



TOBACCO CONTROL POLICY a handbook for advocates CAMPAIGNS

- GATHER information
- SET objectives
- BUILD partnerships
- DEVELOP legislation
- KNOW “bottom line”
- IDENTIFY policy champion
- KNOW political landscape
- UNDERSTAND tobacco industry
- DEVELOP clear messages
- PLAN strategies
- DISCREDIT, PREEMPT and COUNTER tobacco industry
- FORMULATE a campaign plan
- RUN campaign
- MONITOR and EVALUATE progress
- CELEBRATE success and REMAIN engaged

CAMPAIGN FOR TOBACCO-FREE KIDS

December 2013

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INTRODUCTION

The Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) is the world's first global public health treaty designed to implement evidence-based measures to reduce tobacco use and exposure to tobacco smoke. When effectively implemented, the FCTC is a powerful tool to reduce the devastating global consequences of tobacco products on health, lives and economies.

Advocates around the world have successfully waged campaigns to win passage of national and sub-national policies that protect millions of people from the harms of tobacco. Tobacco companies have tremendous influence and resources at their disposal to block tobacco control advocacy efforts, so a successful campaign requires good planning, strategic thinking and determination. To achieve the goals articulated in the Framework Convention for Tobacco Control (FCTC), advocates need to continue to strengthen their skills to better mobilize support, persuade key decision-makers, and defeat tobacco industry interference in the adoption and implementation of effective laws and policies.

A policy advocacy campaign is a planned process with key elements that need to be undertaken to achieve success. This handbook is designed to serve as a reference tool for advocates working on campaigns to enact strong, effective tobacco control policies. It provides guidance on the key elements of successful tobacco control policy advocacy campaigns.

ELEMENTS OF AN ADVOCACY CAMPAIGN

A successful tobacco control advocacy campaign emerges from focused work in several key areas. Each of these key areas – the core elements of a tobacco control advocacy campaign – is detailed below.

Gather Background Information

To be effective, a policy campaign must be based on objective facts and figures regarding the health impacts and costs associated with tobacco use. Gather current and authoritative data about the nature and extent of tobacco use and key influences on use, e.g. levels of knowledge on health harms, exposure to tobacco advertising, smoking in public places and low tobacco prices, etc.

Before beginning a campaign, advocates should investigate and develop a clear understanding of existing tobacco control laws. If laws are already in place, obtain copies of them, familiarize yourself with the language, and talk to those responsible for their implementation.

Advocates should also find out about any previous tobacco control campaigns – even if they were unsuccessful. Interview key leaders and ask them for details about the legislative process and key decision-makers, the opposition and the tactics they used, and what worked and what could have been done differently in the campaign. Having this information will inform the development of your campaign.

Set Science-based Advocacy Objectives

The goal of the FCTC is to reduce tobacco use and save lives. The FCTC lays out a comprehensive array of tobacco control measures and implementing guidelines to steer countries toward effective implementation of the treaty. These should be used as a foundation for any tobacco control policy initiatives pursued in a country and form the basis for your policy objectives.

Objectives help to clarify the change you want to see. Advocacy objectives should be specific, measurable and time-limited statements of action. An objective should include three main elements:

- **Policy “actor” or decision-maker** – The entity with the power to convert the tobacco control campaign objective into action, e.g., a national parliament, a sub-national legislature, or a government agency.

- **Policy “action” or decision** – The action required to achieve the objective; for example, a ban smoking in all indoor workplaces, public places and public transport.
- **Timeline and degree of change** – The date by when the objective will be achieved (e.g., by 2014). Some advocacy objectives also indicate the degree of change, or a quantitative measure of change, desired in the policy action.

Example: By June 30, 2014, the Parliament in country X will adopt a comprehensive smoke-free law that bans smoking in all indoor workplaces, public places and public transport.

Build Strong Partnerships

Successful policy advocacy campaigns are usually the result of hard work by groups of people and organizations that share a common goal. These groups are generally led by a small partnership of core members and local experts who agree to join forces for a common cause. The leadership group should be comprised of organizations with a range of skills, including access and ability to engage in dialogue with decision-makers at all levels and a strong knowledge of the policy environment, supporting data, and the policy issue itself. These partners will also be responsible for reaching out to a broader network of organizations and individuals who can provide added value via their access to stakeholders and their stature in the public and policy arenas.

Successful campaigns also rely on a broader network of committed advocates and active supporters. Advocacy networks are useful and powerful tools for achieving shared goals. Building advocacy networks for tobacco control presents an excellent opportunity for working with groups or organizations that may not be traditional tobacco control allies but who share a policy goal with you.

By accessing organizations or individuals with different expertise or experience, advocacy networks are able to carry out wide-ranging sets of advocacy actions such as public education presentations, attending hearings, writing letters or making calls to decision-makers, where one organization acting alone might not be able to deliver such a combination. Networks also allow advocacy actions to take place at various levels, as different partners use their access and influence within different levels of decision-making, including community leaders, local legislators and/or national policymakers. Because the level of commitment and engagement may vary dramatically among network members, it is important to understand how and when to engage network members at strategic moments in your campaign.

Effective networks take time to build and sustain, so you will need to devote some time to building relationships with individuals and organizations. Steps to cultivate these relationships should be taken after your leadership group has formed and developed the main elements of its strategic plan.

