Tactics and Taxonomies:
lessons learned from monitoring and researching tobacco industry policy influence

Professor Anna Gilmore
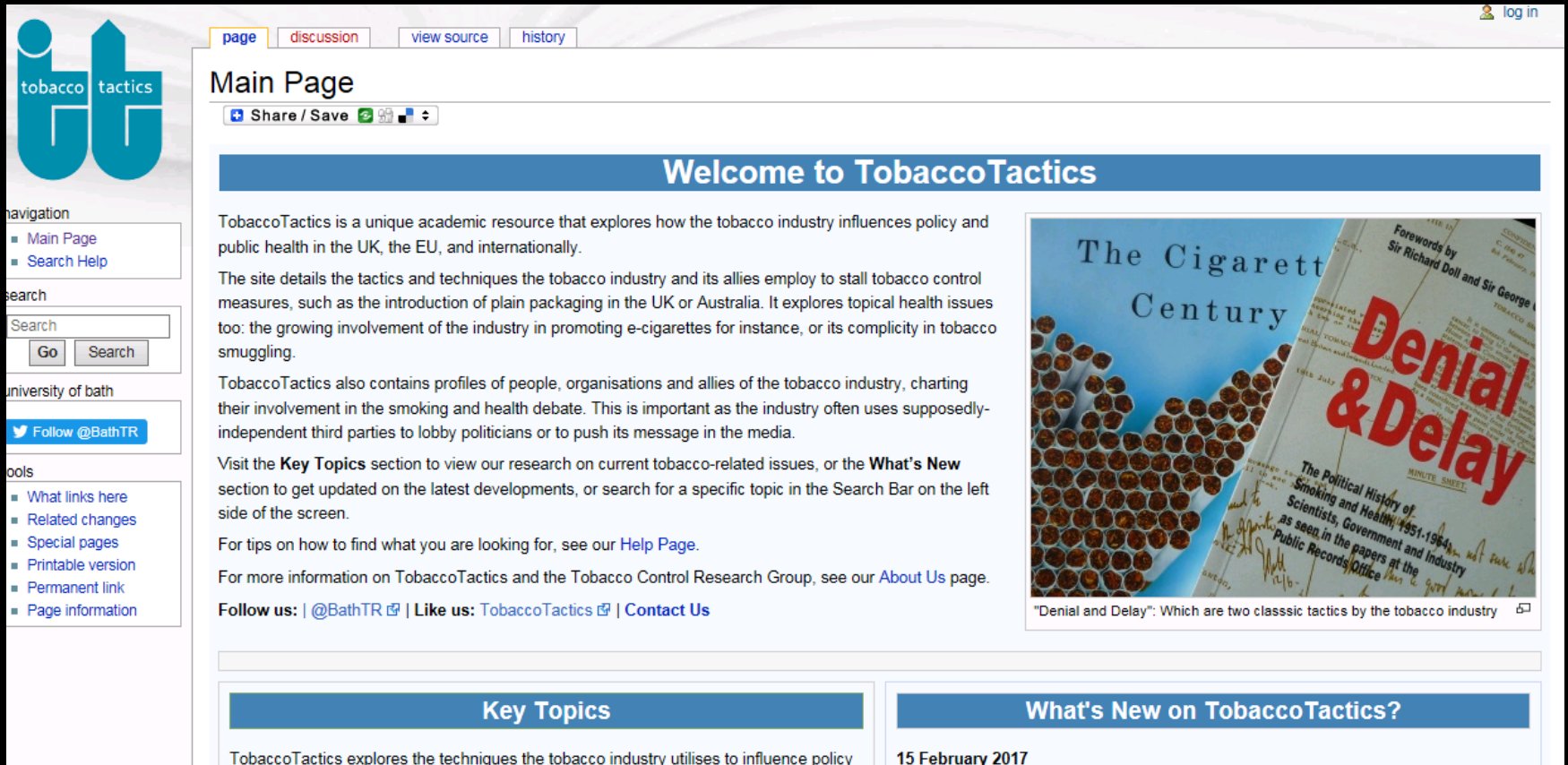
CANCER RESEARCH UK

No financial conflict of interest

www.TobaccoTactics.org

The big question

"How do we (most <u>effectively and efficiently</u>) improve global tobacco industry **monitoring?"**

The big question should actually be

"How do we (most effectively and efficiently) improve global tobacco industry **monitoring?** **research &** **accountability**?"

