White youth. Black children and teens saw approximately twice as many ads for candy, gum, snacks, and sugary drinks compared with White children and teens.

Fast-food and other restaurant brands comprised the majority of top-10 brands with the most advertising on Spanish-language and Black-targeted TV. Cheerios, M&Ms, and Coca-Cola Classic also ranked in the top-10 for spending on Spanish-language TV and Pop Tarts for Black-targeted TV. Additional brands devoting one-third or more of their TV advertising spending to Spanish-language TV included three candy (Snickers, Twix, Jolly Rancher), two chewing gum (Orbit, 5 Chewing Gum), and one regular soda brand (7 Up), plus four brands from Kraft Foods (Macaroni & Cheese, Kraft Singles, Mayonnaise, and Oscar Mayer Deli Fresh). Brands with the

highest proportion of ads viewed by Black versus White teens (with 2.3 or more times as many ads viewed by Black teens) included four candy and sweet snack brands (Pop Tarts, Fruttare, Starburst, Skittles), two regular sodas (Coca-Cola Classic, Sun Drop), and two savory snack brands (Doritos, Ruffles Ultimate).

CONCLUSIONS

The marketing practices identified in this report suggest that food-related marketing targeted to Black and Hispanic youth likely contributes to health disparities in communities of color.

In evaluating companies' targeted marketing, it is important to recognize that food and beverage marketing designed to appeal directly to Hispanic and Black consumers is not problematic in and of itself. However, this research supports public health concerns about racial-ethnic targeted marketing practices of the largest restaurant, food, and beverage advertisers in the United States. These findings demonstrate that targeted food marketing likely contributes to health disparities in Black and Hispanic communities for three reasons: 1) It almost exclusively promotes brands in primarily unhealthy food categories; 2) Youth are exposed to relatively high amounts of advertising for these brands, especially among Black children and teens; and 3) Companies utilize messages and other marketing techniques designed to increase the cultural relevance of their products (often nutrient-poor foods and beverages), especially those aimed at multicultural youth and Hispanic families.

Although researchers did not conduct a nutritional analysis of advertised products, the majority of food-related advertising targeted to Hispanic and Black youth promoted brands in nutritionally poor product categories, with a few exceptions. Cheerios ranked among the top brands targeted to Hispanic consumers and 7Up Ten diet soda ranked among the top Black-targeted brands, although none of these brands aimed their advertising at youth audiences. In addition, all gum and mint brands were targeted to Black and/or Hispanic consumers. On the other hand, fast-food and other restaurants represented almost 40% of food-related advertising spending on Spanish-language and Black-targeted TV networks, as well as all TV advertising spending. Previous research has shown that the majority of fast-food TV ads viewed by children and teens promote products high in calories, fat, and/or sodium.⁶⁷ Additional primarily unhealthy categories also devoted a disproportionately high proportion of their advertising budgets to Spanish-language and/or Black-targeted TV. Of special concern is the exceptionally high amount of candy advertising targeted to Hispanic and Black consumers, as well as snack food brands targeting Black youth. In contrast, brands with the most nutritious products – yogurt, other dairy, juice, water, and fruits and vegetables – were significantly less likely than other brands to target Hispanic and/or Black consumers. Together, advertising for these comparatively nutritious product categories comprised just 5% of spending on Spanish-language TV and 2% of spending on Black-targeted TV, compared with 6% of spending on TV in total.

Some companies were noteworthy for the amount, as well as the proportion, of their advertising spending devoted to targeted media. For example, Hershey spent more than any other company in advertising on Black-targeted TV and also allocated the highest proportion of its TV advertising to this medium. On Spanish-language TV, McDonald's, Mars, and General Mills each spent more than \$66 million in advertising, with Mars allocating almost one-quarter of its TV advertising budget to Spanish-language programming. Just four companies did not advertise

at all on Spanish-language TV (Roark Capital Group and dineEquity restaurant companies, Dannon, and Ferrero), while five companies spent less than 0.5% of their TV advertising budgets on Black-targeted TV (Nestle, Campbell Soup, ConAgra, Post Foods, and Dannon).