Before reaching out to potential partners, the leadership group should have a realistic idea of what each current member organization brings to the table. This type of self-assessment helps to identify advocacy-related strengths and gaps which provide insights into the types of organizations that might be recruited into an advocacy network. An organizational assessment and directions on its use is included in the Appendix A.

Ideally, you want to recruit a mixture of natural allies and some more 'unusual' allies that are able to demonstrate the breadth of support for the issue. Recruit allies who can provide added value via their access to stakeholders and stature in the public and policy arenas. Effective tobacco control networks often have alliances with a broad range of civil society, professional and business groups from the health, education, economic/employment, and scientific/research sectors.

To avoid potential problems, in most situations it is not advisable to invite representatives of the media or tobacco-friendly business associations to join the network. Media and business association representatives may have loyalties or interests that conflict with your coalition's goals. Business groups may be front groups for the industry whose purpose is to obstruct progress. If they truly share your beliefs they can best serve by being active and vocal supporters of your efforts.

Engage in the Development of the Legislation

A critical element of any tobacco control policy campaign is the actual legislation. Policy development must be prioritized early in the campaign planning process. .

The role of civil society groups may vary in terms of the development of legislation. They may be called on to provide model legislation, assist the government develop legislation, review and critique proposals or monitor legislation over time.

Network members should know the key elements of legislation they will be pushing. They should ensure that they either have knowledgeable technical resources in their network or access to experts who can help. Appendix B contains a list of online resources for advocates working to enact strong tobacco control legislation.

Know Your “Bottom Line”

Advocates usually strive for the strongest and most comprehensive policy. However, policies are often modified as they go through the legislative process. Tobacco companies and their allies often use the compromise process to their advantage, promoting weak, ineffective legislation, often late in the policymaking process in hopes of distracting or even dividing advocates. During an intense campaign, quick decisions may need to be made about whether to support a proposed compromise.

Anticipating possible compromises enables advocates to make good decisions when amendments are proposed and reduces the risk of dissension within your core group about whether to accept them. Ultimately, knowing what you will and won't accept as compromises in order to achieve the advocacy objective – your “bottom line” – will help you achieve a strong, effective policy. Advocates who know their bottom line in advance will not waste valuable time during the heat of the campaign debating the merits of a proposed compromise, and they will also reduce the risk of dividing the coalition on the question of whether to accept it.

Advocates need to anticipate compromises that may be acceptable, and what compromises will weaken a proposed policy to the point that support is no longer tenable. If a proposed policy is weakened to the point that it no longer achieves any meaningful health impact, it may be better to withdraw your support rather than agree to a compromise that will not protect public health. Knowing your bottom line will help you to determine your group's position on proposed changes.

In an advocacy campaign's early stages, identify the elements of your proposed policy that are not negotiable. Addressing these issues early in the process will prevent or minimize disagreement and divisiveness among coalition members during the critical legislative phase of your campaign.

Advocates need to agree on acceptable compromises vs. deal breakers early in the advocacy campaign. Questions to help you clarify the provisions of your legislation that can be modified and those that are essential include

- Does the proposed language offer meaningful progress in health protection? Does it meet FCTC mandates?
- How does the proposed language measure up with other countries in the region – would it set a harmful precedent for the region?
- Does the proposed language make it difficult to come back later and strengthen the law?
- Would the proposed language violate other laws or be inconsistent with a country's constitutional right to health (if it exists)?

Identify a Legislation Sponsor and Policy Champion

To move a bill through the legislative process, you need a strong sponsor who will actively champion legislation through the legislative process. Ideally, your sponsor should be a persuasive and seasoned policymaker, deeply committed to tobacco control and capable of maneuvering through legislative minefields and opposition tactics, and influencing other legislators to vote for the tobacco control legislation. Seek out an influential and respected policymaker you can trust to serve as an effective champion of the policy and a loyal partner to your network.

If you need to find a sponsor, your research on and analysis of the political context will yield information about potential sponsors who may be willing to lend leadership support to your tobacco control campaign.

Sometimes legislators decide on their own that tobacco control legislation is an important element of their legislative platform so they decide to introduce a bill. Often these legislators have a history of advocacy around health issues and may be serving on the Health Commission or other legislative body that addresses health legislation. In this case, the legislator may contact advocates known for their interest in this type of health issue, including your organization, for assistance with the legislation.

It is important to have a positive and trusting relationship with your champion since you will be working closely with his or her office over several months or longer. Take time to meet with this decision-maker in order to get a better sense of this person's commitment to and ideas about how to work together through the legislative process. For example, find out how sponsorship of the

proposed tobacco control policy is consistent with his or her interests, and seek agreement with your sponsor to work cooperatively and collaboratively in moving forward the tobacco control policy. This means:

- Advance agreement regarding legislative strategy, process and any changes to the policy language;
- Advance notification of campaign-related community events, media outreach, etc.;
- Designated liaisons from the network and the sponsor's office; and
- Commitment to regular communications.

It is just as important to convey to your policy champion what your network is willing to do to help this person be an effective sponsor, including:

- Securing expert technical assistance;
- Building public support for the policy;
- Educating and lobbying other decision-makers;
- Engaging the media;
- Mobilizing for legislative hearings and providing public testimony; and
- Joint problem-solving at all stages of the campaign.

Know the Political Landscape

Understanding the political environment and the legislative and bureaucratic processes associated with policy enactment is essential to successful tobacco control campaigns. Advocates must determine which decision-making bodies and agencies have the power to approve, enact, and implement proposed tobacco control legislation as well as identify the people within these bodies and agencies who make the decisions. Advocates must also identify and study all the individuals and groups that exercise considerable influence on decision-making.

