

# Strategy Planning for Tobacco Control Movement Building



## To our colleagues in the global tobacco control movement:

For nearly a half century we have been struggling with the 20th century's brown plague: tobacco use. As we begin this new century, we face both a grim forecast, and a new hope.

The grim forecast? This voracious devourer of health and life threatens hundreds of millions of new victims, especially in the developing world.

The source of hope? We have now learned – through our failures as much as our successes – how to fight tobacco.

These lessons were hard won. At first, we believed that the verdict of science, and public awareness of that verdict, would compel tobacco users to quit, and governments to take appropriate action to control tobacco use.

But we were wrong. We did not, could not, imagine the depths to which the international tobacco industry would descend to deny, deceive, bully, undermine, and confuse public understanding and government action. Neither could we imagine the extent to which governments would fail to act as conscience demanded.

We engaged in public health education; the tobacco lobby engaged in unrelenting, often corrupt politics. Slowly, we learned that tobacco control would require strategic political responses to tobacco industry political action and government inaction.

Across the globe, experienced leaders emerged who had learned advocacy skills and strategies to overcome tobacco industry resistance and government inertia. They have achieved the enactment and enforcement of those comprehensive tobacco control policies that science also tells us will halt the spread of the tobacco pandemic.

On behalf of the American Cancer Society, The International Union Against Cancer, the Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, and the many wise and experienced colleagues who contributed to this lengthy project, we are deeply pleased to offer this series of guides, *Tobacco Control Strategy Planning* to the global tobacco control community.

We hope that as you read these guides and learn new lessons in your advocacy efforts, that you will share these lessons with us, so that we can revise and upgrade both the written guides and the website.

We began this letter with the challenge and the hope for global tobacco control in the 21st century. We will end with a quote from Dr. Erich Fromm, the great social psychologist, who wrote that “hope” is “a decisive element in any effort to bring about social change”. But such hope, “is neither passive waiting...nor the disguise of phrase making and adventurism, of disregard for reality, and of forcing what cannot be forced.”

True hope, wrote Fromm, “is like the crouched tiger, which will jump only when the moment for jumping has come.” Today for the global tobacco control movement in every country of the world, “the moment for jumping has come!”

John R. Seffrin, PhD  
CEO, American Cancer Society  
President, International Union Against Cancer



# American Cancer Society/International Union Against Cancer (UICC) Tobacco Control Strategy Planning

## *Introduction to the Series*

*Tobacco Control Strategy Planning* is a series of guides developed by the American Cancer Society (ACS) and the International Union Against Cancer (UICC). Each guide in this series takes readers through a set of strategic planning questions that address specific challenges in tobacco control advocacy. The guides answer those questions, based on the wisdom and experience of tobacco control advocates throughout the world.

The first two guides in the American Cancer Society/UICC series are basic tools designed to be used together by tobacco control advocates whose countries are in the early stages of tobacco control.

*Strategy Planning for Tobacco Control Advocacy* takes NGO (nongovernmental organization) planners through the process of developing long- and short-term national strategic plans, with an emphasis on media advocacy.

*Strategy Planning for Tobacco Control Movement Building* helps planners identify the kinds of people and allied organizations that can be the most helpful to them in putting together and implementing national plans. The guide includes methods for recruiting allies, tips for organizing effective alliances, leadership requirements for effective national tobacco control movements, and critical lessons in movement leadership.

Both guides are also designed to be “meta-guides.” They not only answer strategic questions but also provide Internet links to authoritative and useful publications, fact sheets, tested arguments, background papers, and other online advocacy resources.

To help simplify the strategy planning process for advocates, UICC has created a one-stop website on GLOBALink ([www.globalink.org](http://www.globalink.org)). This site allows advocates to conveniently locate and download all the advocacy resources mentioned in the guides.

This series also includes two specialized strategy planning guides:

*Engaging Doctors in Tobacco Control* responds to the concern of tobacco control advocates that far too few doctors – who should be among the leaders of every tobacco control movement – are actively engaged in tobacco control.

*Building Public Awareness of Passive Smoking Hazards* responds to the evidence in many countries of little or no public awareness of the serious, proven health hazards of passive smoking. This lack of awareness severely hampers advocates who try to persuade governments to decree or enforce smoke-free public places or work sites.

Each guide is designed to help advocates develop practical strategies to overcome specific barriers to effective tobacco control policies. As advocates continue to learn valuable lessons about tobacco control advocacy, we encourage them to share their experiences. We will continually update these guides and the related website ([www.strategyguides.globalink.org](http://www.strategyguides.globalink.org)) so that advocates always have access to the most current strategies and resources.

Thomas Glynn, PhD  
Director,  
Cancer Science and Trends,  
American Cancer Society

Michael Pertschuk, JD  
Co-Director,  
Advocacy Institute

Yussuf Saloojee, PhD  
Tobacco Control Strategic Leader,  
International Union Against Cancer

# Contents

## Introduction

<b>Early Strategy Planning</b> . . . . .	5
A Model Strategy Planning Group. . . . .	5
Outside Facilitation . . . . .	7
A Closer Look at Planning Group	
Qualifications . . . . .	8
Tobacco Control Advocacy Experience. . . . .	8
Tobacco Control Science and Economics	
Expertise; Relationships with	
International Organizations . . . . .	8
Legal Expertise . . . . .	9
Understanding of the Political	
Power Structure . . . . .	9
Knowledge of Tobacco Industry	
Strategies. . . . .	10
Understanding of Messages Decision	
Makers Need to Hear . . . . .	10
Knowledge of the Mass Media. . . . .	10
Knowledge of Experience with Successful	
NGO Policy-advocacy Strategies . . . . .	11
Influence with Organizations with	
Critical Resources. . . . .	11
<b>Allies Outside the Government</b> . . . . .	13
Doctors and Medical Societies . . . . .	15
Health Scientists and Their	
Professional Societies . . . . .	15
Economists and Their	
Professional Societies . . . . .	16
Lawyers. . . . .	16
Voluntary Health Associations . . . . .	18
Tobacco's Victims . . . . .	19
Youth Advocates. . . . .	20
Advocates for Young People . . . . .	21
Women's Advocacy Groups . . . . .	23
Consumer Advocacy Organizations . . . . .	24
Religious Groups and Leaders . . . . .	26
Groups Who Work to Control	
Alcohol and Illicit Drugs. . . . .	28
Environmental Advocates. . . . .	29
Labor Unions. . . . .	30
Groups Concerned about Globalization . . . . .	31
Human Rights Organizations. . . . .	32
Groups Who Work for the	
Rights of Indigenous Peoples. . . . .	33
Business Leaders . . . . .	33
Pharmaceutical Companies That Sell Smoking	
Cessation Products . . . . .	34
Health Insurance and	
Life Insurance Companies. . . . .	35
Other Potential Sources of Funding. . . . .	35

<b>Policy-specific Allies Outside the Government</b> . . . . .	37
Allies for Tobacco Tax Increases . . . . .	37
Allies for Smoke-free Workplaces . . . . .	38
Allies for Advertising Bans . . . . .	38

<b>Allies Inside the Government</b> . . . . .	39
Inside Advocates. . . . .	39
Insiders . . . . .	40

<b>Recruiting the Allies We Need.</b> . . . . .	41
What We Want. . . . .	41
Decision Making Authority . . . . .	41
Messages That Move Decision Makers . . . . .	42
Influential Messengers . . . . .	44
Effective Ways to Deliver Our Messages . . . . .	45

<b>Organizing Alliances</b> . . . . .	47
Networks and Coalitions . . . . .	48
Government and NGO Collaboration . . . . .	49

<b>Movement Leaders' Roles</b> . . . . .	51
Essential Categories of Tobacco Control	
Leadership. . . . .	51
Spark plugs . . . . .	51
Visionaries . . . . .	52
Strategists . . . . .	52
Statespersons. . . . .	52
Experts. . . . .	52
Strategic Communicators . . . . .	52
Movement Builders. . . . .	53
A Word of Caution. . . . .	53

<b>Lessons in Movement Leadership</b> . . . . .	55
Fight . . . . .	55
Flexibility. . . . .	55
Opportunism. . . . .	56

<b>Appendix A:</b> . . . . .	57
<i>The Canadian Tobacco Control Coalition,</i>	
by Ken Kyle. . . . .	59

<b>Appendix B:</b> . . . . .	61
<i>Ten Ways to Kill a Citizen Movement,</i>	
by Byron Kennard. . . . .	61

<b>Acknowledgments</b> . . . . .	63
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*The most important thing is that no one does tobacco control alone. The more allies you have, the more effective you are going to be. For years, we suffered from isolation within our own cancer society because we really didn't know where we were supposed to go.*

*– Akinbode Oluwafemi, Nigeria*

*The single biggest benefit [of collaboration] is the networking of people who provide benefits such as information. We're relatively isolated, and the fact that you can pick up something, whether you need an image, or some bit of legislation, whether you want to compare statistics, whether you want to look at tactics used either by the anti-tobacco lobby or the tobacco lobby, you can find it all.*

*– David Bristol, St. Lucia*

*We have a diversity within our coalition. We have consumer organizations, then we have health groups, we have women's groups. Then we have medical associations. It's like a support system, a partnership, and there's more facilitating to get tobacco control policies on board and make it a priority for the government at the local, state, and national levels. We have an understanding to share resources to an extent. And now that we are able to do things together, we have a greater group to reckon with – we have greater strength from our numbers.*

*– Shoba John, India*

*The reason we have an alliance is actually to coordinate all of these efforts – the issue of tobacco, its health effects, its economic effects, cessation. We realize that the medical associations are the best in their field as experts on health promotion and smoking prevention. So we're tying that up with our push for legislation, and we're tying that up with advocacy in public awareness.*

*– Ulysses Doroteo, Philippines*

# Introduction

Guide #1 in this series, *Strategy Planning for Tobacco Control Advocacy*, is a basic guide to developing a national strategic plan for tobacco control. That guide defines a two-part process. First, advocates identify their long-term and short-term strategic objectives. Next, they proceed through several steps to develop the most effective activities to achieve those objectives.

But who, exactly, will you need to help develop such a plan? Once the plan is developed, who, exactly, will you need to translate it from paper to action? Answering these questions is the purpose of Guide #2 *Strategy Planning for Tobacco Control Movement Building*. This guide asks a series of questions to help your strategy planning group, step by step, with the process of planning the most effective tobacco control collaboration – in other words, through building a tobacco control movement.

*The important message that needs to go out is that we are a global community dealing with global tobacco companies; they are not isolated; they are not just living in one country.*

*– Shane Bradbrook, New Zealand*

**Question 1.** Whom do we need to join us in our earliest strategy planning work?

**Question 2.** As we move forward, what kinds of groups outside the government will we need to help us move the decision makers to create the laws and programs we want?

**Question 3.** As we develop strategies and plans to achieve specific laws and policies, what additional allies outside the government will we need to strengthen our advocacy for those objectives?

**Question 4.** What kinds of allies will we need inside the government?

**Question 5.** How can we most effectively interest and recruit the allies we need?

**Question 6.** Should we organize a formal coalition? If so, who should be included? Who should not be included? How should our coalition be managed?

**Question 7.** What roles do leaders need to play to help build and maintain an effective movement?

**Question 8.** What are some of the most important lessons to learn in movement leadership?

This guide will discuss some of the answers to these questions that other advocates have found important and useful. It also provides online links and references to guides and other writings that have proved helpful to advocates like you in developing effective tobacco control movements.

## Links to General Guides for Movement Building Strategies

*Smoke Fighting: A Smoking Control Movement Building Guide*

(American Cancer Society/UICC, 1985)

[www.strategyguides.globalink.org/guide15.htm](http://www.strategyguides.globalink.org/guide15.htm)

*The Democracy Owners' Manual: A Practical Guide to Changing the World,*

by Jim Shultz (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, USA, 2002)

[www.democracctr.org/resources/manual/index.htm#train;](http://www.democracctr.org/resources/manual/index.htm#train;)

*A Burning Issue: Tobacco Control and Development, A Manual for Nongovernmental Organizations,* from PATH Canada

[www.pathcanada.org/library/public/tcmanual.pdf](http://www.pathcanada.org/library/public/tcmanual.pdf)

Organizing for Social Change, from the Midwest Academy

[www.mindspring.com/~midwestacademy/Book/page3.html](http://www.mindspring.com/~midwestacademy/Book/page3.html)

The World Health Organization's *Tobacco Control Legislation: An Introductory Guide,*

(Geneva, 2003) This Guide provides a helpful starting point for advocates, health

officials and others interested in developing tobacco control legislation. Chapters 4,

“Foundation for Success: Capacity Building,” and 8, “The Legislative Battle,” focus on

the importance of movement building and ideas for broadening the base of support.

[www5.who.int/tobacco](http://www5.who.int/tobacco)

## Question 1. Whom do we need to join us in our earliest strategy planning work?

Strategic planning for advocacy begins as soon as even one or two people in a country dedicate time and energy to advocating the adoption and enforcement of tobacco control laws or regulations. For advocacy to succeed, at least one person needs to think and act strategically.

These guides should be useful to any such advocates entering into a strategic planning process. But they should be particularly helpful to NGO and government advocates in countries in which a core leadership group of dedicated, experienced, and skillful advocates has emerged – and has decided to come together to develop a national plan for advocacy strategy.

### A Model Strategy Planning Group

Imagine you are attending such a strategy planning workshop. As you look around the room at the people who have gathered, you need to see colleagues who together possess specific expertise, experience, and relationships:

- Tobacco control advocacy experience and a broad knowledge of who has been doing what in tobacco control – from networks of individuals to coalitions that will help advance tobacco control in your country.
- Expertise in tobacco control science and economics; connections to the World Health Organization (WHO) and to other international organizations that could provide guidance in developing sound policy and program goals and objectives.
- Legal expertise to help the group understand the legal and legislative process and draft your proposed laws.
- An understanding of the political power structure your tobacco control advocacy efforts will seek to engage – including what messages key decision makers need to hear to persuade them to enact the laws and programs you want.
- An understanding of the political operations, governmental ties, and advocacy strategies of the tobacco companies that operate in your country.
- Knowledge of potential allies and opponents in government, the business community, and other interest groups – and how open your potential allies are to helping you build an effective tobacco control movement.
- Knowledge of the media, including how open your nation's mass media will be to tobacco control media advocacy.
- Strong relationships with preexisting networks of tobacco control advocates.
- Experience with successful policy-advocacy efforts by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in your country – if not directly in tobacco control, then in parallel movements, such as the consumer or environmental movements.
- Influence with organizations willing to provide financial and human resources to support coalition building and advocacy activities.
- Relationships with international organizations and experts who could provide access to human and financial resources.

These qualities of knowledge and experience are a good beginning, and we discuss them in detail later. But since strategy planning is a highly collaborative activity, you also want to make sure that as many as possible of your group colleagues share the following characteristics:

- Enthusiasm and a proven commitment to tobacco control policy advocacy.
- The ability to work collaboratively, listen to and respect the views of others, and be open in sharing their own concerns.
- The capacity to contain their egos – and not always need to be the center of media and other attention.
- Demonstrated trustworthiness, particularly in maintaining confidential information and respecting the views expressed by colleagues.
- Willingness and ability to think and act in the interest of national tobacco control efforts as a whole.
- Demonstrated capacity to follow through with commitments and work assignments.