(TIMRA)

Lesson 1: We cannot just monitor!

"What is monitoring?"
- To keep under systematic review

Monitoring alone is of limited use

Term is unhelpful & confusing

X   Tobacco industry monitoring – TIM

✓   Tobacco Industry <u>Monitoring,</u>
<u>Research and Accountability</u> - TIMRA

Illustrate why monitoring alone is insufficient

TIMRA played a key part in enabling the implementation of PP in the UK

tc rg

Tobacco Industry (TI) Monitoring, Research & Accountability

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RATIONALE
- Tobacco is leading cause of preventable death worldwide
- Implementing tobacco control policies outlined in WHO FCTC will reduce burden
- TI interference in policy-making has been identified as barrier to progress.
- Article 5.3 WHO FCTC requires signatories to protect health policies 'from commercial and other vested interests of the tobacco industry'
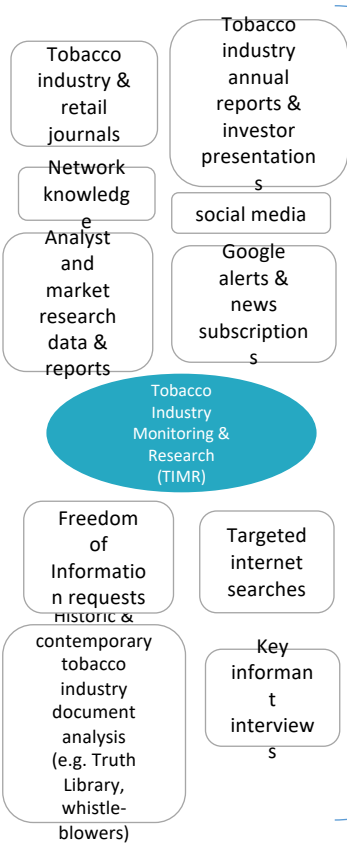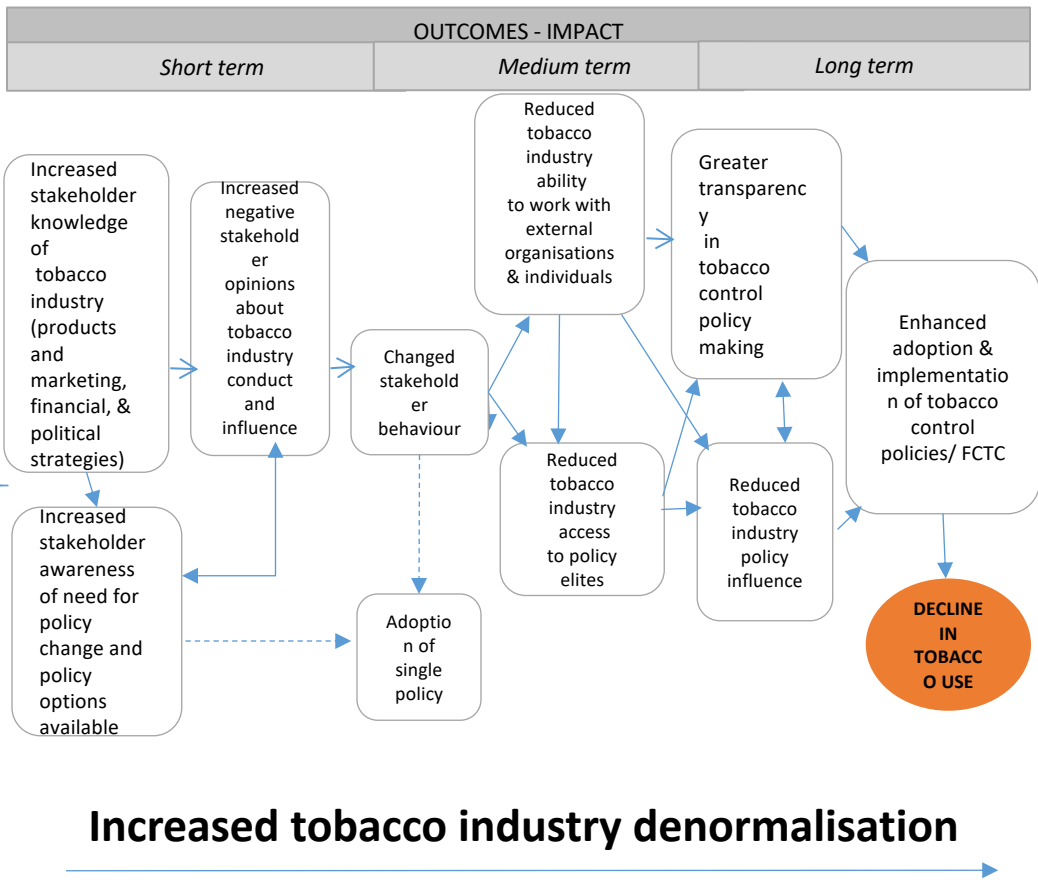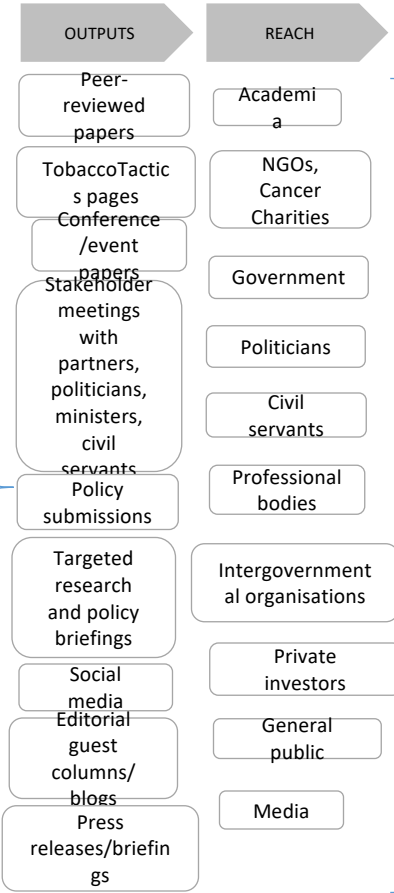- FCTC identifies monitoring of TI practices as fundamental to tobacco control success
- Understanding TI actions & arguments helps to effectively address & counter TI policy influence

INPUT- ACTIVITY & ACCOUNTABILITY	OUTPUTS	REACH	OUTCOMES - IMPACT		
			Short term	Medium term	Long term

Monitor

Further investigation

Research

Tobacco industry & retail journals

Tobacco industry annual reports & investor presentations

Network knowledge

social media

Analyst and market research data & reports

Google alerts & news subscriptions

Tobacco Industry Monitoring & Research (TIMR)

Freedom of Information requests

Targeted internet searches

Historic & contemporary tobacco industry document analysis (e.g. Truth Library, whistle-blowers)

Key informant interviews

Peer-reviewed papers

TobaccoTactics pages

Conference/event papers

Stakeholder meetings with partners, politicians, ministers, civil servants

Policy submissions

Targeted research and policy briefings

Social media

Editorial guest columns/ blogs

Press releases/briefings

Academia

NGOs, Cancer Charities

Government

Politicians

Civil servants

Professional bodies

Intergovernmental organisations

Private investors

General public

Media

Increased stakeholder knowledge of tobacco industry (products and marketing, financial, & political strategies)