How does a legislative proposal become law?

A critical element in the success of any tobacco control campaign is a thorough understanding of the policy process in a jurisdiction. This policy process includes how tobacco issues are prioritized for legislative action; how legislation is formulated; which institutions and individuals are involved; what the roles, relationships, and balance of power among institutions and individuals are; and how, when and where to act to achieve maximum impact from advocacy efforts.

Effective advocates become masters at understanding how the political process works. This means knowing how both legislative and bureaucratic processes function in order to move proposed policy from a concept to actual law. Find out as much as possible from your political experts and supportive insiders about how policies are enacted in your jurisdiction including:

- All of the steps and timelines that are required for proposed legislation to become law;
- Whether legislation requires review or approval by committees, agencies or assemblies;
- Whether a government executive must sign legislation;
- The names of the policymakers and staff on each committee that votes on the proposed legislation;
- Voting protocols and technicalities; and
- How the public can comment on proposed legislation before it presented for a vote.

Who is involved in policymaking? (political mapping)

In addition to understanding the formal rules and procedures that the government follows to make policy decisions, organizations need to become acquainted with the policymakers and those who influence them such as a policymaker's aids or advisors, or an advisor to a commission or committee (referred to here as key influentials).

In some instances, policymakers and key influentials that are initially opposed (or neutral) can be moved into the supporters' circle so advocates cannot afford to ignore them. Often, the best investment of time and energy is devoted to shifting neutral parties to supporters of your proposed policy. In other cases, advocates may find supportive policymakers and key influentials who appear neutral but hesitate to voice an opinion due to the controversial nature of the issue; they may support the advocacy efforts in private but in public appear neutral. In this situation, advocates may direct their efforts to convincing these influential "neutrals" to publicly support the campaign.

Political mapping is a way to organize, list and track those who are involved in policymaking, including: 1) decision-makers and key influentials; 2) their positions on your issue; 3) their role/importance in passing and implementing your legislation; and 4) the access your coalition has to these actors. The political mapping matrix in Appendix C is a useful tool to organize and track all of this information.

Who are the decision-makers in the political process?

Many people play a role in the outcome of proposed legislation. Some directly affect the outcome while others have influence indirectly or behind the scenes.

Government policymakers. This group represents the most important target audience for any advocacy campaign because they ultimately determine the adoption or defeat of proposed legislation.

Key influentials. This group includes people who advise decision-makers and sway their positions on proposed legislation:

- Government staff advisors. Staff advisors serve policymakers directly or the government bodies involved in the policymaking, including:
 - The health, policy and legislative deputies or staff of individual legislators;
 - Government agency officials responsible for health policy; and
 - Staff of the legislative committees or government commissions.

Government staff advisors typically work behind the scenes and exert tremendous influence over the process and the positions of key decision-makers.

- **Political party leaders.** In some countries, political party leaders are important figures and have considerable influence on policymakers, even if they themselves do

not vote on legislation or otherwise officially participate in the lawmaking process approve.

- **Others outside the government who may play a big role in policy decisions.** In many countries, specific quasi- or non-governmental organizations may be called upon to comment on a legislative proposal during the lawmaking process. Or, these entities may have a history of proactively commenting on proposed legislation.

What is their role in the process and do you need them?

Once you have brainstormed a list of potential political actors, you might find that your list is quite long. For success, you will not need support from all of them, and it is important to distinguish which ones are essential. The mapping tool in the appendix will help you keep track of this by having you mark each political actor in the following categories:

- **Key decision-maker.** This is an individual whose support is essential in moving a policy through. He/she could be the leader of a committee, or the president/executive leader who eventually signs the legislation into law.
- **Support required.** This includes all of your key decision-makers and anyone else whose support is essential for your legislation to become law. Examples may include a political party leader or a highly respected politician who does not have the authority to vote or sign this law but who can block or push legislation on his own.
- **Voter:** This is a member of your legislative body who will vote on your legislation. Most legislative bodies require at least a 51% vote from members to vote the bill into law or to put it before a final decision-maker to sign the document. You don't need support from every member, but you need to keep track of how many of these voters will support your proposed legislation.
- **Important bureaucrat:** This individual is a behind-the-scenes government staff advisor who provides technical support for the legislative process. These bureaucrats often formulate reports and recommendations on proposed policies so they can be very influential. Examples include: the health, policy and legislative deputies of individual decision-makers; government agency officials responsible for health policy; and, members and staff of the assemblies and commissions that advise decision-makers on these matters.

Gather information about these individuals to learn:

- Background and history;
- Track record and position on public health and tobacco issues;
- Self-interest with regard to the issue of secondhand smoke protections;
- Base of support, allies, primary benefactors and opponents;
- Stakeholder or interest groups that have influence over the decision-maker; and
- Past and current relationship with the tobacco industry and its allies.

How do you use your political map?

Once you have mapped all political actors, you will have the information necessary to decide where to direct your outreach efforts. The next step is to develop a plan for how you will influence your targets. In many cases this will mean in-person meetings with policymakers that are difficult to access unless a member of your network knows them in some way. With this tool you can link members of your leadership group or network with specific political actors with whom you need to make contact.

It is important to establish credibility and positive working relationships with key decision-makers by maintaining regular communication and providing them with relevant data and information that will make their jobs easier.