Some individuals should not be at your planning table. These will likely include:

- Government officials who have been defensive and hostile to independent NGO action.
- Advocates who have been unwilling or unable to work collaboratively.

A skilled, gifted facilitator who can guide the planning process is essential. This might be one of the participants who is:

- Well known and respected by all in the group.
- Not seen as tied too closely to a single organization or strategy.
- Deeply knowledgeable in tobacco control.
- A good listener.
- Respectful of the views of all other participants.
- Able to keep discussion focused on the strategy planning tasks at hand.

This facilitator need not be a saint, but as one participant in a national planning meeting exclaimed in frustration – after long, distracting speeches by one or two participants; stony silence by others; disrespect to younger participants and women participants; divisive arguments over such questions as which organization or city should house the coalition’s secretariat – “What we need most is a mature adult to guide us!”

## Outside Facilitation

It may be useful to invite an experienced tobacco control advocate and facilitator from an international nongovernmental organization to provide support to your developing movement. For example, such help might come from the International Union Against Cancer (UICC) or the Framework Convention Alliance (FCA).

Some individuals with essential knowledge – political insiders, friendly journalists, or lobbyists for non-tobacco clients – may not be comfortable sharing important confidential information with the whole group. In such cases, you may need a trusted group member to speak with that person alone. Later, that group member can share relevant details with the others at your planning sessions – without divulging the identity of the information's source.

As we discuss later, close working relationships between NGOs and government officials, both political and civil service, are essential – and often challenging. One critical task for NGOs is to influence – sometimes by making public demands, and even by criticizing government actions. Government officials who participate with NGOs in planning meetings often strongly protest strategies that call for public demands or criticism of the government. “Trust us,” they will argue. But NGOs should not avoid lobbying or media strategies that are necessary to increase pressure on the government.

At the same time, important individual allies within the government are often as dedicated to tobacco control as any NGO leader. These individuals are vital in any tobacco control movement. They understand the need for “outside” voices to make demands on the government; such voices make other, unresponsive decision makers uncomfortable with their lack of action.

These government allies may also be willing to provide political intelligence – and to insist upon doing so in confidence. They might agree to participate in a strategy planning meeting with NGOs – but most likely only if no other government official is present! Having more than one government official in your strategy planning sessions could also prevent open discussion of strategies needed to force the government to take action. It is probably best, then, for NGO representatives to make plans among themselves, and meet separately with government officials.

### Links to International NGOs That Support Growing Tobacco Control Movements

#### International Union Against Cancer (UICC)

[www.uicc.org/](http://www.uicc.org/)

“The fight against cancer knows no boundaries, and the International Union Against Cancer (UICC) is the only global cancer organization with members and activities covering all aspects of cancer control.” The purpose of the UICC Tobacco Control Program is to change attitudes about tobacco use in society, and to promote a comprehensive strategy to regulate tobacco production, sales, promotion, and use.

#### GLOBALink

[www.globalink.org](http://www.globalink.org)

UICC's tobacco control network is a giant online communication tool for more than 3,000 tobacco control professionals.

#### The Framework Convention Alliance (FCA)

[www.fctc.org](http://www.fctc.org)

The Framework Convention Alliance is a diverse group of nongovernmental organizations from around the world. The FCA includes individual NGOs and organizations that work at the local or national level, and existing coalitions/alliances that work at the national, regional, and international level.

## A Closer Look at Planning Group Qualifications

Let us take a closer look at the kinds of expertise, experience, and knowledge that need to be represented among the individuals who participate in your early planning efforts:

- **Tobacco control advocacy experience and a broad knowledge of who has been doing what in tobacco control – from networks of individuals to coalitions working to advance tobacco control in your country.**

Even in the early stages of tobacco control development, most countries have a small core group of dedicated tobacco control advocates. This group might have spent many years developing the needed knowledge and experience. Its members also may have developed a wide network of national and international allies.

Usually just such a group of advocates, with the commitment, energy, and knowledge of those working seriously in tobacco control, will convene the very kind of meeting we have been imagining. And it will be these persons who will have the energy and determination to make certain that the planning process is more than a talking exercise – that it proceeds to action, including seeking and finding the money and human resources to carry out the plan.

- **Tobacco control science and economics expertise; connections to the WHO, UICC and other international organizations that can provide guidance in developing sound policy and program goals and objectives.**
- **Relationships with international organizations and experts who can provide access to knowledge, human, and financial resources.**

Some of the people you will bring together may have attended international meetings and training sessions. They might already be active on GLOBALink, the electronic network for international tobacco control maintained by the UICC. They will have a sense of the international consensus on model comprehensive national tobacco control laws and programs. They will also know where to go for expert international advice on such laws and programs.

If your national planning group does not include people with such expertise, you might be able to invite international experts to your planning sessions. Your group might also call upon GLOBALink's network of members online to help answer questions that arise over the course of your planning.

### Links to Writing Tobacco Control Laws

*Developing Legislation for Tobacco Control: Template and Guidelines*

[www.paho.org/English/HPP/HPM/TOH/tobacco\\_legislation.htm](http://www.paho.org/English/HPP/HPM/TOH/tobacco_legislation.htm)

The Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) and WHO published this guide

“to provide a starting point for countries considering new legislation or improvements to existing legislation.”

A primary authoritative guide to model national tobacco control laws will soon be available online through the International Union for Health Promotion and Education at: [www.iuhpe.org/](http://www.iuhpe.org/)

- **Legal expertise in the legislative process and in drafting strong proposed laws.**

Since you will need to consider the specific, formal language of legislation, you will want to find and recruit lawyers – especially lawyers who have experience with drafting legislation for your national government. They can make certain any law you propose will be written in proper legal language. You may be able to get unofficial help from lawyers – or legal professionals who have worked closely with lawyers – who have actually drafted proposed legislation in the Ministry of Health, the Justice Ministry, or the legislative drafting office of Parliament.

International legal experts may also prove to be sources of help. For example, David Sweanor of Canada has written about dangerous “loopholes” that tobacco companies have often tried to include in tobacco control legislation – their purpose is to weaken tobacco control provisions.

### Links to Expert Legal Help

*Potential Loopholes and Drafting Issues*, by David Sweanor

[www.strategyguides.globalink.org/guide14.htm](http://www.strategyguides.globalink.org/guide14.htm)

GLOBALink

[www.globalink.org](http://www.globalink.org)

This UICC-sponsored website is a remarkable resource for tobacco control advocates. First, the site provides its members with updated news and information related to tobacco control around the world. Second, individuals can go to the site for assistance with drafts of their tobacco control laws and regulations.

- **An understanding of the political power structure your tobacco control advocacy efforts must confront.**

You will need to learn who has the final power to enact the laws and programs you want, and which individuals have influence over those with that power. This identifying process is sometimes called “political mapping.”

Yussuf Saloojee tells of creating an informal political map of South Africa’s government and Parliament. One of the first steps South African advocates took was to confidentially interview “the highest ranking political leader of the ruling party who was friendly to tobacco control efforts.” In Poland, Witold Zatonski created his own political map. He made himself readily available and listened carefully to friendly parliamentarians to learn of both opportunities and threats at every stage of the advocacy process.

Professional lobbyists who work for other public health and social justice issues may also be willing to help. You may even get critical political intelligence from business lobbyists not connected to the tobacco companies – lobbyists for pharmaceutical companies that market nicotine replacement therapies, for instance. Sympathetic political science scholars and teachers can also be helpful.

When you work with professional lobbyists, be sure they have no clients whose interests conflict with tobacco control efforts. And remember that lobbyists need to maintain their long term relationships with lawmakers – they usually shy away from even the most effective advocacy strategies that call for public criticism of legislators.

You can usually find a few political journalists and columnists who cover the national government who will help you privately – although they may not publicly express support. These members of the media might be willing to provide insights and guidance on the inner workings of the government and the political parties – in confidence.

- **Knowledge of the political operations, governmental ties, and advocacy strategies of the tobacco companies that operate in your country.**

Government officials in many countries have been involved in WHO tobacco control activities. You may also find nongovernmental advocates who are members of the Framework Convention Alliance; this group was formed during the negotiation process for the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control. While observing the negotiations was sometimes a frustrating experience for advocates, it was also educational. It helped country representatives learn about ideal policies, tactics used by tobacco industry lobbyists to weaken tobacco control efforts, and the typical resistance of government officials.

- **An understanding of what messages key decision makers need to hear to persuade them to enact the laws and programs you want.**

Before individuals in power will move on an issue, they usually need to be persuaded, forced, or shamed into taking action. (Guide #1 in this series, *Strategic Planning for Tobacco Control Advocacy*, discusses this topic at length.) Who can help us know what messages are most likely to move these key decision makers?

Your planning group will need to include colleagues who have watched the political decision makers keenly. These observers will know these individuals' personal and political "hot buttons" – the messages that will motivate them to react, both positively and negatively.

Key decision makers and influential leaders of groups outside the government will also need to be represented sometime in your strategy planning. (In the next section of this guide, we look at these groups.) Someone who has worked with youth groups, teachers unions, or parent-teacher organizations, for example, could give you advice about seeking such groups as allies. This individual can also help you decide what messages the leaders of these groups will need to hear to be motivated to join you.

- **Knowledge of how your nation's mass media will react to tobacco control media advocacy.**

You will also need colleagues who understand the barriers to support for tobacco control among the mass media in your country – and who have a grasp of the media's interest in tobacco and health stories. This knowledge will tell you where you may be able to gain favorable attention in the mass media, and which media advocacy strategies have proven effective.

Your group also needs an experienced media watcher – a person who knows the interests and prejudices of the media decision makers. These key figures are the media's "gatekeepers" – they decide what gets into the news and what stays out. Advocates often know journalists who are sympathetic to tobacco control, but who are unable to get their bosses to run tobacco control stories – for instance, stories that criticize the tobacco industry or political leaders who do the industry's dirty work. Only if you know who the gatekeepers are, and how they may respond, can you develop realistic media strategies.

Again, you can gather such knowledge from sympathetic journalists, television producers, and newspaper or magazine editors and publishers, and from public relations professionals who have experience in working with the media. And again, they will most likely speak to you only in confidence, in one-on-one conversations outside your group meetings.

- **Knowledge of and experience with successful NGO policy-advocacy strategies in your country.**

Advocates for issues other than tobacco control may prove helpful. Consumer and environmental activists, for example, are often attuned to political realities. Such people can provide a realistic assessment of the political environment that your tobacco control proposals will face. For instance, Mary Assunta is an experienced consumer advocate in Malaysia. She has brought her fellow tobacco control advocates a sophisticated understanding of strategies for confronting powerful corporate interests, in Malaysia and around the world.

- **Influence with organizations willing to provide financial and human resources to support coalition building and advocacy activities.**

Tobacco control advocates in developing countries have made extraordinary progress as volunteers with no pay, and almost no money. But a few full-time paid organizers and advocates who can focus only on tobacco control can provide a strong foundation for building and sustaining a growing movement. This means you need money to support their activities. Of course, most advocates would rather spend their time advocating for tobacco control, not fundraising. But the most successful advocacy efforts also manage to find enough money to pay for necessities.

## **Question 2. As we move forward, what kinds of groups outside the government will we need to help us move the decision makers to create the laws and programs we want?**

The organized professional and citizen groups vital to a country's tobacco control movement will probably differ from country to country, as we have seen. Yet all countries have certain groups in common whose help you will need to build a powerful and effective national movement.

Some of these groups will bring public attention and the voice of authority to tobacco control efforts. Some will bring organized and influential constituencies. Others will contribute organizing skills, as well as human and financial resources. Yet others will bring passion to your advocacy work.

Among these potentially important groups for a strong national tobacco control movement are:

**Doctors and Medical Societies**

**Health Scientists and Their Professional Societies**

**Economists and Their Professional Societies**

**Lawyers**

**Voluntary Health Associations**

**Organized Groups of Tobacco Victims**

**Youth Advocates**

**Advocates for Young People**

**Women's Advocacy Groups**

**Consumer Advocacy Organizations**

**Religious Groups and Leaders**

**Groups That Work to Control Alcohol and Illicit Drugs**

**Political Leaders and Parties**

**Environment Advocates**

**Labor Unions**

**Groups Concerned about Globalization**

**Human Rights Organizations**

**Groups That Work for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples**

**Business Leaders**

**Pharmaceutical Companies that Sell Smoking Cessation Products**

**Health Insurance and Life Insurance companies**

**Other Groups with Funding Potential**

This is a long list of potential allies.

No tobacco control leaders in any country will have the time, energy, or resources to reach out to all possible allies. In your strategy planning process, once you have identified your top policy objectives, you can go through this list and ask these questions:

- Can this group be an important ally in achieving one or more of our top strategic objectives?
- Is it realistic to think that leaders in this group already working on tobacco control will help us gain the group's support?
- Do our relationships with such leaders make gaining their support possible, with reasonable effort from us?

After this analysis, you need to prioritize the importance to your strategy plan of each group you have chosen. This process can help you decide how much of your organizing group's time and resources to dedicate to building each partnership. Remember, your goal is not to build the longest possible list of supportive organizations. **Rather, you want the active, effective support only of organizations that will help you achieve your policy objectives.** And as your campaign gathers momentum, many groups may elect to join you.

To help you decide where to concentrate your alliance building efforts, we discuss the important roles each group has played in tobacco control advocacy campaigns. You can see, then, what each might contribute to yours.

## ***Doctors and Medical Societies***

Most societies trust the authority of doctors on health matters. Around the world, concerned physicians have been among the earliest and most eloquent voices for action when the public's health is at risk. Leaders of doctors' professional organizations or of medical institutions, such as hospitals and medical schools, speak with institutional authority. This is one reason their involvement in your movement is crucial.

For example, a handful of members of the Royal College of Physicians in London were responsible for the groundbreaking report in 1962, which concluded that smoking caused cancer. The same group of doctors later persuaded the Royal College to establish and provide early financial support to the smoking control advocacy group known as ASH (Action on Smoking and Health).

***No country in the world has made significant progress in curbing the tobacco epidemic without its doctors understanding that their professional responsibilities require that they take a leadership role in advocating for comprehensive tobacco control laws.***

***– Thomas Glynn,  
Director of Cancer Science  
and Trends, American Cancer Society***

## ***Health Scientists and Their Professional Societies***

Scientists generally bring authority to scientific issues in their field of expertise. For example, an epidemiologist can provide data on tobacco's mortality toll. Health policy research scientists can testify about the proven health benefits of such policies as cigarette tax increases and advertising bans. Economists can cite economic science that challenges the economic myths constantly promoted by the tobacco industry's pseudo-scientists.

In many societies, prize winning scientists hold even higher status than do scientists in general. Their achievement often gives them ready access to the media, as well as to government leaders. In 1963, a group of twenty-five prominent Swedish scientists, including three Nobel Prize winners, successfully petitioned the Swedish government to institute one of the earliest national education programs on the hazards of smoking.