Further, many brands with advertising targeted to Hispanic and Black consumers also aimed their advertising at children and adolescents. For example, McDonald's targeted its advertising to children under 12, as well as Hispanic and Black consumers. (Of note, previous research has shown that McDonald's advertising does not technically violate its CFBAI pledge, but that children often view TV advertising for McDonald's menu items that do not meet CFBAI nutrition standards.⁶⁸) Twix targeted adolescents, Hispanic, and Black consumers, allocating one-third of its TV advertising budget to Spanish-language. Seven of the 13 top Black-targeted packaged-food brands also targeted their advertising to youth under 18, including Pop Tarts, Tyson Frozen Entrees (chicken nuggets and strips), Doritos, Starburst, Skittles, Ruffles Ultimate, and Sun Drop regular soda. Not one of these products would contribute to a healthy diet among young people.

As a result, Hispanic and Black children and teens also were exposed to substantial amounts of TV advertising for primarily unhealthy product categories. Hispanic children viewed on average 2.2 food-related TV ads per day on Spanish-language TV – in addition to the ads they viewed on other television programming – while Hispanic teens viewed somewhat fewer Spanish-language ads per day (1.8). More than two-thirds of ads viewed by both Hispanic age groups promoted fast-food and other restaurants, candy, gum, snack foods, or sugary drinks, while just 3% promoted yogurt, other dairy, juice, water, or fruits and vegetables. Compared with White children and teens, Black youth viewed more than 70% additional food-related ads on TV, averaging 13.3 ads per day for Black children and 17.5 ads per day for Black teens. Candy, gum and mints, snacks, and sugary drinks contributed the most to this disproportionate exposure, with Black children and teens viewing 90% or more additional ads for brands in these categories compared with White children and teens.

Finally, many of the companies in this analysis touted the culturally relevant themes in their targeted marketing campaigns, especially those aimed at Hispanic consumers. Examples include Spanish-language websites aimed at Latino families (e.g., QueRicaVida, DiasGrandiosos, ComidaKraft, ElMejorNida) and philanthropic campaigns, such as sponsorships of youth sports and scholarships. On the surface, these programs support communities that could benefit greatly from additional funding. However, given that the majority of targeted products can contribute to health disparities in these communities, this practice also raises questions about companies' true commitment to improving the lives of Hispanic and Black consumers. Furthermore, a few companies – notably Coca-Cola Co., PepsiCo, and Dr Pepper Snapple Group – commonly utilize Black and Hispanic music and sports celebrities with “crossover” appeal aimed at teens to position their products as trendsetters in the youth market.

Recommendations

Public health experts, advocates, and policymakers have proposed numerous obesity prevention actions at the local and state level to counteract food and beverage marketing, such as taxes on sugary drinks, eliminating unhealthy food marketing from schools, placing warning labels on sugary drinks, and removing soda from kids' meals at restaurants. This report highlights the need for dramatic changes in targeted marketing practices from key stakeholders within industry, including food and beverage manufacturers, restaurants, grocery retailers, and media companies. To address disparities in obesity and other diet-related diseases in Hispanic and Black communities, especially among youth, stakeholders could improve self-regulatory programs regarding food advertising to children and take additional steps to improve the food marketing environment. Furthermore, Hispanic and Black consumers could demand that companies improve the quality of foods marketed to their children and in their communities.

The majority of companies in this analysis belong to the CFBAI industry self-regulatory program, and numerous evaluations of the Initiative have demonstrated loopholes that allow participating companies to continue to advertise nutritionally poor foods to children.^{69 70 71} Public health experts recommend several options to improve the efficacy of the program.^{72 73 74} Due to greater exposure to media and food marketing, these improvements would also have the greatest benefit for Black and Hispanic youth:

- The definition of “healthier dietary choices” that can be advertised to children should be strengthened to include only products that are beneficial to children’s health;
- The Initiative should address marketing to children up to at least age 14; and
- The definition of child-directed marketing should be expanded to include media where children constitute 25% or more of the audience, children are the primary target demographic; and/or the marketing strategies, techniques, characteristics, or venues have special appeal to children (as recommended by a Healthy Eating Research commissioned expert working group).⁷⁵