Keep in mind that well-established relationships with key government staff can help you make progress within the difficult-to-navigate contexts or stalled circumstances that are common to most legislative efforts. They also may have access to information about tobacco industry influence that occurs behind closed doors; for example, meetings that are taking place outside of formal public hearings and information the industry is providing to policymakers such as talking points, proposed language changes, tobacco-industry-sponsored policy papers, etc.

The political mapping matrix in the appendix can be updated as you make progress, noting when policymakers and key influential change their positions and clarifying how much advocacy/lobbying work remains and with whom. Knowing the amount and strength of support for your campaign at any given time provides valuable information about when to push the legislation through or delay movement until you have sufficient support for it to pass.

Understand the Tobacco Industry

Without a doubt, the tobacco industry will be your most powerful opponent because it stands to lose the most from any strong tobacco control policy. The tobacco industry has a long history of fighting strong tobacco control laws in many countries. Tobacco companies use their money and power to influence legislators and the media, and to fund front groups such as restaurant or farmers groups to oppose legislation that claim economic harm to their businesses.

Prior to the launch of your campaign, compile a profile of tobacco companies in your country. When gathering information, keep focused on what will be useful for specific advocacy work and subsequent policy change.

Examples of types of company information that may be useful when you are planning media outreach and educational materials for policymakers and the public include:

- **Company Profile:** Information about the company profits and sales, its leadership, and the location of offices and manufacturing sites provide good background information to describe the size of the industry. Information about brands and target markets, especially women and children, provide rich information for discrediting the industry. Information about Corporate Social Responsibility programs may explain links between the tobacco industry and policymakers and identify supporters of tobacco industry positions.
- **Company Spokespeople:** Identifying company lobbyists, spokespeople and industry groups affiliated with the tobacco industry at the beginning of your campaign will help you to better track company positions over the course of the campaign.
- **Company Positions and Tactics** can be used to plan media advocacy campaigns and to discredit tobacco companies by contrasting their words with statistics on tobacco-related death and disease cause by their products.

Much of this information can be found on company websites including the company's annual reports. Other sources include: internal industry documents, government contacts, newspapers, magazines and other periodicals and industry trade journals.

It is extremely important to understand the tobacco industry's presence and influence on the policymaking process in your country. Use the information gathered in the previous section to look for the industry's influence over the government and the political process:

- Are industry representatives on any government committees? If yes, who are they and with what committees are they affiliated?
- Does the industry employ lobbyists or other influential individuals that meet with government officials, elected policymakers or other political leaders? If yes, who are they?
- Which policymakers regularly represent the industry point of view? For example, are there policymakers who represent tobacco-growing or cigarette manufacturing regions who speak out against tobacco control measures?

Develop Clear Messages

Sometimes advocates get so wrapped up in their day-to-day work – moving fast and making quick decisions to respond to the tobacco industry – that they forget to be purposeful in their communications. Clear messages underpin all advocacy communication not only with the media but in direct communication and lobbying as well. It is important to remember that all advocacy communication is purposeful and planned with a clear end result in mind.

Know your audiences

Effective advocacy communication messages are written for the receiver; that is, the target audience you are attempting to influence. Thus, one essential ingredient to effective advocacy is a clear understanding of the audience and the ability to see the issue from the audience's perspective. It's challenging to put yourself in your audience's shoes to see how audience members will benefit from supporting your cause. For each target audience ask, "How will this audience benefit professionally, politically, or personally from supporting the issue?" Or conversely, "What risk does the issue pose to this audience?" The answers to these questions should be carefully considered and incorporated into the advocacy messages directed to each target audience.

Specific audiences will fall into three main categories:

1. **Policymakers.** These individuals have the authority or responsibility to set policies related to tobacco and health.
2. **Key Influentials:** Individuals and groups that have influence with policy-makers can be particularly effective advocates for tobacco control because policymakers are more open to hearing from them and willing to accept that what they say is important.
3. **The general public.** The general public can also exert pressure on policymakers to support efforts to reduce tobacco use if messages to them identify make clear the importance of the policy objective and the need for policymaker support.

Advocacy organizations rarely have the time or resources to target all relevant audiences at once so it is important to prioritize them. Remember, the smaller the target group, the easier it is to craft a message that resonates with them. Prioritize your target audiences, then focus resources on those that can help you reach your policy objective. Use these questions as a guide to identifying your most important audiences:

- Who is most critical or influential in getting your policy passed?

- Who is most critical or influential in reaching a decision-maker?
- Who is most approachable or reachable?
- Who is most passionate about the issue?
- Who has the most at stake when discussing this issue – either positively or negatively?

In order to appeal to a specific audience, it is important to know as much as possible about it. With the amount of messaging the average person hears daily (through TV, radio, internet, email, billboards, SMS, newspaper, etc), it is easy for your message to get lost. Messages need to be well crafted so that they heard and understood by the target audience. Many campaign decisions are based on a thorough analysis of the target audiences. Take the time to gather information about your audiences as a means of targeting advocacy activities, developing effective messages and selecting appropriate channels of communication.

Each audience has different information needs for decision-making. It is important to be knowledgeable about each target audience before beginning to draw attention to your tobacco control policy. This knowledge includes:

- The role the audience plays in reducing tobacco use.
- The type of information the audience needs to make decisions and take action.
- Particular attitudes or concerns that the audience may have about tobacco.
- Questions the audience is likely to have.
- The most effective ways to reach the audience.