### **Links to Doctors and Medical Societies**

European Respiratory Society  
[www.ersnet.org/0/0/0.asp](http://www.ersnet.org/0/0/0.asp)

World Oncology Network  
[www.worldoncology.net/](http://www.worldoncology.net/)

World Medical Society  
[www.wma.net/index.html](http://www.wma.net/index.html)

World Heart Federation  
[www.worldheart.org/](http://www.worldheart.org/)

*Tobacco under the Microscope: The Doctors' Manifesto for Global Tobacco Control*  
[www.doctorsmanifesto.org/](http://www.doctorsmanifesto.org/)

Medical associations everywhere support the Doctors' Manifesto, which includes statements from thirty eminent doctors from around the world. This document describes measures proven effective in reducing tobacco related death.

## ***Economists and Their Professional Societies***

There is probably no scientific discipline that is more important to tobacco control than the field of economic science.

In countries newly open to free markets, the tobacco industry hires economists to argue that tobacco control laws violate free-market principles. They convince key audiences – such as commerce and finance ministers – that such regulations are leftovers from discredited communist regimes. But these tobacco industry economists lose their audience when respected liberal economists and economic institutions, such as the World Bank, officially report that tobacco control laws strengthen national economies and have a net benefit to almost every nation.

If you are fortunate, you may find a scientist who is also a committed tobacco control advocate. One such individual is India's Prakash Gupta, a distinguished epidemiologist. Another is Kenneth Warner, an equally notable U.S. health economist. Both scientists have become skilled in advocacy without compromising their scientific standards. Among their other priceless skills, both scientist-advocates present their findings in simple, powerful language that nonscientists respond to.

## ***Lawyers***

Philip Karugaba, a public interest attorney with the Environmental Action Network in Uganda, has been working to pass public health legislation and to build a case against several tobacco companies, including British American Tobacco. He found help from the Environmental Law Worldwide Alliance in both of these efforts, and he speaks highly of his allies:

*I think from the viewpoint of what the legal profession can contribute, I think that's a massive achievement. We are grateful to all the people who supported us. We had a lot of support from Environmental Law Worldwide Alliance. We had support from Professor Richard Daynard [head of the Tobacco Control Research Center in Boston, Massachusetts, USA].*

Lawyers and lawyers' groups can contribute in very different ways to your objectives:

- They can help you adapt model international laws to meet the legal and constitutional framework of your country.
- They can lobby government and parliamentary officials, testify that your proposed laws are legally recognized, and counter the false legal arguments of tobacco-industry lawyers.
- They can help you expose provisions that weaken tobacco control effectiveness in laws and amendments proposed by tobacco industry allies.
- They can help you review proposed government regulations that implement tobacco control laws to make certain tobacco companies cannot evade them.
- In some countries, they can bring legal actions in the courts to make government agencies and officials take more vigorous action to enforce existing laws and regulations.

Lawyers in some legal systems play a different supportive role: They bring lawsuits against tobacco companies. Even when these lawsuits do not succeed, they are powerful in generating media attention and greater public awareness of the corrupt activities of the tobacco companies.

Drafting tobacco control laws requires special skill and more attention to detail than does writing most other health laws. Lawyers not expert in tobacco control law may not spot loopholes that the industry will exploit.

## Links to Legal Associations

### Consumer Education and Research Centre (CERC)

[www.cercindia.org/](http://www.cercindia.org/)

CERC is a nonprofit voluntary organization. In cooperation with its allied organizations, CERC works with local, regional, national, and international issues related to consumer protection, investor protection, and environment protection.

The objectives of CERC are

- To ensure total consumer safety against unsafe products and services.
- To establish accountability of public utility services, including monopolies.
- To protect consumers against monopolistic, restrictive, and unfair trade practices.
- To watch over business, industry, and public services.

### The Tobacco Products Liability Project (TPLP)

[www.tobacco.neu.edu/](http://www.tobacco.neu.edu/)

TPLP was founded in 1984 by doctors, academics, and attorneys at the Northeastern University School of Law (Boston, Massachusetts, USA). TPLP studies, encourages, and coordinates product-liability suits against the tobacco industry, and legislative and regulatory initiatives to control the sale and use of tobacco as a public health strategy. TPLP helps states and municipalities ensure that proposed tobacco control measures are drafted to withstand tobacco-industry legal challenges, and are legally enacted.

### Tobacco Law Center

[www.wmitchell.edu/tobaccolaw/tlc.html](http://www.wmitchell.edu/tobaccolaw/tlc.html)

The Tobacco Law Center is a legal resource center at William Mitchell College of Law in St. Paul, Minnesota, USA. It works to improve tobacco control laws and policies at local, national, and international levels. Using a combination of research, policy development and analysis, and strategic consulting, the center helps policy makers, nonprofit organizations, advocates, and health professionals address critical legal issues. The center's staff and consultants offer an impressive breadth of legal and policy expertise, combined with deep experience in tobacco prevention and control.

### Environmental Law Worldwide Alliance (E-LAW)

[www.elaw.org](http://www.elaw.org)

This international alliance of legal professionals is dedicated to serving “low-income communities around the world, helping citizens strengthen and enforce laws to protect themselves and their communities.” E-LAW gives grassroots advocates access to critical legal and scientific resources to help them “challenge environmental abuses and pursue environmental justice.”

## ***Voluntary Health Associations***

In many wealthier countries, voluntary associations that focus on cancer and on heart and lung disease have been among the earliest initiators and most consistent supporters of tobacco control. These groups can combine the voices of doctors with the voices of patients and their families, the victims of tobacco related disease. They can often attract as volunteers people who are close to key government decision makers, including their spouses and family doctors. These associations also can organize and provide the skilled services of trained professional advocates, as well as volunteers. And they can raise funds to support tobacco control advocacy – and teach others to become successful fundraisers.

As voluntary health associations take root in developing countries, they are increasingly seen as pioneers of tobacco control advocacy. The American Cancer Society, through its International American Cancer Society University, and the American Cancer Society/UICC International Tobacco Control Leadership Fellows Program have trained cancer society leaders around the world. These leaders have the skills to develop financially strong societies and to encourage and implement tobacco control advocacy efforts. The Society has also provided grants for the development of national tobacco control coalitions in India, Romania, Hungary, Honduras, and others.

### **Links to Voluntary Health Associations**

International Union Against Cancer/Union Internationale Contre le Cancer (UICC)  
[www.uicc.org/](http://www.uicc.org/)

International Union Against Tuberculosis & Lung Disease  
[www.iuatld.org/full\\_picture/en/frameset/frameset.phtml](http://www.iuatld.org/full_picture/en/frameset/frameset.phtml)  
On this website, go to “Membership”; then go to “Constituent and Organizational members.”

World Heart Federation  
[www.worldheart.org/members/global\\_reach.html](http://www.worldheart.org/members/global_reach.html)

World Federation of Public Health Associations  
[www.wfpha.org/](http://www.wfpha.org/)

Voluntary Health Association of India (VHAI)  
[www.vhai.org/](http://www.vhai.org/)

American Cancer Society  
[www.cancer.org](http://www.cancer.org)  
The international mission of the American Cancer Society is to help build developing cancer societies and to collaborate with other cancer-related organizations throughout the world to carry out the Society’s strategic directions.

## ***Tobacco's Victims***

In Sri Lanka, the Health Promotion Foundation has organized an advocacy group restricted to the victims of tobacco caused disease and their family members. This group successfully carries to communities the message of tobacco's harmful effects. It has also joined in the efforts of advocates who seek to strengthen tobacco control policy.

Around the world, prominent citizens have become avid tobacco control advocates after a traumatic brush with tobacco related disease. The organizations with which these individuals are connected often become powerful tobacco control advocacy groups. For example, the founder of the Bombay Salaam Foundation developed cancer through tobacco use. This foundation is now a strong member of the Indian Action Forum on Tobacco Control. It provides funding and skilled media advocacy support for the ICTC's advocacy campaigns.

Almost every country can take pride in individual citizens – some of whom are highly influential – whose personal confrontation with the ravages of tobacco has made them powerful tobacco control advocates.

In the United States, probably the most well known and effective of these individuals was Victor Crawford. Crawford had been a corrupt tobacco industry lobbyist, he admitted – until he contracted fatal throat cancer. He spent the last three years of his life describing to the public the lies and deceptions he and other tobacco lobbyists had long practiced. His powerful testimony about his experiences with the tobacco industry was widely publicized.

Searching for allies may lead you to unexpected places. The number of individuals who suffer from tobacco related diseases is steadily rising, and you will find more and more groups that have formed to offer support to these victims and their families.

### **Links to Tobacco Victims' and Nonsmokers' Rights Groups**

Many nonsmokers' rights organizations now exist in the United States. Most are dedicated to protecting their members' right to breathe clean air, free of cigarette smoke.

SAFE – Smokefree Air For Everyone

[www.pacificnet.net/~safe/index.html#anchor1726741](http://www.pacificnet.net/~safe/index.html#anchor1726741)

This network includes individuals injured by secondhand tobacco smoke, and people hypersensitive to it. The group provides peer support, as well as information and referrals to individuals in crisis because of secondhand smoke. SAFE also advocates for policies and laws that protect the public from exposure to secondhand smoke.

Americans for Nonsmokers' Rights (ANR) and the ANR Foundation

[www.no-smoke.org/](http://www.no-smoke.org/)

ANR, a national lobbying organization, takes on the tobacco industry at all levels of government to protect nonsmokers from secondhand smoke. The ANR Foundation is an educational nonprofit organization. The group creates programs for students on issues of smoking prevention and their right to breathe smoke-free air. It also provides educational materials for adults who want a smoke-free environment.

## Links to Tobacco Victims' and Nonsmokers' Rights Groups, continued

### Tobacco Survivors United (TSU)

[www.tobaccosurvivorsunited.org/index.htm](http://www.tobaccosurvivorsunited.org/index.htm)

TSU is an alliance of survivors, families, and friends of people who have overcome the destructive effects of tobacco products. The group provides information to help stop the tobacco industry's lies. It describes the power of the tobacco industry over elected officials, and it provides insight into the industry's deceitful marketing tactics aimed at children.

### SAVE: Empowering Survivors of Tobacco Sickness

[www.tobaccosurvivors.org/home.html](http://www.tobaccosurvivors.org/home.html)

This website is filled with the stories of men and women living with – and dying from – tobacco related illnesses. SAVE calls these “cautionary tales. They are eloquent evidence for avoiding the use of tobacco products as well as exposure to secondhand smoke.”

## Youth Advocates

*In HRIDAY-SHAN [Health Related Information Dissemination Amongst Youth – Student Health Action Network], we have found youth advocates to be very effective in influencing opinion leaders and policy makers. Initiating and involving young people into advocacy for tobacco control is not only productive but imperative because it is their present and future health that is determined by existing policies. Youth-led health activism provides a platform to young people to actively articulate their demands for appropriate government and societal policies which will be conducive to their present and future health and make them committed stakeholders in current campaigns for health promotion.*

*– Monika Arora, New Delhi*

Around the world, youth advocates for tobacco control are eager to make themselves heard. Many youth coalitions are organized and funded by public health groups, such as the American Lung Association and Teens Against Tobacco Use (T.A.T.U.). The Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids in the United States sponsors the Youth Advocates of the Year Award, a nationwide competition. The award honors the outstanding work of young advocates who have taken the lead in holding the tobacco industry accountable for its efforts to market tobacco to youth.

Young activists in the United States are fighting to protect their peers, their communities, and the nation from tobacco addiction and tobacco caused disease. They initiate public education efforts, student-to-student training, and outreach to policy makers. Many lobby their town councils and state legislatures for laws to limit kids' access to tobacco products. Others develop innovative programs to teach young children about the dangers of tobacco use, and work to protect youth from exposure to secondhand smoke.

Medical student leaders in developing countries such as Slovenia and Romania have been among the early organizers for tobacco control advocacy.

There is enormous potential to recruit young tobacco control activists. They recognize that they are targets of the tobacco industry. They know that tobacco advertising tactics are manipulative. They understand the health risks of tobacco use. And they are often the best messengers to educate their peers and to advocate for local, regional, or even national policy change.

### Links to Youth Advocacy Groups

#### Teens Against Tobacco Use (T.A.T.U.)

[www.lungusa.org/smokefreeclass/](http://www.lungusa.org/smokefreeclass/)

Through T.A.T.U., peers teach young people, face-to-face, to understand tobacco use and to become advocates for tobacco-free communities. T.A.T.U.'s planned activities encourage active participation, learning, and role-playing – real world, age appropriate experiences.

#### Project START (Students Taking Action Regarding Tobacco)

[www.kyaction.com/projectstart.htm](http://www.kyaction.com/projectstart.htm)

In this group, high school students in the U.S. state of Kentucky work to change local and state tobacco policies to make their communities healthier and safer.

#### Target Market

[www.tnvoice.com/index.asp](http://www.tnvoice.com/index.asp)

This innovative program was started in the U.S. state of Minnesota. It directly involves youth in fighting against the tobacco industry.

#### truth™

[www.thetruth.com/](http://www.thetruth.com/)

This teen-based tobacco prevention campaign works to “alert everyone to the lies and hidden practices of the cigarette companies, while giving people the tools to have a voice in changing that.”

### *Advocates for Young People*

Perhaps the single most effective U.S. tobacco control advocacy group is dedicated to preventing tobacco use by children and youth: the Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids (CTFK). Indifferent legislators and even legislators opposed to tobacco control measures are often moved by messages about the health and addiction risks to young people – especially when we force them to consider that nine or ten year olds are smoking. CTFK advocates for the full range of tobacco control policies, but its appeals on behalf of children succeed with many lawmakers not persuaded by information about the negative effects of tobacco use on adults.

CTFK fights tobacco use among youth in many ways. It provides support, information, and materials to organizations dedicated to keeping kids tobacco-free. And it seeks to stop the tobacco industry from targeting and eventually addicting kids. The Campaign works to help expose the industry's deceptions and manipulation – and to help pass laws that protect kids and reduce the death and disease caused by tobacco.

Children's advocacy groups and others concerned about the full range of children's issues, such as parent-teacher associations, can be powerful allies to tobacco control activists. They are often the most aware of the dangers children face – particularly factors that influence children too young to make mature decisions. For instance, they understand we must protect children from advertising that seduces them into using tobacco. And we must protect children against smoking allowed in public places, which directly harms them and makes smoking a symbol of adulthood.

### Links to Advocacy Groups for Youth

The Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids (CTFK)  
[www.tobaccofreekids.org](http://www.tobaccofreekids.org)

American Cancer Society Teens  
[www.acsteens.org/](http://www.acsteens.org/)

Campaign Against Transnational Tobacco  
[www.bigtabaccosucks.org](http://www.bigtabaccosucks.org)  
This group mobilizes college students to use the investment power of their universities to challenge the global tobacco industry.

Essential Action – Global Partnerships for Tobacco Control  
[www.essentialaction.org/tobacco/index.html](http://www.essentialaction.org/tobacco/index.html)  
Global Partnerships for Tobacco Control “helps support and strengthen international tobacco control activities at the grassroots level.” It pairs groups in the United States and Canada with groups in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union – including youth networks and schools.

