Tobacco Industry Prevention Programs:
“Wise Decisions”

Faced with the deterioration of their reputation worldwide, tobacco companies have multiplied their efforts to improve their image.

Industry “youth prevention programs” are a main component in this offensive (another one being retailer awareness programs regarding sales to minors). The industry uses these programs, among other things, to protect itself from accusations that it continues to recruit young people and to prevent stricter controls on their sales and marketing activities.

However, the tobacco industry’s interests are in complete conflict with any purported desire to reduce youth smoking: its profitability – indeed, its very survival – depends on the uptake of smoking by youths. It’s a matter of economic necessity: the vast majority of smokers (90%) start before the age of 18.

If the tobacco industry were truly serious about reducing youth smoking, it would stop promoting cigarettes through celebrities and activities that are popular with young people. It would stop opposing effective measures such as tax hikes, smoking restrictions, and a ban on tobacco sponsorship. It would stop denying the health effects of smoking and second-hand smoke.

Lastly, if the tobacco industry really wanted to prevent youth smoking, it would not promote youth programs that the it itself recognizes as being ineffective.
“Wise Decisions” is a program sponsored by the Canadian tobacco industry and is designed by the Toronto firm Cunningham Gregory and Company. It is intended for students in grades 6 to 8 and was recently pilot-tested in schools in Alberta, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. The program is currently under review and, once finished, will be distributed free of charge to teachers across Canada.

The program focuses on students’ decision-making skills regarding smoking. It examines the attitudes, decisions, and certain influences that, according to the authors, affect their decision to smoke or not to smoke.

The document is written for teachers and divided into four thematic units that “explore the influence of family, friends, the world around us and the student’s ability to promote a healthy, smoke-free lifestyle.”

The lessons focus on young people’s personal attitudes towards smoking, factors that make them unique, the influence of friends and family, the decision-making process and healthy lifestyles, and place a heavy emphasis throughout on the discussion of communication skills.

The program provides virtually no information on the harmful effects of tobacco. Instead, it encourages students to conduct their own research on the health effects of smoking and asks them to evaluate such things as presentation, grammar and visual effects. One unit asks students whether they agree with quotations like “smoking cigarettes will lead to diseases that kill” and “smokers can be healthy individuals,” without mentioning that there actually is a correct answer.

What’s more, the program asks teachers to be uncritical of students and their opinions: “It is imperative that teachers make it clear from the outset that they will not be evaluating the students’ attitudes or opinions in this program. Rather, they will be assessing the students’ understanding of the decision-making process and of the influences upon them as they make decisions.”

Overall, the program is extremely cumbersome and most schools and teachers will have neither the time nor the resources necessary to complete the activities as outlined.

---

1 Cunningham Gregory and Company. “Sages décisions.” 2001. [Prepared for the Canadian tobacco industry] [Unofficial translation]
3 Cunningham Gregory and Company. “Sages décisions.” 2001. [Prepared for the Canadian tobacco industry] [Unofficial translation]
Like all programs designed by or commissioned for tobacco manufacturers, this one, above all, serves to protect the interests of the tobacco industry, and this, for the reasons that follow.
Tobacco industry “prevention” programs are part of a public relation strategy to avoid effective legislative measures.

In recent years, as they’ve been increasingly forced on the defensive, tobacco multinationals realized that there was an urgent need to improve their public image. They decided to act in a “proactive” way to show that they are responsible corporate citizens by developing “youth smoking prevention programs”. They use these initiatives to avoid further controls on their marketing efforts.

**ACCORDING TO INDUSTRY DOCUMENTS:**

“It is no exaggeration to suggest that the tobacco industry is under siege... There is a constant stream of anti-smoking publicity in the media... Within this somewhat alarming view of the mid-term future, Imperial Tobacco is embarking on a proactive program.”

“Our objective is to... position the industry as ‘a concerned corporate citizen’ in an effort to ward off further attacks by the anti-tobacco movement.”