Messaging

Messaging is a fundamental element in tobacco control policy campaigns; messages directly impact most other campaign activities in one way or another. When applied effectively and proactively, messages can inspire broad-based support, motivate action and neutralize your opposition, allowing you to win the hearts and minds of the key stakeholder groups and the votes of decision-makers.

Without exception, public health provides the context for successful tobacco control campaigns and enables advocates to stay on message despite the opposition's efforts to alter the terms of the debate in their favor. A solid public health context makes explicit that tobacco use is a serious public health problem that is stimulated by actions of the tobacco industry. It affirms that government decision-makers have the right and the responsibility to protect the health of the population through legislated policy action.

Messaging identifies the key elements advocates want the public and others to understand about their issue. An advocacy message should include these main components:

- A statement of the problem or issue is the central idea of the message. This should be succinctly stated in several strong sentences.
- Evidence that supports the statement or central idea with facts and/or figures. The message should include a limited amount of data that the audience can easily understand.
- The desired action you want the audience to take as a result of hearing the message.
- After providing the facts, you may also add a human face to the story to personalize the facts and figures.

Your core messages should reinforce the public health perspective, address all audiences and lay out the fundamental arguments in support of tobacco control policies. Examples of core messages for a smoke-free campaign include:

- Everyone has the right to breath smoke-free air (statement)
- Exposure to secondhand smoke causes death, disease and disability; there is no safe level of exposure to this carcinogen (evidence)
- 100% smoke-free laws protect non-smokers from the documented dangers of secondhand smoke (action desired)
- All reliable studies show that smoke-free policies either have no economic effect on businesses or a positive impact (evidence)

Targeted messages drill down deeper to address the specific issues and self-interest of priority stakeholder groups and decision-makers. What are the primary concerns of these policymakers? How can you link the issue of the harms of tobacco use to those issues? The research and information you gathered earlier will help you develop the specific, relevant messages to persuade decision-makers to support your proposed policy.

Remember: All messages should be respectful of the social, political and cultural realities of your jurisdiction. Just because a message has been effective in one jurisdiction doesn't mean that it will translate or work well in another.

Messengers

Having the right messenger is just as important as your messages in persuading your audience to support your tobacco control legislation. Carefully select the right messenger for each particular audience and setting, making sure the messenger can clearly and credibly communicate the message and positively influence the target.

For decision-makers, use your earlier research to identify each one's base of support and allies, and the interest groups that have influence over him or her. Who among those identified does the decision-maker trust and respect? Who is close to this decision-maker and why? Answering these and similar questions will help you select the right messenger for that individual.

The best tobacco control advocacy messengers tend to be health ministers and other government officials, but they are not the only ones. Highly effective messengers can also include doctors, nurses and other health professionals; scientists and other experts; economists; and, individuals who have first-hand experience with the dangers of tobacco use. Messengers who have first-hand experience—with either the dangers of second-hand smoke or the benefits of going smoke-free—are able to bring the smoke-free issue alive in a powerful, compelling manner.

Communication channels

What are the most compelling communications channels you can use to reach each of your target audiences? Different channels are more effective for certain audiences. Examples of communication channels include: one-on-one meetings and correspondence, public events, and traditional and social media.

Develop Your Advocacy Strategies

Two fundamental strategies used to advocate for policy change are:

- **Media advocacy.** One of the primary means to reach decision-makers and the public is through the media. Effective media work over the life of your campaign ensures that your issues are presented accurately and reinforce your policy objectives.
- **Direct communication.** The second strategy involves direct communication with primary policy targets through lobbying and grassroots advocacy communications.

Media advocacy

The use of media is a critical component of advocacy. Media advocacy is the strategic use of the news media to advance a public policy agenda; it includes paid advertising and earned (i.e., no cost) media approaches. An effective media plan with media advocacy elements will allow you to raise the visibility of the tobacco control issue and build the power you will need to enact the proposed legislation.

Advocates rely on these types of media:

- **Earned media.** Earned media involves enticing a journalist from a traditional media outlet to cover a newsworthy event related to an advocate's issue. Earned media is free of charge. Example: A Jakarta Post article covering recent research that shows how graphic pack warnings helped increase smokers' intention to quit.
- **Paid media.** Paid media involves purchasing space in a print/online news outlet or air time on radio/television deliver messages to your target audience. Example: Paying for a full-page newspaper advertisement.
- **Owned media.** Owned media involves disseminating content that an organization creates through channels that the organization also controls (or mostly controls). Example: An advocacy organization's Web page or blog.

THINK LIKE A JOURNALIST

To garner great media coverage, you must think like a journalist and pitch compelling, newsworthy stories about the dangers of exposure to secondhand smoke and the laws that have protected millions of people around the world.

Creative story elements often include:

- Compelling visuals
- Sharp sound bites (or succinct quotes that convey your main messages)
- Creative translation of secondhand smoke statistics into terms people can easily understand
- Authentic voices of those who have been harmed by secondhand smoke or helped by smoke-free policies.

In the last several years, the use of Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and other social media tools to disseminate health messages has grown significantly, and continues to trend upward. These types of social media are web-based technologies that enable and enhance public dialogue, transforming people from information consumers to information producers. Social media tools have also been used to form online communities with common interests and mobilize action.

The types of media you use should be based on how you can best deliver your key messages to your target audience. A multi-faceted approach is usually most effective.