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### Links to Information on Preventing Youth Tobacco Use

*A Guide to Youth Smoking Prevention Policies and Programs*  
[www.parentsassociation.com/health/smoking\\_prevention.html](http://www.parentsassociation.com/health/smoking_prevention.html)  
This guide explains the importance of “anti-tobacco education,” which “should begin early in children’s lives because on average youth smoke their first cigarette at age 13. It should continue all through school, because some youth, especially African Americans, do not begin smoking until they graduate.” The site illustrates successful ways to educate kids and encourages parents and teachers to take action in their communities against smoking.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention: Tobacco Information and Prevention Source (TIPS)  
[www.cdc.gov/tobacco/edumat.htm](http://www.cdc.gov/tobacco/edumat.htm)  
This site provides parents and educators with fact sheets, statistics, and guides about educating kids about tobacco use and encouraging them to be tobacco-free.

## ***Women's Advocacy Groups***

In countries where tobacco control is still in its developing stages – particularly in Asia – women's advocates confront twin outrages. First, the transnational tobacco companies saw an opportunity to build a new market when they realized that smoking rates among women were close to zero. They then targeted marketing campaigns at young women in countries such as Japan. These advertisements portrayed smoking by women as a way to imitate admired U.S. girls – at the same time that smoking was declining among U.S. women.

Many countries have fought historic battles over the attitudes and engagement of women's advocacy groups in tobacco control. In Nigeria, for example, a national commission on the liberation of women listed the freedom of women to smoke as one of their goals of liberation. A dissenting member asked, "How can a form of enslavement be a symbol of freedom?"

The transnational tobacco companies have exploited smoking as a form of female liberation in their advertising and marketing – and in their strategic philanthropy. For many years, Philip Morris has been a generous supporter of women's advocacy groups.

But the idea that Philip Morris was a positive force for women began to change in the 1980s and 1990s. Death rates from tobacco reflected an increase in smoking among women – and tobacco control advocates made women's groups aware of the tobacco companies' history of marketing their products specifically to women.

By the late 1990s, women's advocacy groups in the United States began to refuse any more funding from the tobacco companies, and joined tobacco control coalitions.

### **Links to Women's Groups**

International Network of Women Against Tobacco (INWAT)

[www.inwat.org/](http://www.inwat.org/)

Female tobacco control leaders founded INWAT to address the complex issues of tobacco use among women and young girls. The website provides fact sheets, reports, and links to documents about women and tobacco, such as the WHO Report on Women and Smoking.

Women's Tobacco Prevention Network (WTPN)

[www.wtpn.org/](http://www.wtpn.org/)

The WTPN's mission is to help women and organizations prevent and eliminate tobacco use among women to improve their health and quality of life. WTPN addresses disparities in health among females, and gives women access to resources and comprehensive tobacco control programs.

## *Consumer Advocacy Organizations*

The tobacco business is an all-time consumer fraud. The industry has violated practically every basic consumer right – the right to a safe product, the right to information, the right to compensation when injured, and the right to clean air. Tobacco is the only industry that kills half its customers prematurely. So all consumer organizations must make tobacco control an important activity. Most countries have consumer organizations with the basic infrastructure, regular consumer activities, and campaign skills to include tobacco on their agendas. Their activities should include tracking the tobacco business, advocating with the media, lobbying government for stricter legislation, making surveys, and publishing reports.

The Consumers Association of Penang in Malaysia (CAP) has been fighting tobacco for many years. The group campaigns at a local, national, and international level. Its activities include regularly monitoring the tobacco companies that operate in Malaysia and exposing their latest tactics – CAP issues statements and keeps the debate alive in the media.

For example, CAP took on British American Tobacco (BAT). BAT's sponsorship of the telecast of the 2002 FIFA (Fédération Internationale de Football Association) World Cup to Malaysians violated FIFA's smoke-free policies. CAP's activity was intensified and had a much bigger impact when the international community – particularly ASH UK – tackled BAT in the United Kingdom. CAP used this opportunity to lobby the Malaysian authorities to ban indirect tobacco advertising and sponsorship once and for all.

CAP also conducts public anti-tobacco exhibitions and training workshops in schools and villages. The group's monthly consumer magazine caters to the general public. It serves as an important lobbying and educational tool by carrying stories the regular press won't publish. Topics include tactics of the tobacco companies, progress in tobacco control elsewhere in the world, and representing the consumer voice.

When consumer organizations unite at the international level, consumers grow stronger and tobacco companies worry. For example, 250 consumer organizations in 115 countries today belong to Consumers International (CI). (The group was formerly known as the International Organization of Consumers Unions.) In the past the fearful tobacco industry closely monitored CI's anti-tobacco campaign, as internal tobacco company documents reveal.

## Links to Consumer Advocacy Organizations

### Consumers International (CI)

[www.consumersinternational.org/homepage.asp](http://www.consumersinternational.org/homepage.asp)

This group “supports, links, and represents consumer groups and agencies all over the world.” It defends “the rights of all consumers, especially the poor, marginalised, and disadvantaged, by: supporting and strengthening member organizations and the consumer movement in general; and campaigning at the international level for policies which respect consumer concerns.”

### Consumer Action

[www.consumer-action.org/](http://www.consumer-action.org/)

This nonprofit organization based in California works for the advancement of consumer rights. Consumer Action refers consumers to complaint handling agencies, publishes educational materials in several languages, and advocates for consumers in the media and before lawmakers.

### Consumer Education and Research Centre (CERC)

[www.cercindia.org/](http://www.cercindia.org/)

CERC is a nonprofit voluntary organization. It cooperates with its allied organizations to work on all levels on issues related to consumer protection, investor protection, and environment protection. Its aims are: to ensure total consumer safety against unsafe products and services;

- To establish accountability of public utility services, including monopolies.
- To protect consumers against monopolistic, restrictive, and unfair trade practices.
- To watch over business, industry, and public services.

### Essential Action

[www.essentialaction.org/](http://www.essentialaction.org/)

This corporate accountability group founded by Ralph Nader is dedicated to international tobacco control issues.

## ***Religious Groups and Leaders***

***We...have very strong support in the religious field and very good connections with the Catholic Church in Poland. When I was in Rome, I saw that smoking is a big problem for priests, and realized that we must help our Catholic Church.***

***We started a collaboration with a seminary and had a conference on if it is acceptable for Catholics to smoke – how this is from a religious point of view. We have changed our relationship from taking from the Catholic Church to giving to it. Once they give up smoking, they become stronger allies in future fights.***

***– Dr. Witold Zatonski, Poland***

***The faith community can play a critical role in a tobacco control coalition in three very important ways. First, faith leaders have a moral authority when they speak that the public and policy makers take very seriously. Second, the media are often very interested in covering public announcements and advocacy activity by clergy and lay faith leaders. This is especially so when, as with the tobacco issue, the clergy are involved in a controversial issue where they are taking on a “bad” entity. Finally, the faith community has tremendous ability to mobilize people for grassroots activity through their congregations, lay committees, and other access to community networks.***

***– Vincent Demarco, Executive Director,  
Maryland Citizen’s Health Care Initiative, USA***

Drawing religious groups and leaders into tobacco control advocacy is one of the more sensitive topics you must consider as you seek to build an all-inclusive alliance.

Tobacco control leaders are sometimes uncomfortable about the participation and support of religious leaders and their groups. These advocates may be sensitive to the tobacco industry’s persistent efforts to dismiss smoking control policy initiatives as the result of a repressive, temperance morality – rather than a desire based squarely on health science for judicious controls on tobacco company promotion and public smoking.

Yet religious groups and leaders have made significant contributions to tobacco control advocacy around the world. In the Sudan, powerful coalitions among Muslim religious leaders, political leaders, and physicians encouraged strong national legislation. Another example is the Seventh Day Adventists, who place tobacco control among their highest public policy priorities. They have made major contributions of funds and human resources to support national tobacco control legislation – from South Africa to the Pacific Islands. And they are known for their commitment to smoking-control education in developing countries.

The desirability of cultivating close associations with religious leaders varies greatly from country to country – even between neighboring countries. Supportive political leaders urged Sri Lankan advocates to reach out enthusiastically to religious groups and their leaders – this encouragement indicates the influence of religious groups in Sri Lanka. In neighboring India, advocates looked at their countries religious conflict and strong tradition of secularism in politics; they decided it would be risky to attempt to create alliances with religious groups.

### Links to Sites on Religion and Tobacco

*A Burning Issue: Tobacco Control and Development; A Manual for Non-governmental Organizations*, a PATH Canada guide, page 14, "Religion and Tobacco."  
[www.pathcanada.org/library/public/tcmanual.pdf](http://www.pathcanada.org/library/public/tcmanual.pdf)

#### Islamic Ruling on Smoking

<http://208.48.48.190/Publications/HealthEdReligion/Smoking/>

This web page summarizes religious opinions from esteemed Muslim scholars on the Islamic ruling on smoking. For instance, from Dr. Abdul Galil Shalabi, of the Islamic Research Academy: "Having read the several medical reports on the effects of smoking and the risks it poses to health and to society, I would say that it is absolutely forbidden [haram]. Smokers should stop smoking and non-smokers should never take up the habit."

Tobacco control advocates in countries with broad based, established smoking control movements usually need not fear joining forces with religious groups. New Zealand health groups have effectively cooperated with conservative church groups to support laws that restrict the sale of cigarettes to minors. In Hong Kong, tobacco control leaders were concerned that their efforts were mostly initiated by the government. They welcomed the collaboration of Seventh Day Adventists to promote a national nonsmoking day.

Tobacco control leaders have often found that church leaders are careful to avoid looking like heavy handed moralists. In Northern Ireland, a Presbyterian Church leader spread an aggressive smoking control message through his churches; another church leader chose not to, for fear his parishioners would react negatively.

## ***Groups That Work to Control Alcohol and Illicit Drugs***

Tobacco control advocates and groups that work to control alcohol and other addictive drugs face common problems. They share a concern over the physical and social costs of addiction. They also fight many of the same aggressive youth-oriented advertising and marketing strategies.

But tobacco control advocates have often had uneasy relations with advocates of drug and alcohol control. Sometimes they have competed for public attention.

Yet in some developing countries, such as Ukraine and Sri Lanka, NGOs dedicated to both tobacco and alcohol control have led tobacco control efforts.

The social and political culture of your country will help determine whether you will find it useful and effective to build close or loose alliances between tobacco control advocacy and advocacy for the control of other drugs. But in every country, advocates for the control of any addictive drug need to collaborate and support each other, rather than compete negatively with one another.

### **Links to Groups That Work to Control Alcohol/Illicit Drugs**

Alcohol and Drug Information Center (ADIC – Ukraine)

[www.adic.org.ua/adic/](http://www.adic.org.ua/adic/)

Dr. Konstantin Krasovsky founded ADIC, a nonprofit professional organization. Its focus is the prevention of alcohol and drug related problems in the Ukraine. ADIC:

- Documents the nature and extent of these problems.
- Documents possible responses to these problems.
- Generates advocacy to work toward these responses.
- Sets up awareness programs geared toward other organizations, opinion leaders, and the public.
- Provides training for voluntary and professional operators in prevention and intervention work.
- Issues information and training materials.

System of Information in Russian on Prevention of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Other Intoxicants Problems (SIR PATIP)

[www.adic.org.ua/](http://www.adic.org.ua/)

Through this website, Dr. Konstantin Krasovsky is establishing an information system on efforts to control alcohol, drug, and tobacco use in Eastern Europe. The main reason for this project is the “low information level of East European NGOs involved in alcohol, tobacco and drug prevention.” This problem consists of many subproblems: “use of one sided information; lack of information on information; absence of systematic assessment of the existing information; low speed of information processing and use. “A special concern is the lack of information and materials in Russian for NGOs in Baltic countries where most people speak Russian and have no resources to translate information from English.

## ***Environmental Advocates***

Environmental groups may be valuable allies in your tobacco control efforts. In many countries, these groups have been leaders in public interest advocacy – they know how the “system” works. Often they can offer tobacco control groups valuable media contacts. They can share intimate knowledge of the legislative process and point out ways to force your issue onto the official agenda.

In the last few years, a number of environmental groups in Africa have taken up tobacco issues. Partly they are concerned about tobacco related deforestation from curing. But they also recognize that large corporations – usually foreign-owned – often determine the environmental health (or poverty) of their countries. If your country is a tobacco producer, you may also want to connect with groups that address farm-worker safety. Tobacco farmers are exposed to toxic chemicals; they are at greater risk of Green Tobacco Sickness, caused when their skin absorbs nicotine as they handle tobacco leaves.

### **Links to Information about Environmental Advocacy**

“Hooked on Tobacco”

[www.christian-aid.org.uk/indepth/0201bat/index.htm](http://www.christian-aid.org.uk/indepth/0201bat/index.htm)

This is a report on farm-worker health and safety issues in Brazil.

“Golden Leaf, Barren Harvest: The Costs of Tobacco Farming”

[www.tobaccofreekids.org/campaign/global/FCTCreport1.pdf](http://www.tobaccofreekids.org/campaign/global/FCTCreport1.pdf)

“Tobacco, Farmers & Pesticides”

[www.panna.org/resources/documents/tobacco.dv.html](http://www.panna.org/resources/documents/tobacco.dv.html)

“How Tobacco Farming Contributes to Tropical Deforestation”

[www.psychologie.uni-freiburg.de/umwelt-spp/proj2/geist.html](http://www.psychologie.uni-freiburg.de/umwelt-spp/proj2/geist.html)

Greenpeace International

[www.greenpeace.org/homepage/](http://www.greenpeace.org/homepage/)

This nonprofit global organization works to expose “environmental criminals” and to challenge corporations and governments when they fail to protect the environment. “As the world economy becomes more global, Greenpeace aims to empower governments and international institutions to ensure that this process does not adversely affect the environment or environmental policy.”

## ***Labor Unions***

Labor unions have mixed attitudes about regulating workplace smoking. They are often torn between their smoking and nonsmoking members. Unions also generally resist any controls over the behavior of workers. However, unions have joined tobacco control advocacy efforts to provide “equal protection” for workers under a particular set of circumstances: when laws protect some workers from secondhand smoke, such as transportation workers, but not other workers, such as restaurant and bar workers.

Tobacco control advocates also need to be aware of union members’ interests and concerns. In South Africa, the Food and Allied Workers Union represents workers employed in tobacco manufacturing. It joined two other unions affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) to oppose tobacco legislation. The three unions threatened rolling mass action – including a march on Parliament and demonstrations throughout the country – if the government did not withdraw the tobacco bill. Health advocates met with COSATU and explained that mechanization and improved technology were a bigger threat to tobacco workers’ jobs than tobacco control laws. The mass action did not materialize, and COSATU itself did not oppose the tobacco bill.

In another example, advocates knew that many teachers in India’s urban schools used Gutka, a form of pouch tobacco. They concluded that the teachers’ union was not open to tobacco control advocacy.

### **Links to International Labor Organizations**

Laborers’ Health & Safety Fund of North America

[www.lhsfna.org/html/tobacco.html](http://www.lhsfna.org/html/tobacco.html)

Although this group believes “tobacco use is clearly a legal and personal choice,” it “cannot overlook the devastating impact that tobacco use has [on] working families, health funds, and employers.”