“Our representatives in New Hampshire and Maryland... used [the] program to help head off sampling and transportation ad bans in those states... In California... ‘Helping Youth Decide’ [helped] our people defeat half-cent cigarette tax increase earmarked for anti-smoking ‘education’ in the schools...”

Philip Morris, maker of Marlboro cigarettes, is participating in no less than 60 “prevention programs” worldwide.

**The tobacco industry ensures that its “prevention programs” are ineffective.**

**ACCORDING TO INDUSTRY DOCUMENTS:**

“[Brown & Williamson] will not support a youth smoking program which discourages young people from smoking.”

In fact, the tobacco industry has conducted numerous studies – among the most sophisticated in the world – on youth behaviours and attitudes. Imperial Tobacco, for example, wanted to know “everything” there was to know about youths and smoking in order to increase future sales and profits:

**ACCORDING TO INDUSTRY DOCUMENTS:**

“It is important to know as much as possible about teenage smoking patterns and attitudes. Today’s teenager is tomorrow’s potential regular customer, and the overwhelming majority of smokers first begin to smoke while still in their teens.”

(One of the authors of this text is actually Senior Vice President of Youth Smoking Prevention at Philip Morris!)

“Since how the beginning smoker feels today has implications for the future of the industry, it follows that a study of this area would be of much interest. Project 16 was designed to do exactly that – learn everything there was to learn about how smoking begins, how high school students feel about being...”

---

6 Philip Morris International. “Youth Campaign for Latin America.” 23 September 1993. [Internal memo]
8 Tobacco Institute. 1983. [Internal memo]
smokers, and how they foresee their use of tobacco in the future.”
Owing to this extensive research, the tobacco industry has known for a long time which programs and messages are effective in discouraging youth smoking and, more importantly, which ones are not. The industry then promotes the latter, ineffective or counter-productive measures such as retailer education campaigns regarding sales to minors, paternalistic sermons from parents and teachers, messages that promote the idea that smoking is an adult activity and, finally, school-based programs that “help students make decisions”.

In 1990, the Tobacco Institute (the American tobacco manufacturers’ public relations and lobbying organization) created the program “Tobacco: Helping Youth Say No”, which, research later showed, turned teachers and parents into unwitting accomplices of the tobacco industry.  

More recently, experts have started to question the effectiveness of all traditional school-based smoking prevention programs. In December 2000 the U.S. National Cancer Institute unveiled a landmark study conducted over a period of 15 years in 40 school districts, involving 8,388 students, indicating that school prevention programs in the U.S. using the social-influences approach have no measurable impact. A Montreal study also showed that an elementary school program designed to discourage kids from smoking uncovered a disturbing paradox: instead of rejecting cigarettes, youths aged 9 to 12 exposed to the program were more likely to smoke – boys were three times more likely to smoke and girls five times more likely.

This can be explained as follows: 1) the tobacco industry’s marketing activities have a greater impact on young people than traditional anti-tobacco messages. Young people’s exposure to cigarette ads leads them to identify smoking with popularity, independence and adulthood, and these associations are stronger than any perceived risks communicated through anti-tobacco messages. 2) The constant emphasis on decision-making in school-based programs tells children (who might never have considered smoking) that they must make a decision regarding smoking.

---

is no surprise that some children end up trying it as a result.\textsuperscript{15}

Why industry smoking prevention programs do not work

1) They focus on decision-making

The very premise that youths must make a decision regarding the use of tobacco should be condemned. Young people know they do not need to decide about the really important things in life: we do not ask our children to “decide” to get immunized or to go to school. Every year, 18,000 underage Quebeckers start to smoke. Of these, a minority will die in a car accident or from suicide. But 4,500 will die from a smoking-related disease. Who would tell a child that he has to “decide” whether or not to drive carelessly or to commit suicide? Telling young people they must make a “decision” regarding smoking is just as irresponsible.