Companies must also directly address their current racial-ethnic targeted marketing practices. Although the practices identified in this report likely benefit individual food and beverage, restaurant, and media companies in the short-term, they also contribute to poor diet among populations with some of the highest risk for obesity and other diet-related diseases. Therefore, they contribute to the enormous social and financial costs of these diseases, and the marketing cannot be sustained in the long-term.⁷⁶ Further, focusing public health resources on interventions that encourage consumers to make conscious healthier choices alone cannot effectively counteract a food environment that overwhelming promotes consumption of unhealthy choices. McKinsey,⁷⁷ the White House,⁷⁸ and public health advocates also urge key industry players to enact initiatives to improve the food marketing environment and make healthier choices the easiest, most affordable, and most socially acceptable options. Potential changes to targeted

marketing practices that would improve the food marketing environment for Black and Hispanic youth include:

- Industry commitments to increase sales and marketing of healthier products – such as the Healthy Weight Commitment Foundation,⁷⁹ Partnership for a Healthier America,⁸⁰ American Beverage Association’s Balance Calories Initiative,⁸¹ and the National Restaurant Association’s Kids LiveWell Program⁸² – should also address advertising in Black- and Hispanic-targeted media, where healthier categories are now significantly underrepresented;
- Sugary drink, candy, and nutritionally poor snack food brands and fast-food restaurants – food and beverage categories that have been shown to directly contribute to obesity and other diet-related diseases among youth – should stop targeting their advertising to all young people under 18, including multicultural youth;
- Following the lead of the Walt Disney Company, which established nutrition standards for products advertised on its child-targeted media,⁸³ companies that own media properties with large audiences of Hispanic and/or Black youth should identify opportunities to improve the nutritional quality of foods advertised during targeted programming. For example, companies could establish standards for the amount of healthy versus unhealthy foods advertised or provide lower rates to advertise the healthiest products that do not currently advertise there (e.g., plain water, fruits, and vegetables).

Furthermore, public health advocacy campaigns should highlight the marketing practices of companies that currently allocate disproportionately more of their advertising budgets to market unhealthy products to Black and Hispanic youth, as well as publicly support companies that may choose to direct marketing for their more nutritious products to these communities. Previous public health advocacy campaigns that have highlighted the best and worst marketing practices aimed at children and teens have been successful at encouraging industry to do the right thing for all children’s health.⁸⁴

This report and these recommendations focus on TV food advertising and other forms of marketing to Hispanic and Black consumers, but these youth are not unique in their vulnerability to extensive marketing of unhealthy foods and beverages. Improving the food marketing environment for all young people, no matter who they are or where they live, would benefit public health for all.

Inserts: To be placed near appropriate sections in Results as noted

The Companies

This report documents advertising targeted to Hispanic and Black consumers by 26 of the largest restaurant, food, and beverage companies in the United States.

Company	CFBAI participant*	Total advertising spending in 2013**
Restaurants		
McDonald's USA, LLC	√	\$992.5 mill
Yum! Brands (Taco Bell, KFC, Pizza Hut)		\$822.7 mill
Doctor's Associates (Subway)		\$557.6 mill
Wendy's		\$289.8 mill
3G Capital (Burger King)	√	\$264.2 mill
Roark Capital Group (Arby's, Carl's Jr., and Hardees)		\$245.6 mill
dineEquity (Applebee's and IHOP)		\$220.3 mill
Sonic		\$211.5 mill
Darden Restaurants (Olive Garden and others)		\$208.7 mill
Food and beverage companies		
General Mills, Inc.	√	\$837.9 mill
PepsiCo, Inc.	√	\$822.8 mill
Kraft Foods	√	\$612.2 mill
Kellogg Company	√	\$560.5 mill
The Hershey Company	√	\$536.1 mill
Mars, Incorporated	√	\$472.4 mill
Nestle USA	√	\$361.3 mill
Campbell Soup Company	√	\$305.1 mill
Coca-Cola Company	√	\$301.8 mill
Dr Pepper Snapple Group		\$180.7 mill
Tyson Foods		\$159.5 mill
Mondelez Global, LLC	√	\$158.9 mill
ConAgra Foods, Inc.	√	\$158.8 mill
Unilever United States	√	\$144.4 mill
Post Foods, LLC	√	\$90.1 mill
The Dannon Company	√	\$86.1 mill
Ferrero U.S.A., Inc.	√	\$54.1 mill

*Companies that participate in the Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative and pledge to advertise only healthier dietary choices in child-directed media.⁸⁵

**Source: Nielsen (2015)