## ***Groups Concerned about Globalization***

Tobacco control advocates and organizations recently have spent enormous time and energy working to end the domination of international trade regulation by transnational corporations. Marketing abuse by tobacco companies offers an extreme case of this power. Their example is useful for educating the public about the destructive health and economic effects of unrestrained global manufacturing and marketing practices.

Tobacco control advocates with medical or health science backgrounds have been somewhat slow to recognize their common ground with environmental, consumer, and other advocates for greater public control over globalization. However, social justice NGO advocacy groups, such as Public Citizen and INFACT, have become forceful advocates for tobacco control.

The NGO Framework Convention Alliance (FCA) brought together a range of such advocates from around the world to work for a strong WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC). Although the negotiation sessions for the FCTC have ended, the FCA continues to work to build broad alliances to support national tobacco control advocacy.

### **Links to Groups Concerned about Globalization**

#### **Framework Convention Alliance (FCA)**

[www.fctc.org/](http://www.fctc.org/)

The FCA is an alliance of nongovernmental organizations around the world who work jointly and separately to support the development of a strong Framework Convention on Tobacco Control. The alliance was formed to improve communication among groups already working on the FCTC process and to reach out more systematically to NGOs not yet engaged in the process – particularly NGOs in developing countries, who could benefit from and contribute to the creation of a strong FCTC.

#### **CorpWatch**

[www.corpwatch.org/](http://www.corpwatch.org/)

The mission of CorpWatch is to fight “corporate-led globalization through education and activism...[and] to foster democratic control over corporations by building grassroots globalization – a diverse movement for human rights, labor rights, and environmental justice.” CorpWatch has spoken out against the multinational tobacco industry, and has been watching the negotiations of the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control.

#### **Public Citizen – Global Trade Watch (GTW)**

[www.citizen.org/trade/](http://www.citizen.org/trade/)

“GTW was created in 1995 to promote government and corporate accountability in the globalization and trade arena. The group “promotes a public interest perspective on an array of globalization issues, including implications for health and safety, environmental protection, economic justice, and democratic, accountable governance.”

#### **INFACT**

[www.infact.org](http://www.infact.org)

“Since 1977, Infact has been exposing life threatening abuses by transnational corporations.” It has also organized “successful grassroots campaigns to hold corporations accountable to consumers and society at large.” This nonprofit national membership organization launched the Tobacco Industry Campaign in 1993 to pressure Philip Morris “to stop addicting new young customers around the world, and to stop interfering in public policy on issues of tobacco and health.”

### Links to Groups Concerned about Globalization continued

Essential Action

[www.essentialaction.org/](http://www.essentialaction.org/)

This corporate accountability group founded by Ralph Nader is dedicated to international tobacco control issues.

### *Human Rights Organizations*

*[Tobacco control] is a human rights issue. The right of a consumer as smoker is also to have access to information about the products they are about to take so that they are able to make an informed choice. The tobacco transnationals, the tobacco industries, have denied smokers adequate, appropriate information about the products.*

*– Akinbode Oluwafemi, Nigeria*

*I feel a moral obligation to contribute to one of the principal scourges on humankind. The dimension of the problem exceeded the field of public health and extended to economics, politics, ethics, and human rights. Given that the multinational tobacco industry in order to meet its marketing objectives has been manipulative and a corrupter of governments. The anti-tobacco movement is not separate from the commitment to respect for human rights.*

*– Juan Almandares, Honduras*

### Links to Human Rights Organizations and Reports

Human Rights Watch

[hrw.org/](http://hrw.org/)

Human Rights Watch is “dedicated to protecting the human rights of people around the world.” Its report “The Small Hands of Slavery” discusses the experience of bonded child laborers in India’s cigarette industry:

[hrw.org/reports/1996/India3.htm](http://hrw.org/reports/1996/India3.htm).

“Tobacco and the Rights of the Child”

[www5.who.int/tobacco/repository/stp53/CRCreport.pdf](http://www5.who.int/tobacco/repository/stp53/CRCreport.pdf)

This WHO paper examines the major problems posed by tobacco as they relate to the provisions of the Convention on the Rights of the Child – “particularly in relation to civil rights and freedoms, basic health and welfare, and child labour.”

## *Groups Who Work for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*

*I think that largely the success that's occurred within New Zealand can be translated right across to other indigenous cultures. Indigenous cultures need to make their own decisions, what are their issues, but they obviously need the resourcing to put into place or else you end up in a situation where it's top down again and it has no effect....And the support has to come from the people. Got to identify the issue, then the support has to come from the community, No program's going to work within an indigenous environment if the community has no say and no buy-in whatsoever.*

*– Shane Bradbrook, New Zealand*

An Indigenous Peoples network in tobacco control is developing that includes groups from New Zealand, Canada, Australia, and the United States.

### *Business Leaders*

Business leaders are often undecided about tobacco control efforts. Their first instinct is to support any business targeted by advocacy efforts that would subject it to government regulation. Tobacco companies have vast, interlocking relationships with other businesses: through common ownership, membership in business organizations, and as suppliers to and customers of other companies.

Yet when advocates in developing countries reach out to business groups – especially local groups – surprising things happen. Several local Chambers of Commerce have actively supported tobacco control efforts. In Jaipur India, Rajasthan Cancer Foundation leader Rakesh Gupta successfully recruited the local automobile dealers' association to the local tobacco control coalition.

*When I recognized that I had support from business people, I asked them to help me, to come to our press conferences.*

*– Dr. Witold Zatonski, Poland*

Business associations that fight tobacco control regulation, such as restaurant owners who oppose smoke-free restaurants, may change their position when they are subject to incomplete regulation. When New York State made only urban restaurants smoke-free, restaurant owners in New York City began to advocate for smoke-free restaurant laws throughout the state. The restaurant owners became activists because they did not want to lose customers to unregulated restaurants in nearby areas.

Even if you cannot persuade business groups to become active in tobacco control efforts, it is important to try to convince them not to support tobacco companies. Sri Lankan tobacco control advocates managed to convince local business leaders to remain neutral. Tobacco companies found this out when a prominent group of business leaders refused to support them in opposing a national ban on tobacco advertising.

## ***Pharmaceutical Companies That Sell Smoking Cessation Products***

New Zealand's Maori Smokefree Coalition has found alliances with drug companies extremely useful. The organization's leader, Shane Bradbrook, said the coalition has worked with "GlaxoSmithKline and Pharmacia because we've got a lot of cessation services running." The group is "building that relationship up because...we need cheap access [to smoking cessation products], because our indigenous community can't afford it."

Pharmaceutical companies have provided important funding for broad tobacco control activities, including sponsoring conferences and workshops. They may have helpful influence with government policymakers, and educate health care providers and smokers on the health hazards of tobacco use. Advocates must keep in mind that the primary objective of these companies is to market their nicotine replacement therapies. But towards that objective, they too want to increase public awareness of the hazards of tobacco use. They also support public policies that encourage smokers to cease using tobacco, such as smoke-free public places and workplaces.

Tobacco control advocates have found that when these companies promote cessation products to medical professionals, they engage doctors in tobacco control. Some of these physicians have become active in tobacco control advocacy.

Some tobacco control advocates are uncomfortable as allies of large transnational pharmaceutical corporations. They have concerns about these companies' role in corporate dominance, especially pricing policies for essential drugs in poor countries. Advocates also worry that these companies may distort the agenda of tobacco control conferences they sponsor, and shift the focus from policy advocacy to their cessation services.

But some strong advocates accept pharmaceutical support as essential to building tobacco control movements in developing countries; these advocates still maintain independent control of their agenda. Of course, the companies want attention paid to their products. But they also recognize that the stronger a country's tobacco control movement, and the more comprehensive its regulation, the greater the potential market for their products.

### **Links to Drug Companies That Have Funded Tobacco Control Action**

GlaxoSmithKline (GSK)  
[www.gsk.com](http://www.gsk.com)

Pharmacia Corporation (now owned by Pfizer)  
[www.pfizer.com/main.html](http://www.pfizer.com/main.html)

## *Health Insurance and Life Insurance Companies*

You might expect insurance companies to support tobacco control activities. Such efforts reduce the prevalence of tobacco use, thereby reducing health care costs and extending the lives of policyholders.

Some companies do offer lower insurance rates to non-smokers. But insurance companies have generally not been interested in funding or otherwise supporting tobacco control advocacy. They fear reprisal from tobacco companies and their allies, who are also customers for insurance business.

A few healthcare insurers cover preventative medicine – such as smoking-cessation aids. And a few are involved in tobacco control activities. For example, in the United States, the Integrated Healthcare Association is an executive member of the steering committee for Next Generation, a California Tobacco Control Alliance.

## *Other Potential Sources of Funding for Tobacco Control*

### **Funding for Government Health Agencies**

Health departments sometimes support nongovernmental tobacco control activities, especially in developing countries. The funds usually come from international funding from WHO and other aid programs, such as those from the European Union and the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Such funding can be vital to the very existence of NGO tobacco control activities in developing countries.

*Finding resources for tobacco control was a major problem because nobody wanted to fund it....Mobilizing our resources was very difficult at the initial stages. But now, I think...the funding groups have begun to see that they do good work.*

*– Shoba John, PATH Canada*

But NGOs that rely on such funding can grow reluctant to challenge the government publicly – even when such challenges will advance their advocacy agenda. “Do not bite the hand that feeds you” is unfortunately a universal constraint. Nonetheless, some NGOs do succeed both in accepting government support, and in speaking out against government action or inaction when appropriate.

## Funding for Nongovernmental Organizations

Tobacco control NGOs need some independent funding to ensure their freedom to challenge the government. Some robust aid programs have directly funded NGO activity without constraints, such as those from Canada, Norway, and Sweden.

### Links to Sources of Funding for NGOs

Health Canada – Federal Tobacco Control Strategy, International Component  
[www.hc-sc.gc.ca/datapcb/iad/ih\\_tobacco\\_control\\_initiatives-e.htm](http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/datapcb/iad/ih_tobacco_control_initiatives-e.htm)  
Health Canada has provided grants to international organizations working in the area of tobacco control under Health Canada's International Health Grants Programme.

European Network for Smoking Prevention (ENSP)  
[www.ensp.org/](http://www.ensp.org/)  
The mission of ENSP is to develop a strategy for coordinated action among European tobacco control organizations, with the goal of creating greater coherence among smoking prevention activities and to promote comprehensive tobacco control policies across Europe.

Research for International Tobacco Control (RITC)  
[www.idrc.ca/ritc/en/index.html](http://www.idrc.ca/ritc/en/index.html)  
RITC seeks “to create a strong research, funding, and knowledge base” for developing “effective tobacco control policies and programs that will minimize the threat of tobacco production and consumption to health and human development in developing countries.”

## Funding from Philanthropic Sources

A few private philanthropies have funded vigorous NGO advocacy – most prominently the Open Society Institute for the countries of the former Soviet Union, and the Rockefeller Foundation in South Asia (though not currently).

### Links to Private Philanthropic Sources of Funding

Open Society Institute and the Soros Foundations Network  
[www.soros.org/index.html](http://www.soros.org/index.html)

## Funding from the Tobacco Industry

Worldwide, the tobacco industry – and particularly Philip Morris – supports a public relations campaign to change its public image. The industry funds programs it claims are designed to prevent youth smoking. But, as the Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids declared: “The evidence is clear that, while Philip Morris and the other tobacco companies try to portray themselves as part of the solution to youth tobacco use, they remain the main cause of the problem.”

That is why, as tempting as the companies' offers of funding may seem, every experienced tobacco control organization in the world has learned to reject such funding.

In its series of special reports, *Behind the Smokescreen*, the CTFK describes some tobacco industry attempts to buy respectability and rebuild its corporate image through yet another deceptive marketing campaign: [www.tobaccofreekids.org/reports/smokescreen/](http://www.tobaccofreekids.org/reports/smokescreen/)

### Question 3. What additional allies outside the government will we need to achieve specific laws and policies?

The outside groups we have discussed will generally be helpful in the pursuit of all of your advocacy objectives. But you will need additional, particular support for each separate policy you intend to pursue.

#### Allies for Tobacco Tax Increases

If you are pursuing increases in tobacco taxes, it will be very helpful to have:

- Tax experts who can help you design tax proposals that will fit within your country's tax system, and will work to raise the prices of tobacco products in ways that encourage smokers to quit and discourage young people and other non-smokers from starting to smoke.
- Economists who can convince finance officials and parliamentarians that tax increases will increase tax revenues, even as they decrease tobacco consumption.
- Business leaders prepared to support tobacco tax increases, even from fear that new tax burdens otherwise will fall on them.
- Free market political party leaders who support tobacco tax increases, although they may oppose tax increases in general.

When they need to, advocates can make their case without experts. In South Africa, for example, advocates did not rely on experts to make the case for tax increases. They obtained the data themselves and presented it to the finance and other ministries. Later, support from experienced economists helped, but it was not essential for success.

In most countries and states that have adopted tobacco tax increases, tobacco control advocates have collaborated with powerful citizen groups. These groups range from labor organizations, to health care system leaders, to teacher associations. Any groups who might benefit from the revenues raised by new taxes are potential allies. Ideally, you will find such allies who also want to see a significant part of the new revenues dedicated to tobacco control programs.

#### Links to Research on Tobacco Control

International Tobacco Evidence Network (ITEN)

[www.tobaccoevidence.net/](http://www.tobaccoevidence.net/)

ITEN's mission is to:

- Facilitate communication among researchers and tobacco control experts.
- Promote cooperation in order to strengthen the capacity to manage research.
- Disseminate existing research based knowledge.
- Monitor tobacco control research activities with an international aspect.
- Encourage colleagues in low and middle income countries to undertake interdisciplinary analyses of tobacco, provide them with both technical and strategic advice, and help them to identify research priorities.
- Initiate tobacco control research projects with international aspects.

## Allies for Smoke-free Workplaces

You may find your strongest allies in advocating for smoke-free workplaces among business leaders who voluntarily adopted such standards for their offices – and found that smoke-free policies raise worker satisfaction and keep workplace costs down.

Similarly, restaurant and bar owners who voluntarily go smoke-free, or who operate in a city with smoke-free restaurant laws, can be important allies – if they are willing to say publicly that such ordinances are good for both businesses and workers.

If you can find no business owners of this opinion in your country, you may be able to call upon those in other countries. For example, tobacco control advocates in Sri Lanka asked U.S. business leaders who owned smoke-free establishments to write an open letter to Sri Lankan business leaders.

## Allies for Advertising Bans

Allies in marketing, advertising, and the media who support bans on tobacco advertising will prove extremely helpful to you. They can counter tobacco-company claims that advertising bans will hurt a nation's economy – and especially hurt advertising and media firms. These associates can argue, first, that public health concerns justify such bans. They can also point out that in countries that have banned cigarette advertising, such as Poland, other kinds of advertising have easily filled the gap. Advertising firms have not suffered.

You will also find helpful lawyers who will testify that ad bans are lawful, and economists who can argue that such bans will benefit the nation's economy on the whole.