The term “decision” also invokes the notion of “freedom of choice”, the tobacco industry’s favorite mantra when it comes to describing the “habit” of smoking. The term cleverly conceals the harsh reality of addiction and the fact that most smokers want to quit but are unable to do so.

For example, in its introduction, “WISE DECISIONS” states that “This program’s singular goal is to provide students with the ability to gain the knowledge and skills to make wise decisions.”

The Tobacco Institute’s “HELPING YOUTH DECIDE” program “is designed to help youth explore and develop their own values and morals, to be honest with themselves about how they really feel... Young people need opportunities to examine the potential consequences of choices, to choose and to accept the responsibility for the choices they make.”

Most activities contained in “WISE DECISIONS” are “open-ended”, meaning there are no right or wrong answers. The program encourages open and uncritical dialogue among students, teachers, and parents, as if any decision was a good decision as long as one understands the decision-making process behind it.

According to “WISE DECISIONS”:

“To encourage open, honest and uncritical student dialogue and interaction, the teacher must provide an open and uncritical environment... It is imperative that teachers make it clear from the outset that they will not be evaluating the students’ attitudes or decisions in this program. Rather, they...”

---

16 Sussman, S. “Tobacco Industry Youth Tobacco Prevention Programming: A Review.” Institute for Health Promotion and Disease Prevention Research and Department of Preventive Medicine, University of Southern California, August 2000. [Currently under review]
will be assessing the students' understanding of the decision-making process. ” 23

But where tobacco is concerned, there is a right decision. A well-designed smoking prevention program should discourage teenagers from smoking.

In fact, these industry programs don’t ask students to pledge never to smoke. Samuel D. Chilcote, president of the Tobacco Institute, admitted that the purpose of these programs was not to prevent young people from smoking but to simply delay their decision until they turn 18.  

2) They portray smoking as an adult habit

The tobacco industry’s main reasoning behind its “opposition” to youth smoking is that smoking is an “adult activity”, that the only reason why children should not smoke is that they are not mature enough to make an informed decision. In other words, the choice to smoke is acceptable as long as the person deciding is mature enough (which of course contradicts what happens in reality: most people start smoking when they are minors, and their addiction to nicotine prevents them from quitting even if they “decided” to quit).

On the contrary, the message should be that using tobacco is never a wise decision, no matter how old a person is.

**YOUTH SMOKING, ACCORDING TO THE INDUSTRY:**

- Position of Imperial Tobacco, manufacturer of Player’s and du Maurier cigarettes: “the choice to smoke should be made by adults only.”  
- Position of JTI-Macdonald, manufacturer of Export ‘A’ cigarettes: “young underage people should not smoke and ... the decision to do so can only be made by adults.”

In fact, this kind of language is part of their overall strategy to attract young people. Teenagers naturally try to be different, to rebel against authority, to adopt adult behaviours. The tobacco industry’s entire marketing strategy is centered on this reality.

**ACCORDING TO INDUSTRY DOCUMENTS:**

“The adolescent seeks to display his new urge for independence with a symbol, and cigarettes are such a symbol since they are associated with adulthood and at the same time adults seek to deny them to the young”

“Thus, an attempt to reach young smokers, starters, should be based, among other things, on the following major parameters:
- Present the cigarette as one of the few invitations into the adult world.
- Present the cigarette as part of the illicit pleasure category of products and activities.
- ...have a [day-to-day life] situation touch on the basic symbols of the growing-up, maturity process.
- ...relate the cigarette to pot, wine, beer, sex, etc.”

3) They avoid talking about the harmful effects of tobacco

Industry programs usually mention the “risks” associated with tobacco use without expanding on the subject. Some programs talk about “claims” that smoking presents risks to one’s health, as if scientists were still debating the matter and the dangers were only hypothetical.