Increased stakeholder awareness of need for policy change and policy options available

Increased negative stakeholder opinions about tobacco industry conduct and influence

Changed stakeholder behaviour

Adoption of single policy

Reduced tobacco industry ability to work with external organisations & individuals

Reduced tobacco industry access to policy elites

Greater transparency in tobacco control policy making

Reduced tobacco industry policy influence

Enhanced adoption & implementation of tobacco control policies/ FCTC

DECLINE IN TOBACCO USE

Increased tobacco industry denormalisation

Exposed numerous front groups, misleading data, arguments etc etc

Outputs included:

- 200 TT pages
- 6 papers
- submissions to policy consultations
- policy briefs to government
- presentations to politicians
- podcasts, blogs, letters to media, letters to BBC, interviews, press releases
- etc etc

Drawn on extensively in government's commissioned evidence review, legal defence & high court judgement

Lesson 2: TIMRA requires diverse <u>skills</u> & we need to build capacity in all of them

- monitor
- investigate
- research
- write for & present evidence to diverse audiences
- avoid libel!
- work with partners to obtain info & ensure TI held to account
- work with the press
- deal with being attacked

- Genuine SKILL development takes time – courses, fellowships, secondments
- NEW (not shifted) capacity

Tobacco Industry Monitoring and Research Skills

Continual Professional Development Course

The University of Bath, UK

18-22 June 2018

In March 2017, in collaboration with the Convention Secretariat of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, the University of Bath's Tobacco Control Research Group ran a successful tobacco industry monitoring course for delegates from around the globe. Building on this success, the Group is offering a week-long training course in June 2018.

This updated and brand new Continual Professional Development (CPD) intensive training course is aimed at professionals from all over the world who wish to improve their knowledge of and skills in industry monitoring and research.

The course will examine in detail how to monitor and conduct research into the activities of tobacco companies and their allies, and how to synthesise and

Lesson 4: We can do far more with existing knowledge

RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Policy Dystopia Model: An Interpretive Analysis of Tobacco Industry Political Activity

Selda Ulucanlar[1]*, Gary J. Fooks[2], Anna B. Gilmore[1]

- The industry repeats the same tactics and arguments over time and place
- This taxonomy identifies these tactics and arguments

Uganda tobacco industry interference in the UTCB

12/04/12 — Farmers in the Kanungu region ask the Government to end the BATU monopoly.

24/06/12 — The TI is heavily represented at a public hearing on the UTCB.

MP of BAT Uganda warns

The PS to the Treasury writes to the Clerk of the National Parliament, relaying TI concerns that it was not consulted in drafting the UTCB and

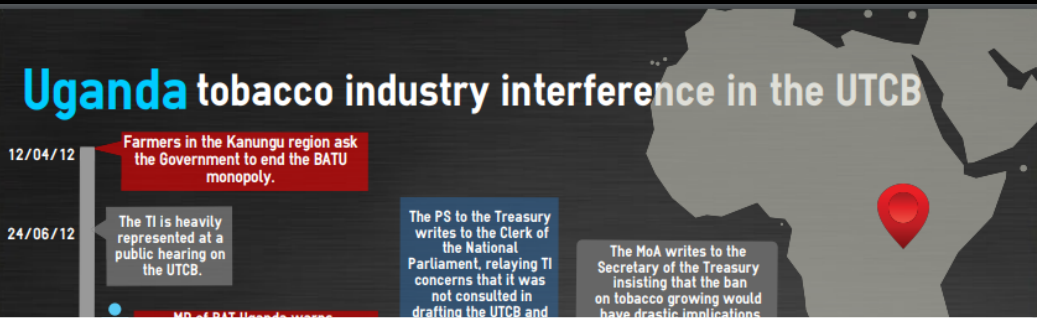The MoA writes to the Secretary of the Treasury insisting that the ban on tobacco growing would have drastic implications