## Question 4. What kinds of allies will we need inside the government?

*[In New Zealand,] you've got a minister of health who's highly supportive of the smoke-free legislation. You've got an associate minister of health who is Maori indigenous. She comes from a background of being a health provider so she understands a lot of the issues around smoking and health and she's highly supportive of programs.*

*– Shane Bradbrook, New Zealand*

### Inside Advocates

When we speak of “inside” advocates, we mean individuals within the government and others close to those within the government. So inside allies can include:

- People in the government who have the power to make the decisions we need.
- People in the government who can best influence the decision makers.
- People outside the government who can best influence those inside government. While these individuals are not in the government, we still call them “insiders” because of their influence.

In New Zealand, for example, Helen Clark, as health minister, was committed to tobacco control. Later, as prime minister, she had the power to propose New Zealand’s comprehensive tobacco control laws and the support to enact them.

In South Africa, Health Minister Dr. Nkosazana Zuma proved not only a skillful tobacco control advocate, but also a powerful political leader of the governing party – unlike many health ministers. President Nelson Mandela fully supported Minister Zuma’s tobacco control initiatives. South African tobacco control advocate Yussuf Saloojee described Zuma as a political “heavyweight” who had Mandela’s ear and could push her agenda effectively.

Brazil has made unique progress in Latin America, largely through the inside efforts of Vera Luisa da Costa e Silva and Tania Cavalcante. These individuals within CONAPREV (Tobacco Prevention Unit) and the INCA (National Institute of Cancer in Brazil) quietly but forcefully promoted strong national tobacco control legislation through their government roles.

In Slovenia, Vesna Kerstin-Petric, a counselor to the Ministry of Health, was an effective inside advocate for tobacco control. In Thailand, Dr. Hatai Chitanondh initiated the National Committee for Control of Tobacco Use when he was deputy secretary of the Ministry of Public Health. Both advocates played critical roles in achieving their country’s relatively strong tobacco control laws and programs.

In India, a special parliamentary committee was named to hold hearings and make recommendations on tobacco control legislation to the full Parliament. Its members listened carefully to NGO tobacco control advocates, then proposed an even stronger law than the government had drafted.

## Insiders

Individuals who enjoy the special trust of key government decision makers are insiders – sometimes called the “golden bullets” of tobacco control advocacy. Examples have included:

- Presidents’ wives who took a keen interest and played an important role in persuading their husbands to take leadership in supporting tobacco control laws.
- A Catholic archbishop who persuaded reluctant Catholic parliamentarians to cast the deciding votes in support of a strong advertising ban, allocating cigarette tax revenues to tobacco control programs.
- Trusted political consultants who convinced U.S. state governors that tobacco tax increases had strong support among voters of all parties.
- A leading national cancer authority whose personal relations with powerful members of all political parties led directly to overwhelming support of a national ad ban – and the total defeat of tobacco and advertising lobbies.
- A successful professional lobbyist for business interests who later became a lobbyist for a cancer society; he used the widespread parliamentary trust and respect he had gained over the years to counteract the influence of the tobacco lobby.

## Question 5. How can we most effectively interest and recruit the allies we need?

Once we have identified the allies we need, how do we engage them in our advocacy efforts? For each group we want to recruit, we ask a variation of our strategy planning questions:

**What do we want?**

**Who has the authority to decide that the organization will become involved in tobacco control advocacy?**

**What messages will move the organization's decision makers to act?**

**What messengers can best influence the leaders of the organization?**

**What are the most effective ways for our messengers to deliver our messages to the organization?**

### *What do we want?*

To get this organization to join our coalition or otherwise support our advocacy efforts.

### *Who has the authority to decide that the organization will become involved in tobacco control advocacy?*

Most groups have formal and informal leadership and decision making structures. Doctors' organizations, such as medical societies, have an elected president and board of directors. They also usually have informal leaders – doctors who have been active and influential in society activities.

An interested and motivated leader, or a small group of leaders, can sometimes persuade to our cause a whole organization that would otherwise be uninterested in tobacco control. In India, for example, the leader of the Jaipur tobacco control coalition personally knew and recruited the president of the automobile dealers' association. The entire association then became an active member of the coalition.

Similarly, a motivated president of a students' association, or the elected head of a residents' association, can bring that group into active tobacco control advocacy.

In the United States, the National Organization of Women (NOW) gratefully accepted tobacco industry money for many years to support its activities – and remained silent on tobacco control issues. Finally, one NOW president expressed outrage at the organization's ties to an industry that exploited women. NOW formally chose to decline all tobacco industry money, and shortly thereafter became active in tobacco control advocacy.

Many national voluntary health associations and foundations restrict their activities to their traditional support area – research – until their leaders advocate internally for change. The American Cancer Society in the United States for years placed a low priority on advocacy efforts, including tobacco control – until determined new leadership brought about a fundamental shift. The Society then embraced tobacco control advocacy as a core cancer control strategy.

## ***What messages will move the organization's decision makers to act?***

To persuade an organization to join our tobacco control alliance, we need to speak to the core interests of that organization. This means that a voluntary heart association needs to hear about tobacco's death toll from heart disease – not from cancer.

We need to tell consumer groups about the tobacco industry's history of consumer fraud and deception, and about its long standing influence over the governments of countries around the world.

Student groups need to hear about the marketing tactics of the tobacco industry that manipulate and seduce young people. Women's groups need to hear how tobacco marketers use cigarettes as symbols of women's liberation – for commercial gain.

Labor unions have often refused to join tobacco control efforts. Sometimes they are worried about tobacco workers' jobs. Sometimes they fear alienating union members who smoke. And sometimes they do not view tobacco use as a labor issue. We have seen that U.S. labor unions took action when new local laws protected some workers from passive smoking but not others, such as restaurant and bar workers. The message that unprotected workers were the target of unfair discrimination motivated their unions to act.

In Nigeria, Akinbode Olefumi's message that freedom from tobacco and tobacco marketing deception was a human right gained the attention and support of human rights groups.

We can use research to persuade development and anti-poverty NGOs that many whose jobs are related to tobacco face dismal working situations and extremely low wages. Research on the plight of those who grow tobacco appears in the CTFK report *Golden Leaf, Barren Harvest*. Research on groups employed in tobacco appears in PATH Canada's report *Tobacco and Poverty*.

*Tobacco and Poverty* and *Hungry for Tobacco* illustrate the point that tobacco employment and tobacco use further impoverish the poor. (You can find both reports at [www.pathcanada.org/english/pathcan.htm](http://www.pathcanada.org/english/pathcan.htm).) Researchers in Vietnam are comparing expenditures by the poor on tobacco to their expenditures on other items, and looking how the money could be better spent.

Basic public health messages will move some business leaders, as concerned citizens. But to engage business groups, you will need messages that speak to business interests. For example:

*Tobacco control is good for business. In general, effective tobacco control benefits the economy. As consumers spend less on tobacco, they have more money to spend on other consumer goods.*

In *Curbing the Epidemic: Governments and the Economics of Tobacco Control*, the World Bank reports that “the economic fears that have deterred policymakers from taking action are largely unfounded. Policies that reduce the demand for tobacco, such as a decision to increase tobacco taxes, would not cause long-term job losses in the vast majority of countries. Nor would higher tobacco taxes reduce tax revenues; rather, revenues would climb in the medium term. Such policies could, in sum, bring unprecedented health benefits without harming economies.” This publication is online at [www1.worldbank.org/tobacco/reports.asp](http://www1.worldbank.org/tobacco/reports.asp).

### **Another sample message for business groups is this:**

*Different tobacco control policies bring different business benefits. For example, smoke-free workplaces bring specific economic benefits to business owners. No city or country that has banned workplace smoking has ever repealed such regulations – they work to everyone's benefit, except cigarette marketers. Another example: Without higher revenues from tobacco tax increases, governments may well raise taxes on other businesses.*

To encourage smoke-free workplaces around the world, U.S. business owners – who were also American Cancer Society volunteers – wrote an open letter to Sri Lankan business leaders. They assured their Sri Lankan colleagues of the benefits of measures that make workplaces smoke-free. “We are American businessmen [and businesswomen],” they wrote. “We own or manage both local and national business enterprises [and] we want to assure you that tobacco control is both good for health and good for a nation’s economy and business.” “As employers,” they went on, “we find that tobacco control efforts have produced real economic benefits for us. Our workplaces are now smoke-free. That brings us benefits in worker productivity, less time lost by workers smoking on the job, less worker sickness and absence from work. Our nonsmoking employees enjoy the health benefits of smoke-free air.”

### **Messages to Persuade Advocates Concerned about Globalization to Engage in Tobacco Control Advocacy**

#### **Tobacco and Trade**

**Mele Smith**

***From the PATH Canada guide *A Burning Issue, Tobacco Control and Development; A Manual for Non-governmental Organizations****

- Multinational corporations dominate the tobacco business. Treaties that govern trade, investment and intellectual property protection have a profound effect on the practices of these companies and on the public health of the nations in which they are active.
- As smoking has declined in their domestic markets, the transnational tobacco companies, Philip Morris and British American Tobacco, have sought out new markets utilizing the tools of trade liberalization.
- This free trade of tobacco benefits shareholders and CEOs in the rich countries. Meanwhile, farmers in poorer nations are locked into producing cash crops like tobacco, rather than food. No corporation has benefited more from this trade liberalization than U.S. based Philip Morris, the largest tobacco corporation in the world with 16% of market share.
- There is a large body of evidence that very strongly supports the conclusion that trade liberalization increases consumption of cigarettes which in turn leads to more death and dying. Those who are suffering the most from tobacco related death and disease are the citizens of the global south, and those who are benefiting most from the free trade of tobacco are the shareholders of the global north.
- Tobacco is subject to the same trade agreements and rules as any other consumer product without consideration of public health concerns. However tobacco is unlike any other consumer product in that when used as intended it kills half of its long-term users.
- Subjecting tobacco to the same trade agreements and rules as any other consumer product has led to the forced opening of markets in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand resulting in the consumption of cigarettes being about 10 percent higher than it would have been if those countries’ markets had not been forced open. The status quo has led to reduced trade barriers that have had a significant impact on cigarette consumption in low and middle income countries, according to a joint study by the World Bank and the World Health Organization. And the status quo has led to many more preventable deaths.

Business Leaders for a Smoke-Free New England, a program sponsored by the American Cancer Society, is based on the premise that “business leaders are in a unique position to affect a lot of people.” Their website provides materials for developing smoke-free policies in the workplace, educational materials for employees and families, and information on how to find support services for employees who smoke and want to quit. You can find this program online at [www.cancer.org/docroot/COM/content/div\\_NE/COM\\_4\\_2x\\_Business\\_Leaders\\_for\\_a\\_Smoke-Free\\_New\\_England.asp?sitearea=COM](http://www.cancer.org/docroot/COM/content/div_NE/COM_4_2x_Business_Leaders_for_a_Smoke-Free_New_England.asp?sitearea=COM).

**Here is another message that speaks to business interests:**

*Tobacco controls are not anti-business. For example, the tobacco industry warns non-tobacco business leaders that advertising bans (on tobacco) will lead to advertising bans on other products, such as high-fat or sugared foods. This has never happened, even in countries that have banned tobacco advertising for years.*

Instead of supporting tobacco companies, business leaders need to recognize that the corrupt activities of these companies create distrust of all business. The wise course for ethical business leaders is to support tobacco controls and distance their businesses from the tobacco companies. It is in their interest to help isolate the tobacco companies as the pariahs they should be.

***What messengers can best influence the leaders of the organization?***

The most effective messengers to persuade a group to join tobacco control advocacy efforts are trusted present and past leaders of the group, and others viewed as professional or social peers. In Sri Lanka, the Medical Society became an active tobacco control advocate through the persuasion of the country’s leading psychiatrist. This individual is a former president of the medical society and current chair of its Health Promotion Committee.

Business leaders who are personally committed to tobacco control, perhaps through personal tragedy, are most likely to persuade other businessmen and businesswomen. For example, a noted women’s advocate can carry your message to a women’s group; a labor leader can speak with other union leaders; and so on.

Suppose such individuals are not available to serve as messengers. Then your strategy planning group will need to identify individuals committed to tobacco control to whom leaders of the group you seek as an ally are likely to listen – based on who they are and what their status is, as well as their words.

In the United States, advocates had little success convincing Hollywood screenwriters to stop romanticizing smokers in their films. The screenwriters did not want to hear messages from outsiders insensitive to their artistic freedom. Then they heard directly from Joe Eszterhas, who had written fourteen successful Hollywood movies, many of which featured characters that smoke. As a smoker, he believed that it was the right of every individual to smoke. His movies reflected this view. His opinion changed, however, when a lifetime of smoking resulted in cancer of the larynx. Eszterhas spent two years in and out of cancer wards. In a New York Times open letter, he appealed to his fellow screenwriters:

*So I say to my colleagues in Hollywood: what we are doing by showing larger than life movie stars smoking onscreen is glamorizing smoking. What we are doing by glamorizing smoking is unconscionable....A cigarette in the hands of a Hollywood star onscreen is a gun aimed at a 12 or 14 year old.*

## ***What are the most effective ways for our messengers to deliver our messages to the organization?***

To reach medical doctors, for example, the American Cancer Society/UICC guide suggests presenting our messages in media directed specifically to doctors:

- Panels at regular medical society meetings.
- Editorials in medical journals.
- Tobacco control teaching as part of the mandatory medical school curriculum.
- Open letters to doctors from past and present medical society presidents in medical society newsletters.

To reach other groups successfully, ask such questions as:

- What group events could our messengers use to make presentations to key group leaders?
- What journals, newsletters, and radio and TV programs are most popular and influential among the group's leaders and members?
- What mailing lists – regular and email – can our messengers use to reach group leaders?

### **Links to Specific Strategies for Engaging Various Groups**

*A Burning Issue: Tobacco Control and Development; A Manual for Non-governmental Organizations*, a PATH Canada guide.

[www.pathcanada.org/public/tcmanual.pdf](http://www.pathcanada.org/public/tcmanual.pdf)

Suggestions on how to interact with and educate children and adolescents about the harms of tobacco use appear on page 38 of this guide. Here also are guidelines for involving other kinds of groups with your advocacy efforts.

## Question 6. Should we organize a formal coalition? If so, who should be included? Who should not be included? How should our coalition be managed?

*While working with tobacco control...one of the things [that made it hard] was we didn't have a very united tobacco control movement.*

*– Shoba John, India*

The short answer to the first part of Question 6 is: Probably, **yes**.

Collaboration among individual allies and allied groups is among the most important elements of effective advocacy. It is also one of the most difficult elements. The reason is simple: collaboration is subject to all the difficulties of human interaction; distrust, envy, competition, egotism, ambition. To help overcome these difficulties, collaborating groups often need to create formal rules to govern their collaboration. Such formal collaborations are called coalitions.

Informal, loose alliances can produce important tobacco collaborations. The Framework Convention Alliance (FCA) is an effective “virtual” alliance of more than 180 diverse NGOs from around the world that came together to advocate for a strong WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control. Their coalition is one successful example of the benefits of informal collaboration with minimum rules and no hierarchy.

Canada has developed – more formally – one of the most effective national tobacco control coalitions. A founding member, Ken Kyle of the Canadian Cancer Society, writes about the building of this coalition in “The Canadian Tobacco Control Coalition.” Kyle also offers guidance based on the Canadian experience. His report appears in this guide as Appendix A.