“WISE DECISIONS” provides no factual information on the subject. Instead, the program asks students to conduct their own research via the Internet—assuming resources and time are readily available (it also adds on other distracting and time-consuming tasks like creating databases to categorize coordinates, programs and “hours of operation” for all the agencies reached through the phone or the Internet!). What’s more, students are asked to evaluate the presentation of the information they have found rather than the information itself:

**HEALTH ASPECTS IN “WISE DECISIONS”**

[Assessment of health web sites:] “How well was this accomplished?
- Main message(s) were clearly and concisely communicated.
- Text was correctly spelled with appropriate punctuation.
- Text used effective grammar.
- Words and expressions were used to create special effects.
- Visual presentation was relevant.”

This is not surprising, considering that ads that portray the serious negative consequences of smoking in a graphic, dramatic and emotional way are consistently rated by young people as those most likely to make them “stop and think about not using tobacco”.  

In spite of the general public acceptance that “smoking is bad for one’s health”, the level of tobacco-related risks as well as the range of diseases are generally unknown. The tobacco industry’s own studies show that smokers underestimate health risks: according to a 1986 Imperial Tobacco study, only 55% of smokers were “concerned about health effects” on themselves. Few people know that, in addition to causing lung cancer and heart disease, tobacco also causes gangrene, asthma, impotence, a decrease in athletic performance, osteoporosis, wrinkles, gum, eye and ear disease, ulcers, genetic mutations, and reduced fertility. Young people in particular underestimate smoking risks, and most of those who start do not expect to be smoking a year later.

4) They associate smoking with much less dangerous, even innocuous, lifestyle

By associating smoking to such trivial matters as clothing and hair styles, to maturity or moral issues (sex, marriage, alcohol) or to other lifestyles (exercise, nutrition, sleep), the programs trivialize the unique and devastating consequences of smoking, namely that tobacco is toxic regardless of the quantity or the context in which it is consumed, or of the age of the smoker. In addition, tobacco creates an extremely powerful addiction to nicotine which prevents most people from quitting.

The program “WISE DECISIONS” wants students to “transfer the knowledge and skills to other situations in life”. It includes a review of the various other lifestyles.

---

such as physical activity, sleep, watching TV and eating habits (e.g. “drinking Coke vs. milk or fruit juice”).34

34 Cunningham Gregory and Company. “Sages décisions.” 2001. [Prepared for the Canadian tobacco industry] [Unofficial translation]
The program “HELPING YOUTH DECIDE” states: “Some decisions will be small, others important... whether to drive the car, to drink, to smoke, to borrow money, to quit school, to take or quit a job, to marry.”

The program “HELPING YOUTH SAY NO” urges young people to say “No to drugs, to skipping school, to sex, to drinking and driving, to using tobacco.”

The education campaign “I MADE MY CHOICE” in Uzbekistan is aimed at 10 to 14-year-olds and focuses on “responsible decision making in school and home life”.

The specific objective of the “I AM STRONG” program in the Philippines is “to cultivate strength and courage among students so that they can make responsible decisions on a variety of lifestyle issues, including smoking.”

5) They focus heavily on “peer pressure”

The idea that peer pressure is intense and omnipresent and that it is a determining factor in the decision to smoke is a myth that the industry has fostered for decades. Upon reflection, it is very much in its own interest to do so, since it implies that more young people smoke than they do in reality, and that by wanting to be non-smokers young people expose themselves to the tyranny of their friends. It also deflects attention away from the influential role of advertising.

“The youth program and its individual parts support The Institute’s objective ... by ... reinforcing the belief that peer pressure – not advertising – is the cause of youth smoking.”

Of course, the tobacco industry has known for a long time that the influence of peer pressure is grossly exaggerated:

“Peer pressure was not sufficient to encourage serious smoking.”

The idea that young people are intimidated by their peers or that they are bullied into smoking is false. Young people are not “tormented” until they cave in to pressure and take a cigarette.

Peer pressure to smoke goes against the notion of friendship; young people do not expect their friends to impose their views on them.