	What the Tobacco Industry Says	The Facts
Graphic Health Warnings Clause 14(2) of the Uganda Tobacco Control Bill (UTCB) calls for graphic health warnings covering at least 75% of "each principal display area of the unit packet"[1]	The Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) provides for "30% Health Warnings"[2] so there is no need to go larger than 30%.	• The World Health Organisation's FCTC,[7] of which Uganda and 179 other countries are party to,[8] calls for ratifying countries to adopt and implement graphic health warnings within three years of joining the Convention. As Uganda ratified this international treaty in 2007, it is already nearly five years past the three-year benchmark for implementing graphic health warnings. • It is misleading for the industry to claim that the FCTC provides for 30% health warnings, as the FCTC actually mandates that graphic health warnings "should be 50% or more of the principal display areas" but "shall be no less than 30%".[9] In addition, as approximately 27% of Ugandan adults are illiterate,[10] introducing large graphic health warnings will more effectively communicate the dangers of smoking to consumers and prospective-consumers that may not be able to easily interpret text warnings. • As of 2014, at least 77 countries/jurisdictions have passed graphic health warning requirements and 60 of these require warnings that cover at least 50% of the packaging.[11] Other countries in the African region that have passed graphic health warning legislation include Madagascar, Mauritius, Namibia, Seychelles[12] and Chad.[13] Many leading countries in tobacco control have even gone a step further to introduce plain packaging, which requires that in addition to large graphic health warnings, all tobacco products be sold in simple packages free from logos, colours or promotional text.[14] Australia became the first country to pass and implement plain packaging legislation, followed by the UK and Ireland. The French and Norwegian governments are also in the process of passing plain packaging legislation. Although the tobacco

products, incorrectly claiming there is no evidence to support them.

Media confirms TI front group ITGA instigated a group of tobacco farmers to petition Ugandan parliament to delete key provisions of the bill.

25/04/12 — UTGA (members of TI front group ITGA) sends a letter to the Speaker of the Parliament, which outlines arguments opposing the UTCB.

16/09/14

11/04/14 — TI hosts a presentation at the Sheraton Hotel Kampala, where it lobbies MPs from tobacco growing districts against the UTCB.

TI writes to the Clerk of Parliament requesting permission meet with MPs from tobacco growing areas.

A press release from BATU is published celebrating 85 years of BAT business in Uganda as a "corporate compliant industry" and stressing the need for its inclusion in policymaking.

While attending a BATU ceremony, Minister of Investment claims that "smokers geneate a lot of income for the governemnt...they should be left to smoke".

withdraws tobacco growing operations from the constituency represented by the mover of the UTCB.

19 Sept 2015 Uganda President Museveni assents the UTCB (now called the Uganda Tobacco Control Act 2015)

28 July 2015 Uganda Tobacco Control Bill was passed in the Uganda parliament

November 2014 — MTIC sends a memo to the Cabinet outlining why it should be represented at the FCTC 6th COP and echoes TI arguments against the bill.