Yet as critical as coalitions have proven to the tobacco control movement, tobacco control advocacy networks remain the movement’s life blood – or its sinews and muscle, as this text from “Smoke Signals” suggests.

### Links to Information on Coalition Building and Collaboration

*Smoke Fighting: A Smoking Control Movement Building Guide* (ACS/UICC, 1985).

[www.strategyguides.globalink.org/guide15.htm](http://www.strategyguides.globalink.org/guide15.htm)

This ACS publication discusses in detail such issues as the benefits and difficulties of formal tobacco control coalitions and informal networking. It also offers lessons in organizing and leading coalitions.

*Advocacy for Social Justice: A Global Action and Reflection Guide* (2001)

[www.advocacy.org/publications.htm](http://www.advocacy.org/publications.htm)

This book is based on the experiences of the OXFAM/Advocacy Institute Advocacy Learning Initiative. Both the book and its companion website (which is accessible through the link provided above) provide readers with valuable lessons on collaboration.

*The Democracy Owners' Manual: A Practical Guide to Changing the World,*

by Jim Shultz (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, USA, 2002).

You can purchase this book online at [www.democracctr.org/resources/manual/](http://www.democracctr.org/resources/manual/) Veteran NGO social justice advocate Jim Shultz offers sound guidance for forming and managing coalitions.

## **Tobacco Control Advocacy Networks: The Sinews and Muscle of Tobacco Control Movements Adapted from “Smoke Signals” ([www.strategyguides.globalink.org/guide10.htm](http://www.strategyguides.globalink.org/guide10.htm))**

All successful local and national tobacco control movements begin with a handful of passionate, dedicated advocates. They may be:

- Doctors moved to passion by the endless lines of patients with tobacco-caused disease they cannot cure.
- Scientists energized by the evidence that unfolds in their studies.
- Public health or consumer advocates outraged by the predatory behavior of the tobacco companies.
- Teachers helplessly watching teenagers succumb to the appeals of tobacco advertising.
- Others from diverse walks of life aroused by the death of a loved one from tobacco use.

These individuals may be credentialed or self-taught; public figures or private; in public office or volunteers. What distinguishes them is this: each is so personally committed to tobacco control that he or she is prepared to subordinate the demands of profession and family to the cause. These persons initiate, organize, energize, and excite the movement.

As Dr. Nigel Gray of the UICC has observed, historically, only a handful of committed activists have inspired even the great voluntary associations and international health organizations.

As they find each other, come to know and trust each other, work together, reach out to still other friends, coworkers, and family members, a network spontaneously arises.

Networks build strength and unity by connecting individual activists, enabling them to engage in joint action and to draw upon each other's knowledge, experience, and judgment. When properly tended, networks can aggregate the energy of lone individuals, reinforce their commitment, empower them, and sustain them through discouraging times.

Too often, when we think of building a tobacco control movement, we focus on the important role of coalitions. Yes, coalitions play important advocacy roles. But coalitions are too often formal structures without purpose or energy.

One of the great achievements of smoking control networks is that their members activate and energize the organizations they lead or to which they belong.

We can think of tobacco control networks as the sinews and muscle of a tobacco control movement, coalitions as their skeletons. Of course, without sinews and muscle, skeletons are empty shells.

## ***Government and NGO Collaboration***

No country has made significant progress in tobacco control without effective collaboration between government officials committed to tobacco control and non-government tobacco control advocates.

***When we established our NGO coalition in South Africa, we deliberately excluded the government from being part of the coalition, because one of our jobs is lobbying and the government can't lobby itself. However, this did not preclude close collaboration with the health ministry.***

*– Yussuf Saloojee, South Africa*

Only governments can propose and enact tobacco control laws. Only NGOs can mobilize political support and pressure governments to take action, when necessary. Tobacco control advocates can give government officials vital information. NGOs can also help them write the most effective laws and regulations. In exchange, government officials can give NGOs vital political intelligence to help them advocate effectively.

Advocate David Bristol thought an alliance between his St. Lucia coalition and the government might be beneficial:

*Our hope really for the local coalition is that we would continue to have a very, very strong association between the Cancer Society, the Ministry of Health through the Health Education Bureau, and I think we need to extend to the Ministry of Trade and now try to get not just them but the Ministry of Finance, who would look at taxation issues and get them on board.*

Should government officials and NGOs be members of the same tobacco control coalition? Sometimes, but not always. Especially when a coalition must put pressure on the government, NGOs need to meet, plan, and act independently. Even the most dedicated government official may say: “Don’t criticize us. Trust us to do the right thing. Criticism will only anger government leaders and turn them against you.”

This might sometimes be sound political advice, but it more likely reflects the desire of government officials – like everyone else – to avoid conflict and criticism. NGO leaders need to make independent decisions about whether open criticism of the government is strategically necessary. In the last section of this guide, “Lessons in Movement Leadership,” we explore the need for such “outside” pressure.

Finally, the secret of effective tobacco control collaboration depends more on the quality of leadership than on any ideal structure. In the next section, we discuss the kinds of leadership that characterize successful tobacco control movements, formal or informal.

The complementary, but contrasting, roles of officials and NGOs, and the importance of maintaining the “insider/outsider” distinction, are also discussed in chapter four, “Foundation for Success: Capacity Building”, of the World Health Organization’s *Tobacco Control Legislation: An Introductory Guide*, [www5.who.int/tobacco](http://www5.who.int/tobacco).

## Question 7. What roles do leaders need to play to help build and maintain an effective movement?

### Essential Categories of Tobacco Control Leadership

We need fighters, both inside and outside the government, to achieve our policy objectives – but they cannot do this alone. To effectively challenge and overcome the resistance of the tobacco lobby, a national tobacco control movement usually needs leaders that fill several roles. The categories essential for effective leadership include spark plugs, visionaries, strategists, statespersons, experts, strategic communicators, and movement builders – as well as the inside advocates we discussed earlier.

Each leader who falls into one of these categories brings a special set of skills to tobacco control. Spark plugs ignite movements. Visionaries raise our view of the possible. Statespersons elevate the cause in the minds of the public and the decision makers. Strategists chart our road maps to victory. Communicators deploy the rhetoric to inflame and direct public passion toward the movement’s objectives. Inside advocates understand how to turn power structures and established rules and procedures to advantage. Movement builders generate optimism and goodwill; they infect others with dedication to the common good. When these leadership roles come together in harmony, the result is a successful movement.

#### *Spark plugs*

One of the best known citizen advocates in the United States, Ralph Nader, calls outside advocates “spark plugs.” A spark plug is the small energy source that ignites a whole engine and sets it in motion. Every tobacco control movement – whether at the national, state, or local level – needs spark plugs.

**Spark plugs are agitators: They tell the truth to those in power.** They operate outside conventional political (or other) establishments, free of the ties that bind “insiders.” Spark plugs can hold our governments and other established organizations to their own rhetoric of mission and commitment. They can ignite a movement, coalition, or organization, and keep energy flowing through it. Even an outraged community may not spring to action without the goad a spark plug provides.

And spark plugs thrive on controversy, as Stanton A. Glantz and Edith D. Balbach show in *Tobacco War: Inside the California Battles*:

*Tobacco control advocates need to seek ways to keep the public informed and involved on the tobacco issue. If advocates instead retreat to playing only the inside political game, they will probably fail. They must be willing to withstand and embrace the controversy that the tobacco industry and its allies will generate.*

The spark plug for a tobacco control movement may or may not have professional advocacy training. David Bristol in St. Lucia is an oncologist; so is Martina Poetscke-Langer in Germany. Akinbode Oluwafemi, in Nigeria, is a former journalist with the Nigerian Guardian. Shoba John was trained as a community organizer; she is now a tobacco control advocate in India. Yussuf Saloojee in South Africa is a biochemist. Cornel Radu Loghin in Romania is a sociologist. Konsantin Krasovsky in the Ukraine is a marine geologist. Inoussa Saouna, who leads both a national coalition in Niger and a multi-country West African coalition, is a journalist. (He was fired from his job at a radio station for attacking the tobacco industry.) Saifuddin Ahmed, who coordinates an alliance in Bangladesh, has a degree in accounting and had only one year of NGO experience before he helped start the alliance.

What do these individuals – these spark plugs – have in common? A passion for tobacco control, and tirelessness in pursuing that goal. Determination in the face of countless frustrations and discouragements. Confidence in reaching out to a wide range of individuals. Willingness to do the hard work needed to bring people together and keep them working together in harmony.

### ***Visionaries***

Tobacco control advocacy campaigns take flight through the imagination of visionaries. Visionaries expand our horizons. They set goals we never dreamed of or considered realistic. Visionaries challenge conventional views of the possible, aim high, take risks, and rethink priorities. Vision often comes from outsiders unencumbered by habitual movement thinking. For example, tobacco control visionaries saw the need to abandon traditional public health education and turn to lobbying – in particular, policy advocacy – as the central strategic path to tobacco control.

### ***Strategists***

Strategists sort out what parts of the vision we might realistically attain, and then they develop a road map to get there. They anticipate obstacles, including those raised by unruly coalition members. Strategists provide guidance to insure the movement remains headed in the right direction.

### ***Statespersons***

Statespersons are nationally known and respected, which means the media and government decision makers listen to them very carefully. They are the “larger than life” public figures – scientific, medical, and political leaders. They are seen as not affected by politics. Statespersons radiate credibility for the movement far beyond its core supporters.

### ***Experts***

Community-based advocates sometimes disdain experts with credentials as “elitists.” However, the tobacco control movement is grounded on a solid foundation of science – economic as well as biomedical science – and authoritative experts built that foundation. Experts on your tobacco control leadership team can ensure that all new discoveries and public policy positions are based on facts and are well reasoned. Their credibility makes it much easier to convince the public that the tobacco industry is wrong when they call advocates “unthinking zealots.”

### ***Strategic Communicators***

Strategic communicators are the public’s teachers. They are masters of the sound bite – the sharp, short quotes that frame your messages so the public remembers them. They translate complex scientific data, complex public policy, and basic concepts of truth and justice into accurate, powerful metaphorical messages whose significance the broad public can instantly grasp.

## ***Movement Builders***

Movement builders are the quiet heroes of any successful tobacco control movement. They reach out to draw in new allies. They recruit new members and make them feel welcomed, valued, and needed – and they make longtime movement members feel the same way. Movement builders know that a movement is weakest when it seeks only a narrow, homogeneous base. They work to bridge generations, to link local movements with national and international advocacy groups, and to create space for knowledge gained through experience. They are experts at initiating new approaches to participation so each voice is heard and its requests heeded.

Builders are also healers. They can help you avoid organizational hurdles. They will convene and facilitate meetings, and seek to explore differences through civil discourse and debate. And they will help you steer clear of insensitive behaviors that could divide your organization.

## **A Word of Caution**

While leaders who take these roles may be essential to the success of most national tobacco control campaigns, they do not always play their parts perfectly.

Outside spark plugs can become addicted to protest. They may accomplish nothing if they become too passionate. They may lash out angrily at colleagues. They may seem too militant. They may let the adrenaline of battle replace the pursuit of concrete policy goals and objectives. Or they may demand too much – the spark plug can become disdainful of even the most reasonable strategic compromise and come away with next to nothing.

Inside advocates walk a fine line – between faithfully representing those they speak for, and too eagerly seizing opportunities that foreclose broad participation and full deliberation by alliance members. Inside advocates may accomplish little if they are seduced by the game of negotiation and the lure of the deal. They may begin to cherish agreement for its own sake. They may develop entangling relationships with negotiators on the other side. And they may accept too little at the negotiating table and come away with next to nothing.

Visionaries can lose touch with reality and clash with strategists. Statespersons can become blinded by ego. Communicators can degenerate into propagandists, manipulate science and the truth, and give experts a bad reputation. If the movement fails to address these leadership conflicts when they appear, they can arrest tobacco control momentum. Your potentially dynamic and complementary leadership can become a nightmare of dysfunctional conflict. And your national movement can disappear in a downward spiral of distrust, frustration, and anger.

We have learned that our leaders need to strive to balance advocacy and detachment. Sociologist John Lifton describes these essential qualities as “sufficient detachment to bring to bear one’s intellectual discipline on the subject, and sufficient moral passion to motivate and humanize the work.”

## Question 8. What are some of the most important lessons to learn in movement leadership?

Volumes of lessons in policy advocacy are readily available through GLOBALink and many other tobacco control websites. There you can find sound strategic and tactical guides for every conceivable advocacy challenge. Here, then, let us look at a few of the central strategic issues in building, sustaining, and winning a national or regional tobacco control-policy campaign.

### Fight

Perhaps the most important lesson many of us have learned over the nearly half century of the tobacco wars – and often learned painfully – is that tobacco control, unlike most public health struggles, is truly a war. We are fighting an enemy: the tobacco industry.

And we have had science, truth, and public health firmly on our side. But none of these is enough to overcome the economic and political power of the international tobacco lobby – for our enemy is willing to corrupt science, lie, and avoid taking responsibility for the human misery and death it causes.

So we have had to learn to fight, not just fiercely but skillfully. We have had to learn the lobbyist's trade, and to understand that lobbying in the public interest can be not only justified, but also noble. We have learned to approach the mass media as one of our most important resources in exposing the corrupt practices of the tobacco industry – and in publicly shaming government officials who have shunned their fundamental responsibilities for the public health.

### Flexibility

Fight has proved a sound rule. It has served well in many tobacco control battles in many countries. But every rule has its exceptions. One of the most important advocacy leadership lessons we have learned is this: The right strategy at one stage of tobacco control development, in one place in the world, may be completely wrong for another country at a different stage in its own movement.

When Witold Zatonski, almost by himself, launched a campaign to persuade the Polish government to enact a national advertising ban, international advocacy experts told him he must follow two rules without fail:

1. Make the corruption of the transnational tobacco companies the central theme of your advocacy.
2. Accept no compromises – if your Parliament will not enact a total ban on advertising, oppose their bill.

But Zatonski considered the state of his country. He observed how Poland was handling its new found freedom from Soviet dominance. And he politely rejected this advice. Instead of attacking the tobacco companies, he chose to embrace a more positive outlook: He adopted the theme that public health was a transcendent democratic value. In 1995, when the Parliament was prepared to enact only modest tobacco control measures – far from a total ban on tobacco advertisement – Zatonski knew that, in Poland, such a bill would open the door for stronger laws in the future.

And six years later, on December 5, 2002, Zatonski sent out this message on GLOBALink:

*It gives me great pleasure to impart to you perhaps one of the most important news for good health of Poles. Last night I looked over Polish newspapers and magazines. I did not find any tobacco ad. A year before (on 5th of December) tobacco ads disappeared off billboards throughout Poland, and yesterday tobacco ads disappeared off all written mass media in our country.*

*Poland has become one more country free of tobacco advertising. Besides, tobacco companies are now banned from sponsoring sports, cultural, educational, health and socio-political activities and events. (This included a ban on political contributions from tobacco companies.)*

Then he graciously added:

*I should like to thank all our friends all over the world, who made our success possible.*

This does not mean that advocates should ever compromise too soon. It means that the political judgment of a strong, experienced country advocate may well be sounder than the counsel of an outsider, however experienced.