A strategic approach to the media is critical to the advancement of your policy goals. This begins with knowing the media that cover your jurisdiction, including print, electronic and broadcast outlets. Media outreach will enable you to develop relationships with reporters that cover your issue and learn how to effectively work with them. Reporters are always in search of newsworthy stories, and your tobacco control campaign is newsworthy. If done carefully, outreach to the media can result in your becoming a valuable resource for reporters.

Given the controversy inherent in tobacco control policy campaigns, it probably won't be too hard to get media coverage. However, you want to make sure that coverage furthers your goals. Educate journalists long before you introduce your legislation and be proactive in your messaging so you can preempt or neutralize arguments and messages from the opposition.

Media advocacy tactics

Reporters will not come knocking on your doors, so how do you create news? Over the course of a tobacco control policy campaign there are many opportunities that will capture the attention of the media, including but not limited to:

- The release of favorable public opinion polling data;
- A public education event featuring an international expert;
- Offering an exclusive story to a major newspaper in advance of introduction of legislation;
- A rally on the day tobacco control legislation is introduced;
- Editorial board visits following the introduction of legislation; and
- Release of information exposing bad acts of the industry

Select tactics (i.e., the specific materials, events and activities) that will most effectively engage the media in delivering messages to your audience. In choosing tactics, consider how to maximize your reach to specific audiences within the confines of your organizational resources and budget. Examples fall into two categories:

- Tactics that engage the media directly such as press conferences, press releases, letters to the editor, etc.; and
- Tactics that draw media coverage, e.g., rallies, demonstrations, expert round tables, conferences, etc.

Direct communication/Lobbying

Effective lobbying is one of the cornerstones of advocacy. Its purpose is to influence decision-makers via direct communication. Lobbying works best when planned in coordination with media advocacy and community mobilization to convey public support of your policy proposal to the decision-maker.

Lobbying differs from informing and educating in that its goal is to obtain a commitment to support your policy from a decision-maker. Getting such a commitment rarely occurs with one attempt and often requires multiple interactions with multiple decision-makers.

Note: In some countries, there is a strong history and culture of lobbying but in other countries, it may be difficult to have face-to-face meetings with decision-makers. If this is the case, advocates need to determine how best to influence them through key influentials, the media or other means.

Lobbying activities can be formal or informal. Here are some examples of each:

FORMAL	
Letter writing	Phone calls
Sharing position papers	Scheduled face-to-face meetings
Holding seminars or policy briefings	Presenting testimony at hearings
INFORMAL	
Chance meetings	Receptions
Invitations to attend events	

The most obvious target of lobbying is policymakers – elected representatives or public officials (e.g. Health Minister or Tax Minister) with authority to adopt your policy proposal. However, it's important to consider key influentials and other decision-makers with influence over policy. These actors can include government staff, staff that serve key legislative committees, or staff who work for specific legislators or public officials.

Plan your meetings with decision-makers carefully, starting with known supporters. Remember that legislators have limited time so campaign representatives must get to the point quickly and clearly. Prior to a meeting, develop an agenda, select an effective facilitator and decide who will cover each of your basic talking points. Anticipate the decision-maker's concerns and develop appropriate responses. Compile an information packet that includes the proposed policy language and select background materials such as a fact sheet, a couple of favorable news articles covering your efforts, public opinion poll results and a list of your network members. Make sure someone is responsible for taking notes to keep track of issues raised by the policymaker, any commitments made and follow-up items.

At meetings, if it is clear the decision-maker is in support of your policy, ask about other potential supporters as well as opponents. Also ask about tobacco industry activities related to the proposed policy and whether he or she has received any communications or visits from industry representatives. Letting decision-makers know what they can expect from the opposition, including the tobacco industry or front groups funded by them, should be part of the discussion. Wrap up the meeting by asking if the network can count on his or her support.

If the decision-maker is noncommittal, ask what it would take to get his or her support. If a decision-maker avoids taking a firm stand on your legislation, do not interpret it as an absolute 'no'—it may mean he or she simply wants to hear from additional stakeholders before making a decision.

Should a decision-maker challenge your information or verbalize arguments used by the opposition avoid confrontation. Do your best to remain positive and draw upon your collective knowledge to respond. Remember, you can always send follow-up information from authoritative sources to correct misconceptions. If opposing decision-makers' concerns are reasonable and consistent with your previously agreed to bottom lines, you may be able to change a 'no' vote to a 'yes.' However, in some cases, it is not worth the effort to try and convince very committed opponents, especially if you have the votes you need elsewhere.

End every meeting with decision-makers by thanking them for their time and consideration. Afterwards, send a follow-up letter from the network, summarizing the position of the decision-maker on the proposed tobacco control legislation and including any relevant materials to address outstanding concerns or clear up misinformation. Express your appreciation to policymakers who offered their support of the proposed tobacco control legislation and ask opponents to respectfully reconsider.

Discredit, Preempt and Counter the Tobacco Industry

During the campaign, you will need to monitor tobacco industry activity because it will increase your capacity to respond effectively and immediately to industry actions. When setting up a monitoring system, focus on what will be most useful in your campaign while considering the strategies and resources that are available to you. Monitoring must be timely so is an ongoing process; an individual or organizational partner should assume responsibility to track industry activities. The system should include monitoring of government documents, meetings and contacts. Sources of information about the tobacco industry activity include:

- **The media.** Monitor media on a regular basis, particularly media that is pro-tobacco, to remain current in what the industry is doing. If resources are limited, focus on major newspapers. Results should be reviewed on a timely basis so that you can react quickly.
- **Government records, meeting minutes and websites, and front-group websites.** These types of information sources can be good sources of information about tobacco industry strategies and tactics. Note that in some countries, government records are public, so they can be easily obtained. In other countries, “Right to Information” laws may need to be used for this purpose. In countries with closed systems of government, advocates may have to rely on personal contacts within government for information.
- **Personal communication with government officials, policymakers and key influential people.** Information from people involved directly in the policymaking process is often the most valuable source of information about tobacco industry tactics and strategies that are being carried out behind closed doors. These relationships also may help you to keep track of a bill after it is introduced and to alert you of industry attempts to influence the process and outcome.