MP of Vurra requests to present a petition from tobacco farmers to Parliament which request "intervention" to protect the interests of "tobacco growers and tobacco companies".
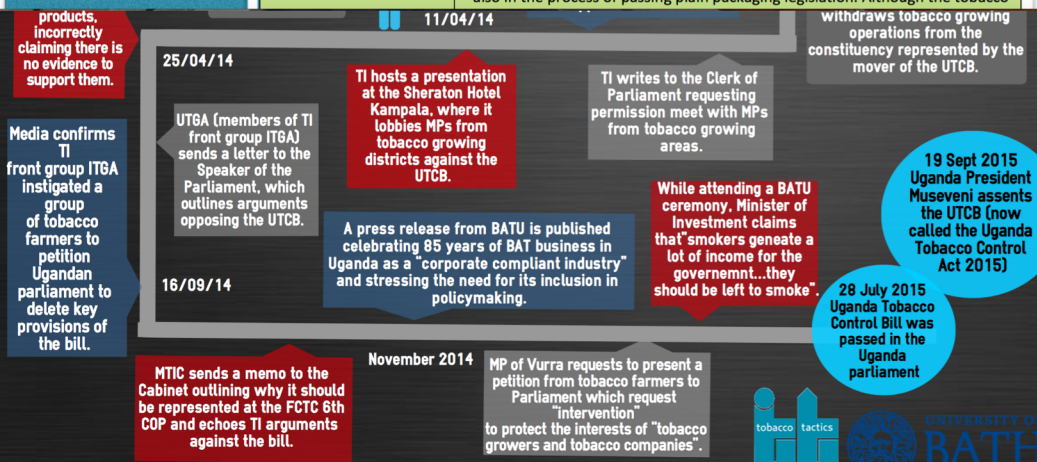
tobacco tactics   UNIVERSITY OF BATH

Use taxonomy to develop a set of evidence based advocacy & research tools to:

- predict and prepare
- counter TI arguments

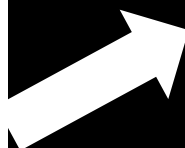Would enable us to far more quickly & cost effectively achieve accountability and impact

Can also be used to collect comparative data across countries and regions

Lesson 5: make more effective and efficient use of resources and findings

- Global industry – findings often globally relevant

- Infrastructure & coordination:
  - Minimise duplication of work
  - Emergent issues get covered in a timely manner
  - Translate findings
  - Outputs are marketed and signposted to make it easy for end-users

Lesson 5: make more effective and efficient use of resources and findings

Use of www.TobaccoTactics.org

Pages viewed per year (MILLIONS)

Years: 2012-13, 2015, 2017
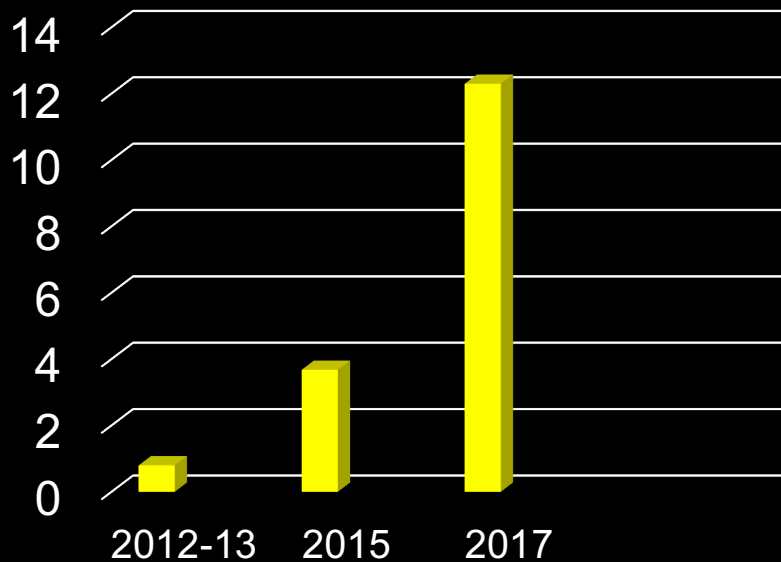
Average no. pages viewed per day