The notion of peer pressure is at odds with the idea of autonomy and self-determination.

The notion incorrectly portrays young people as ‘victims’ and minimizes their active

---

37 British American Tobacco [owner of Imperial Tobacco]. “Action programs against under-age smoking.” [Company Web site]
38 Philip Morris International. “Youth Smoking Prevention.” [Company Web site]
and voluntary collaboration within a group.\textsuperscript{46}  
\(\Rightarrow\) The theory does not take into account the multiplicity of peer groups and the flexibility of their composition.\textsuperscript{47}


**6) They do not examine the motives or the behaviour of the tobacco industry**

Recent successes in the U.S. have shown that an effective way of fighting youth smoking is to tell the truth about the tobacco industry. According to the American Legacy Foundation (founded as a result of the 1988 settlement between the industry and 46 American states with the purpose of creating anti-smoking campaigns), an effective campaign must be "structured around creating a movement against smoking like the movement against the Vietnam War or the movement against apartheid in South Africa."46

Young people don’t respond to messages like “Don’t smoke.” But they do respond to messages that expose the truth about the industry’s business practices: that the tobacco industry wants their money, that it doesn’t care about their health, that it denied and hid the risks related to their products for 50 years, that it studied the psychological profiles of kids as young as 11 years old in order to know why children start to smoke, and that it aims its marketing activities at youth by portraying tobacco as a symbol of adulthood. In other words, we need to tell young people that they are being manipulated.50

**TOBACCO COMPANY EXECUTIVES SWEARING THAT NICOTINE DOES NOT CAUSE ADDICTION (1994)**

The tobacco industry is well aware of the effectiveness of such campaigns. Internal industry documents state that the impact of such campaigns represents for them a "very real threat". In an internal RJ Reynolds document, the American manufacturer grumbles about the California campaign, whose main theme is tobacco industry manipulation.

**ACCORDING TO INDUSTRY DOCUMENTS:**

"the California campaign, and those like it, represents a very real threat to the intermediate term ... Impact on self-esteem, social acceptance and smoking utility will ultimately influence business"51 [Emphasis in original]
THE CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN’S “MARLBORO MAN”: LAMPOONING TOBACCO ADVERTISING
In conclusion, compare the slogans and images of tobacco industry’s “prevention programs”...

WISE DECISIONS, Canada

HELPING YOUTH SAY NO, United States 52

SMOKING SHOULD NOT BE A PART OF GROWING UP, United States 53

A KID’S WORLD: “in the world of youth, there is a time for play, friends, school and family - but there is no time for smoking” Middle East 54

IT’S MY DECISION, Romania

YOUNG PEOPLE CAN SAY NO!, Belgium 55

CAN I DO IT?, Czech Republic 56

KIDS SHOULDN’T SMOKE: RIGHT DECISIONS / RIGHT NOW », from R.J. Reynolds (manufacturer of Camel cigarettes) China 57

Young people should “CHOOSE HEALTHY LIFESTYLES SUITABLE FOR THEIR AGE”
APPENDIX B

... with the slogans and images of tobacco advertising...

(Slogans for Export ‘A’ Canadian cigarettes:

- “GO ALL THE WAY”
- “IF IT AIN’T BROKE, YOU’RE NOT GOING FAST ENOUGH”
- “MY GIRLFRIEND’S NAME IS ADRENALIN” (Ma blonde s’appelle adrenaline)
- “I STOP WHEN I HURT ALL OVER, OR RIGHT AFTER” (J’arrête quand j’ai mal partout, ou juste après)
- “TO THE END OF THE WORLD, GO ALL THE WAY »” (Au bout du monde, va jusqu’au bout)

► “the slimmest slim!”
(Capri, American cigarettes)

◆ Joe Camel was replaced by this cartoon character to sell Camel cigarettes

◆ The Marlboro Man, the century’s most powerful advertising icon (Marlboro cigarettes are sold around the world)