In South Africa, after the end of racial apartheid, Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma was faced with the draft of a tobacco control bill that comprised little more than a series of modest label warnings. International experts had cautioned advocates that such labels were worse than useless.

But the health minister and other South African advocates decided otherwise – for South Africa. Zuma believed that passing the legislation and putting warning labels on cigarettes would generate media attention to the hazards of tobacco use – and to the need to ban cigarette advertising. Zuma was right. She reported that even illiterate smokers saw that something on the package label had changed; they demanded to know what the change was about. Public awareness and support grew, and South Africa enacted an advertising ban three years later.

## Opportunism

In policy advocacy, opportunism is not a character flaw, but a virtue. We can turn even apparent disaster into opportunity.

For example, in the Geneva negotiations on the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, the U.S., German, and Japanese delegations opposed critical tobacco control policies, including a ban on advertising. Tobacco control advocates have been outraged at their inflexibility. But hard line – seen as the arrogance of power – has produced a surge of international resentment, and has provoked developing regions to react. These regions are taking an even stronger stand in support of such policies – and following through with strong national legislation!

But opportunism needs to function within an existing strategic framework. Without this structure, opportunism can easily lead advocates astray from their priority objectives.

Tobacco control advocates have spoken with justified pride for many years of “the global tobacco control movement.” Our movement combines deep values not only of public health but also of social justice. Yet, as these pages amply demonstrate, strong movements do not arise spontaneously; they take wise leadership and hard work. This guide testifies to our faith in the strength of the tobacco control movement, and in the emerging tobacco control leadership in virtually every country to build that movement, with only this modest guidance from those who have gone before.

# Appendix A

## The Canadian Tobacco Control Coalition

By Ken Kyle

Canadian Cancer Society

**Success in Canada** – Hard work by Canada’s national tobacco control coalition has been a critically important component for many successes in tobacco control advocacy during the past fifteen years. Achievements include strong restrictions on tobacco advertising and promotion, high tobacco taxes, numerous secondhand smoke laws, prominent picture based tobacco package labeling, increased funds for government programming including mass media denormalizing advertising, defense of tobacco laws in court, and consequent rapidly declining smoking prevalence rates.

**The industry** – The tobacco industry is a formidable foe. It opposes effective government action to control the tobacco epidemic. The industry is unique; its products are harmful when used as intended. No other industry is so irresponsible on such a large scale – it kills its best customers.

**Government** – Governments can never be taken for granted as a natural ally in tobacco control. Sometimes government officials indicate they have to treat this industry just like any other regulated industry. Some government officials say they must represent tobacco executives, cigarette factory workers, and tobacco farmers as much as oncologists, public health workers, and victims of cancer caused diseases. All are voters. The political cycle is only a few years – not the 20 to 30 year cycle for tobacco-caused cancer and heart disease.

**The solution** – The armory to counteract the onslaught is the “comprehensive approach” to tobacco control – also called the “multi-pronged attack.” A variety of measures must be implemented simultaneously: fiscal measures, health promotion, cessation programs, and so forth. However, the indispensable component in the arsenal is legislative reform – changing the social environment through government regulation.

**The coalition** – Canada’s national tobacco control coalition has worked under a variety of names over the last seventeen years. It is now the Canadian Coalition for Action on Tobacco (CCAT). Much of its success has been through a partnership of health charities together with aggressive anti-tobacco organizations funded by government.

**Mission Statement** – CCAT works to coordinate public policy advocacy in order to persuade the federal government to introduce measures aimed at reducing tobacco use and its consequences.

**Objectives** – CCAT has four objectives:

1. Prevent tobacco use among Canadians.
2. Encourage and support smokers in quitting.
3. Protect people from tobacco smoke.
4. Ensure the accountability of the tobacco industry.

## **Coalition operating procedures:**

**Membership** – The Coalition is currently composed of 6 voting member organizations and a group of affiliate members (without voting privileges). The six current voting members are:

- Canadian Cancer Society
- Canadian Council for Tobacco Control
- Canadian Lung Association
- Heart and Stroke Foundation of Canada
- Non-Smokers’ Rights Association
- Physicians for a Smoke Free Canada

The current affiliate members are:

- Various national professional associations such as the Canadian Medical Association and the Canadian Dental Association
- Provincial tobacco control coalitions and grassroots organizations

Both voting and affiliate members become part of the coalition by officially endorsing the CCAT’s platform (i.e., the mission statement, objectives, and measures).

**Platform** – The coalition’s platform cannot be altered without the explicit authorization of all voting members. Nonvoting members must also be approached for endorsement of the platform in the event that changes are made.

**Individual campaigns** – Members of the coalition are within their rights to act independently on their own separate individual campaigns, without the consent of other members of the coalition, provided they do not use coalition assets (i.e., coalition name, letterhead, etc). Coalition members can also work in partnership with other members of the coalition on campaigns that do not utilize coalition assets.

**CCAT campaigns** – The decision to embark upon a particular campaign that utilizes coalition assets must be made on a unanimous basis. That is, all six voting members of the coalition must agree to proceed with the campaign before coalition assets can be utilized. Moreover, unanimous agreement is required regarding the approval of content of communications documents relating to a campaign (e.g., press releases, reports, ads, etc). In the event that one of the six voting members makes the decision not to be part of a particular campaign (veto) – the use of the coalition assets would consequently not be permitted. This particular provision will be revisited.

Affiliate member and grassroots organizations may be asked to participate/lend their name to certain campaigns. They are free to intervene when they wish on a particular campaign, and on any particular aspect of that campaign (e.g., focusing upon a single measure within the campaign). The decision to join a campaign, and the extent to which it wishes to be active, is strictly up to the organization in question.

CCAT does not need to seek the approval of, or consult with, the affiliate members insofar as routine, day-to-day campaign operations and tactics are concerned.

**Further reading** – Detailed information and analysis can be found in two excellent books, “Smoke & Mirrors: The Canadian Tobacco War” by Rob Cunningham, International Development Research Centre, 1966 (also available in French and Russian) and “Tobacco Control: Comparative Politics in the United States and Canada” by Donley T. Studlar, Broadview Press, 2002. Two excellent international award winning videos on CCAT campaigning are *Lobbying For Lives: Lessons From The Front* and *Up From The Ashes*, produced by MediCinema Ltd., Toronto, Ontario, in association with the Canadian Cancer Society.

**Ten Commandments** – Below are some suggestions that have worked in Canada in coalition management:

## Ten Commandments for Tobacco Control Coalitions

### 1. Ensure that building and maintaining a coalition is not the primary objective

- Ensure that the goal is to reduce tobacco use – not just to have a smooth running coalition.

### 2. Keep the coalition loose and flexible

- Negotiate an agreement on clear objectives.
- Ensure decisions are not constrained by the lowest common denominator.
- Involve both formal organizations and informal networks.
- Involve a diversity of groups if possible.
- Keep networking.

### 3. Focus on “leadership” more than “management”

- There must be a coordinating group of respected leaders.
- Take risks – “If the creator had a purpose in equipping us with a neck, he surely meant us to stick it out.” (author, Arthur Koestler)
- “No one ever managed men into battle.” – (Captain Grace Hopper, U.S. Navy)
- “Leaders are movers and shakers, original, inventive, unpredictable, imaginative, full of surprises that discomfit the enemy in war and the main office in peace. Managers, on the other hand, are safe, conservative, predictable, conforming...team players, dedicated to the establishment.” (American classics professor and WWII veteran Dr. Hugh Nibley)

### 4. Be proactive

- Be on site where the action is – show up at news events, government hearings, etc. to do media advocacy.
- Continually re-set the agenda for action
- “Planning is the enemy of opportunity.” (Dr. Nigel Gray, Past President, International Union Against Cancer )
- However, do plan to put in place the necessary resources to take advantage of opportunities as they arise.
- “Don’t just have a strategic plan; be a strategic organization.” (Julie White, CEO, Canadian Cancer Society)
- Scan the political environment.
- Find new initiatives to keep momentum.
- “Hope is neither passive waiting nor is it the unrealistic forcing of circumstances that cannot occur. It is like the crouched tiger, which will jump only when the moment for jumping has come.” (psychoanalyst Erich Fromm)

### 5. Find professional lobbying expertise

- Hire those with the necessary lobbying skills.
- Determine the distinct roles of staff and volunteers.
- Be non-partisan in approach.

### 6. Remember “without involvement, there is no commitment” (author Steve Covey)

- Plan communication activities.
- Be careful with confidential information.

- 7. Don't get out too far in front of your own forces – or you may be mistaken as the enemy and shot in the back**
  - Get coalition agreements up front.
  - Adapt the organization to the way that advocacy works – not the other way around.
- 8. Keep proper perspective**
  - A sense of humor always helps.
  - No one is indispensable; “in the long run, we are all dead.” (economist John Maynard Keynes) – non-smokers as well as smokers.
  - Evaluate collective results.
- 9. Recognize collaborate achievements**
  - Check egos at the door – be dedicated to the joint effort, not self promotion.
  - Share the credit; “failure is an orphan; success has many fathers.”
  - Don't be dogmatic; it's the tobacco industry that demands absolute proof.
- 10. Use best practices (lessons learned)**
  - Talk to the veterans.
  - Call on international colleagues for help.
  - Use the UICC's GLOBALink for communication.
  - Attend and participate in the World Conferences on Tobacco or Health.

## Appendix B

### Ten Ways To Kill a Citizen Movement

By Byron Kennard, from *Not Man Apart*, June 1983

As a veteran community organizer, I know a lot about how to start citizen movements, but only recently did it occur to me that I probably know just as much about how to bump them off.

All I have to do is to count my battle scars and recall how I got most of them. If my experience is any guide, far more people are driven out of citizen movements by their own dear brothers and sisters in the cause than by all the shenanigans of the enemy put together.

Here is how it works. Suppose you want to kill a citizen movement and you come to me for expert advice. I would suggest first that you join it and then proceed to follow these ten basic, simple rules, any one of which will drain the vitality out of a movement faster than you can say Ronald Reagan.

1. **Forget your origins.** Citizen movements for social change nearly always originate in humble, obscure, or disreputable circumstances. Think of the Wobblies, the early labor organizers, who were jailed, deported, and even massacred for their opposition to industrial abuses. Think of Rosa Parks refusing to take a seat in the back of the bus. Think of the bra burners who endured derision and scorn to help launch the feminist movement, or of the housewives who chained themselves to trees rather than allow the trees to be bulldozed. Later on, when the movement is off the ground and running, these origins become embarrassing to the careerists who have latched onto it in search of gold and glory. At this point, it becomes necessary to rewrite history in order to drop the identity of the movement's founders down the memory hole.

It is said that revolutions eat their fathers. Citizen movements do something rather worse: they forget their mothers. The revolutionary who gets beheaded is at least memorialized by history, but you can plow through most history books without finding a clue to the identity of the small bands of volunteer activists – usually women, in my experience – who initiate needed social change.

2. **Put experts in the driver's seat.** Volunteers and generalists may have been good enough to organize the movement, but they aren't good enough to run it. So when money starts to come in, it is time to kick the volunteers and generalists out and to hire "qualified" persons, preferably someone with a Ph.D. in physics, economics, or an Ivy League law degree. (Please note: It is extremely important that such persons be untainted by any direct experience in community organizing. If you have a plethora of job applicants, it may be necessary to employ this test. Put each of the applicants into a paper sack. Only those who cannot organize their way out will be eligible for employment.)
3. **Get serious about your work.** I mean, real serious. Work too hard. Put in extremely long hours. Practice looking grim and depressed. If possible, grow morbid. When you have mastered all this, persist in calling your colleagues' attention to the fact of your martyrdom. Broadly hint that if they were as serious about the cause as you, they would emulate your example. If this doesn't make them feel sufficiently bad, you might want to go a step further and physically maim yourself. For example, you might shoot yourself in the foot. Screaming in pain, you then demand that your colleagues drop whatever they are doing and rush to aid and comfort you as you suffer from this needless and self-inflicted wound.

4. ***Adopt impossibly high and rigid standards of personal conduct, not only for yourself, but for others too.*** Human frailty has no place in a citizen movement. Whenever it rears its ugly head, you must be prepared to smash it to smithereens. Even slight deviations from your standards must not escape punishment. If, for example, you catch a nutrition activist eating a hot dog in a fast food restaurant, condemn him on the spot for the Judas that he is (neglecting, of course, to mention that you popped in to buy a pack of cigarettes).
5. ***Motivate others by applying guilt.*** If a group is working to save endangered species, attack it for its insensitivity to the poor. If they are working to help the poor, attack them for their insensitivity to endangered species. Whatever you do, stick them in a no win situation. Once they perceive that their work is futile, they will, of course, redouble their efforts.
6. ***Talk a lot about the need to cooperate and to share, but for heaven's sake, don't actually do it.*** What you actually should do is attempt to dominate all proceedings through the force of your intellect and personality. However, should you encounter other persons who are foolish enough really to cooperate and share, by all means, take them for everything they're worth.
7. ***Get yourself into a dither and stay there.*** Become over excited. Remember, the end of the world is coming and we haven't got much time. Thus, to demonstrate dedication, everybody should run about like a chicken with its head cut off. If some people in the movement are striving to work calmly and deliberately, making them agitated and anxious should become your priority task.
8. ***Whatever you do, never share any credit.*** Look, it's perfectly clear that the whole thing was your idea in the first place. And nobody, living or dead, contributed anything really important to you. So why should you share the credit? If, through some terrible miscarriage of justice, other people in the movement begin receiving credit, try to grab it from them. Or try spreading the word that they really don't deserve it. If these techniques don't work to your satisfaction, fly into a sick rage and kick nearby objects or people. (Please note: Regrettably, there's no guarantee that these techniques will actually divert credit and recognition away from others and toward yourself. However, such techniques are almost certain to detract from what pride and joy the recognition might give those receiving it. This is a small pleasure, to be sure, but by this time you will have learned not to sneeze at small things.)
9. ***Remember that intensity of commitment is best measured by the amount of incivility you display.*** Here again, little things mean a lot. For example, you should never be on time for meetings. But when you do arrive, be sure to get interrupted by telephone calls at least once every five minutes. The rest of the time should be consumed by your talking as loudly as possible in accusatory tones. The thrust of your comments should never vary. Again and again, you must make clear that both the truth and the democratic process will be gravely damaged unless you get your way. Throw a wild card or two into the agenda and insist that old questions which have previously been resolved be reopened. Having made these comments, leave the meeting early without helping to clean up the coffee cups or put the room in order. Now these are fine points, I know, but if you are going to kill a social movement, you might as well do it in style.
10. ***Lastly, you must avoid doing any real work for the movement while creating the widespread impression that you are giving your all.*** Scrupulous fulfillment of these ten rules will demand all your time and energy, so none will be left to fulfill any duties to the movement. But don't let this stop you from assuming as much responsibility as you can get. Insist on being part of everything. If possible, try to be put in charge. Then take great care not to deliver on any of your obligations and commitments. Should others have the gall to point out the discrepancy between your responsibility and your performance, observe in hushed and sorrowful tones how painful and demoralizing this is to you, especially after all you've done. Then nail them to the wall by asking this key question: Don't they realize that we've all got to stick together?

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