Dates: Sept 15, Sept 17
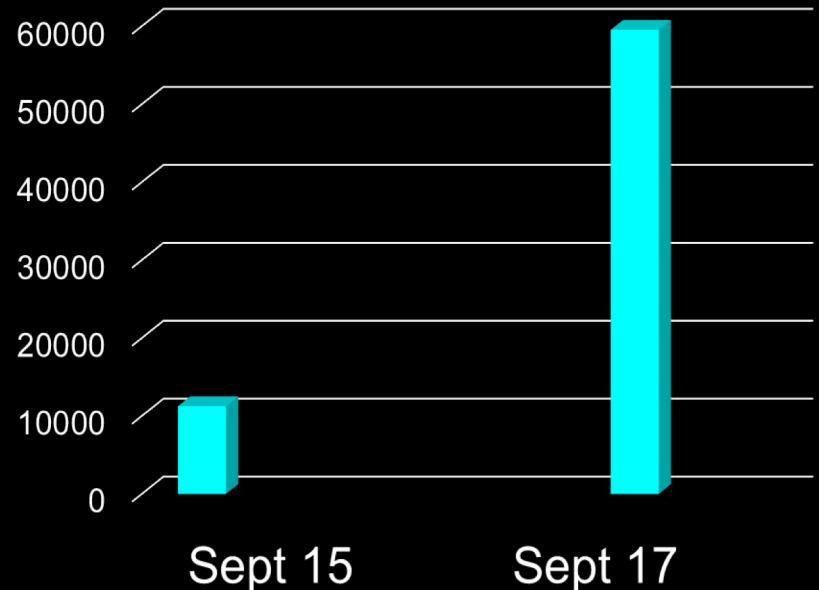
From 800k to 12.3 M views per year

From 11k to 60k views per day

Used by the Rapporteur for the Tobacco Products' Directive Revision to investigate people lobbying her:

"*I just wanted to put in writing that we are very grateful for the TobaccoTactics website - this has been very useful for Linda's work on TPD2. In her role as Rapporteur, Linda has been contacted by many individuals and organisations and the website has been a very helpful "one-stop shop" for quick background checks... It has also been useful as a third-party, independent reference in Linda's conversations with colleagues and the*

In summary

Tobacco industry interference is still identified as the **single greatest impediment** to progress

Yet we are not giving it the thought, resources, infrastructural development it deserves

Source: Conference of the Parties to the FCTC. *Implementation of Article 5.3 of the WHO FCTC: evolving issues related to interference by the tobacco industry.* 2014

The good news

❑ The ATOs' pivot towards political, economic and fiscal arguments suggests that **we're on the right track** with our government affairs, fiscal affairs and communications strategies.

❑ The ATOs will find it much harder to fight on profound questions of economics, law, intellectual property, agronomy and constitutional rights.

❑ On e-cigarettes and other reduced risk products:

- We've got a great story to tell;
- There are divisions within the anti-tobacco movement; and
- E-cigarette users are more willing to fight back than smokers.

❑ ATOs play weak defense.

ATOs play weak defense

Summary of lessons/recommendations

1. We need TIMRA not just TIM - change terminology

2. Dissemination & Accountability are key (lets not collect data for the sake of it)

3. Build capacity in TIMRA : SKILL development, takes time

4. Make better use of existing knowledge:
   - evidence based toolkits to enable civil servants & NGOs predict, prepare and rapidly counter,
   - Until capacity is built consider a rapid response service

5. Make better use of existing resources and findings:
   - co-ordination to prevent duplication
   - translate key findings
   - marketing and comms support - direct people to right websites & resources, maximise use and impact of findings

More!....

7. Address our biggest gap in knowledge: how to most effectively use info/findings on tobacco industry misconduct

8. Whistle-blower fund (not in TC NGO)

9. Harness new methods/data & opportunities: Big Data

…..Index???

Thank you

✉ **a.gilmore@bath.ac.uk**

🔲 **www.TobaccoTactics.org**

🐦 **@BathTR**

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The course will examine in detail how to monitor and conduct research into the activities of tobacco companies and their allies, and how to synthesise and publish your research for use by key stakeholders including policy makers and health advocates.

Although the focus is on tobacco, people with an interest in alcohol and food industries will find the course useful as the industries use similar tactics.

UKCTAS — UK Centre for Tobacco & Alcohol Studies   tcrg   UNIVERSITY OF BATH