Focus your monitoring efforts on information that can be used to discredit, pre-empt and counter the industry throughout the campaign.

- Tobacco companies often have long-standing connections to policymakers and devote time and resources to presenting themselves as responsible corporations. It is important to discredit tobacco companies in order to reduce their influence on policymakers and to remove them as participants from the policymaking process. Undermining the industry by exposing its real intentions to aggressively protect its profits may stimulate outrage about their deadly tactics and discourage policymakers from aligning with them. Information you uncover when compiling information about the industry and your industry monitoring efforts should provide opportunities to discredit the industry.
- Preempting the tobacco industry’s activities can also contribute to your success. It is important to educate and prepare decision-makers, the media and others for industry opposition. Use information you collected about tobacco industry arguments made elsewhere to craft messages that dilute and counter these arguments. Let these target audiences know early and often about tobacco industry strategies that can be expected as your campaign moves forward. These efforts will diminish the effectiveness of the tobacco industry and build your credibility as knowledgeable tobacco control advocates.
- Ongoing monitoring of tobacco industry activity will enable you to expose and aggressively counter TI activity to defeat your policy. Information will increase the capacity of your coalition to respond effectively and immediately. However, it is important to assess industry activity carefully before countering it. Ask yourself if the action is interfering with policy process or violating law. If so, does an advocacy counter action have the potential to effectively thwart the activities of the industry?

Formulate a Plan to Carry Out Your Policy Campaign

Your policy campaign plan should be based on your objectives, knowledge gained from your political mapping, and information about the tobacco industry. A campaign plan will provide a roadmap to achieving your policy objectives. Because the campaign process is dynamic and ever changing, your plan will provide a guide that should be evaluated on a regular basis and adjusted to address current circumstances.

Each of the elements discussed above comprise your campaign. Now it is time to pull together all the pieces to develop a plan for the campaign. Consider the following:

- Relevant advocacy objective
- Strategies and activities that will be carried out to achieve the objective
- The resources needed to carry out the plan
- The person or agency responsible for undertaking each activity and an appropriate time.

It is also important to prepare for rapid responses to events that occur during the campaign. Even the best campaign planning can't anticipate everything that will happen during the campaign. Good campaign planning prepares you to respond to surprises and new situations strategically and in a timely fashion. It is important though to have a process in place that can be used to address new situations throughout the campaign.

As discussed earlier, the tobacco industry will be an active and powerful opponent to your efforts and will attempt to influence the policymaking process in various ways. Your campaign plan should include information on how to prepare for, track, and counter tobacco industry interference in the campaign.

Run the Campaign

Having done all the background work and developed your plan, it is now time to implement the campaign. At this point, it will be important to keep in mind that advocacy requires strategic planning AND strategic implementation. Use the plan as a guide and to regularly evaluate your progress. Advocacy campaigns are dynamic so they require vigilance and rapid responses to unanticipated events that may derail your campaign efforts if left unattended. Here are some situations that may arise during your campaign.

Strategic timing

Your network may be pressured by some of your own members, decision-makers, and possibly your champion to move forward despite lacking the necessary votes or to significantly weaken the proposed policy in order to get “something” passed because time is running short. Stand firm and don’t move your legislative campaign forward until you have the votes you need to enact a strong and effective policy.

Remember, when it comes to comprehensive tobacco control legislation, the goal is not simply to get any legislation passed or to secure swift passage, but to pass as strong a piece of legislation as possible. Moving forward into the legislative phase of your campaign without the necessary support can lead to defeat or an ineffective policy that does not achieve the goal of protecting non-smokers from the dangers of secondhand smoke.

Compromise

Dealing with compromise is an inevitable part of the advocacy process. Advocates are often faced with the question of how much to compromise in a situation where a subsequent version of a draft bill is substantially weaker than the initial draft. It is important to think about the issue of the bottom line for a policy objective – i.e. what compromises are acceptable to a particular policy objective, and what compromises are unacceptable

During the legislative process you may be asked to consider changes to your policy in order to secure a ‘yes’ vote from a decision-maker who opposes the current language. Now is the time to refer to your bottom line agreements and review them with all parties. If a change appears to be minor or consistent with one of the compromises your network has previously agreed upon, arrange a meeting with your sponsor to discuss your options.

Your policy team should work closely with your champion to examine any proposed compromise to determine

whether it will meet your specifications, directly address decision-makers’ concerns and guarantee that a ‘no’ vote turns into to a ‘yes.’ If the compromise will satisfy some of the groups that are against the tobacco control policy, consider its value in creating a wedge and weakening the opposition. However, if the compromise is significant and does not satisfy your previously agreed to “bottom lines,” do not accept it.

You may be pressured into agreeing to a compromise or concession in order to end a long and challenging campaign and to ensure that your effects result in something instead of nothing. Always remember why you undertook this campaign: to protect non-smokers from the dangers of secondhand smoke. Past experience has proven that, while difficult, it is better to walk away with nothing than to accept ineffective or weak provisions that will hurt future tobacco control policy efforts for years to come.

Sneaky or last minute moves by opponents

During the legislative process, a small team of network members who really understand the policy process should carefully track and monitor the legislative process and work closely with the sponsor’s office. Get on the distribution lists for the committees and other legislative bodies that will consider the proposed tobacco control legislation. Watch for legislative items that appear out of nowhere and have relevance to your policy—they may be designed to undermine your legislation.

Have regular contact with supportive policymakers and key influentials who will know about opposition maneuvers designed to disrupt your efforts. What kind of information are opponents circulating? What compromises are they promoting? Be prepared to help your sponsor troubleshoot these and other types of problems as your legislation moves forward.

Respond immediately and proactively to opposition tactics that could jeopardize your efforts. For example, some campaigns have sent decision-makers authoritative reports from credible sources to expose flawed industry-sponsored studies disseminated by the opposition. Others have demonstrated how a compromise promoted by opposing forces is identical to language used in other jurisdictions to undermine proposed tobacco control policies. Communicate the same information through the media to galvanize your base and pitch the story to a reporter.

Monitor and evaluate your progress

Don't forget that as you run your policy campaign, it is important to monitor and evaluate your progress. Group accountability does not have to be punitive, but should be timely and direct. If an individual or group is unable to fulfill a task, it may be necessary to shift responsibility to keep the campaign moving forward.

If your campaign is not making steady progress, take the time to assess why. Has your campaign experienced an unexpected or external development that requires adjustments to your plan or timeline? If there isn't a good explanation, schedule a special meeting with your core leadership and your technical assistance provider to evaluate your work and make the necessary adjustments to campaign plan.

Celebrate Your Success and Remain Engaged

Congratulations on your success! Send a formal thank you letter to each of the primary targets, the policymakers and key decision-makers whose support helped to make your new tobacco control law possible. Also thank partners for their help in achieving this victory and ask them to communicate their appreciation to these decision-makers as well. Plan a party or other celebration and present awards to the decision-makers in recognition of their efforts to protect non-smokers from the dangers of secondhand smoke. Do your best to acknowledge everyone who took part in the campaign, including the supporters that wrote letters or made calls in support of the legislation.

While enactment of a strong, effective policy is an amazing and important victory, it isn't the end of your campaign. Let your sponsor and relevant government agencies know that they can continue to count on your network to support implementation of the law. In some jurisdictions, the opposition will attempt to overturn or undermine a new tobacco control law using legislative, electoral or legal maneuvers. In others, a change in decision-makers following an election may provide an opening for a vote to repeal the new legislation. Your opposition might also try to get another law enacted at a higher jurisdictional level to preempt your local or sub-national policy. Be vigilant and work with appropriate government agencies should such efforts emerge.

Advocates have a critical role to play in ensuring the law is fully implemented through strong and timely regulations. Once the law is in effect, advocates may also help the government with implementation activities and play a strong role as monitors to ensure implementation goes as planned. For example, advocates can:

- Provide assistance to policymakers and drafters to ensure that strong implementing regulations are released;
- Partner with the agency responsible for implementation and enforcement to educate the public and key stakeholders about the law and provide training to the government agents who will enforce the law;
- Work with the media to publicize education and enforcement activity; and
- Monitor implementation of the law and report violations to the law enforcement agency, document tobacco industry attempts to circumvent the law, and file complaints or bring legal action, if necessary, when the government fails to enforce the law.

DON'T LET SETBACKS STOP YOU!

In some instances, even when groups have done everything right, the unexpected happens and the proposed legislation does not receive enough votes to pass. Such an outcome is extremely disappointing, but it should not be considered a failure when you look at it from a broader perspective.

Despite the policy result, the coalition will have built a solid knowledge base, a network of relationships and its overall capacity as a result of the campaign. If you experience a set-back, don't let it stop you from reaching your goal. Regroup, evaluate your efforts and determine what needs to happen when you start again from a stronger vantage point.

Remember: Many coalitions responsible for achieving strong tobacco control laws in their jurisdictions experienced defeat before attaining their policy objective.

On the one-year anniversary of the tobacco control law, organize a public event to celebrate this major public health victory that is protecting the health of everyone in your jurisdiction. Acknowledge that lives are being saved and people have been spared disease and disability as a result of the tobacco control legislation you helped make happen.

CONCLUSION

Aggressive and strategic advocacy campaigns are needed to achieve the enactment of strong tobacco control policies to reduce the devastating health consequences of tobacco use and its costs to society. Because the solutions articulated in Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) are enacted in the public policy arena, strong advocacy skills and strategies are essential to getting policy makers to embrace and act on this issue. In addition, the tobacco industry is committed to defeating tobacco control policies and has tremendous resources, including relationships with policy makers, to defeat any effort to limit the sale and promote of its products. As a result, tobacco control advocates must conduct their work in a strategic way – as a campaign – that generates public awareness and support, understands and works within the political environment for change, builds support and momentum toward change, and defeats tobacco industry interference in the adoption and implementation of effective laws and policies

This handbook has provided you with information and tips about key elements of successful tobacco control advocacy campaigns. These elements are strategic in nature as well as practical, and they require planning as well as flexibility and creativity. Hopefully, the handbook will serve as a resource for advocates to achieve the enactment of strong, effective public health policies to reduce tobacco use, the most preventable cause of death in the world.